A chronicle of the kings of England, from the time of the Roman government, unto the death of King James ... / Faithfully collected out of authors ancient and modern; and digested into a method, by Sir Richard Baker, knight. Whereunto is added, the reign of King Charles the First, and the first thirteen years of ... King Charles the Second [by Edward Phillips].

Contributors

Baker, Richard, Sir, 1568-1645.
Phillips, Edward, 1630-1696?
Clarges, Thomas, Sir, -1695.
James I, King of England, 1566-1625.
Charles I, King of England, 1600-1649.
Charles II, King of England, 1630-1685.

Publication/Creation

London : Printed for G. Sawbridge [etc.], 1679.

Persistent URL

https://wellcomecollection.org/works/np9pbcv6

License and attribution

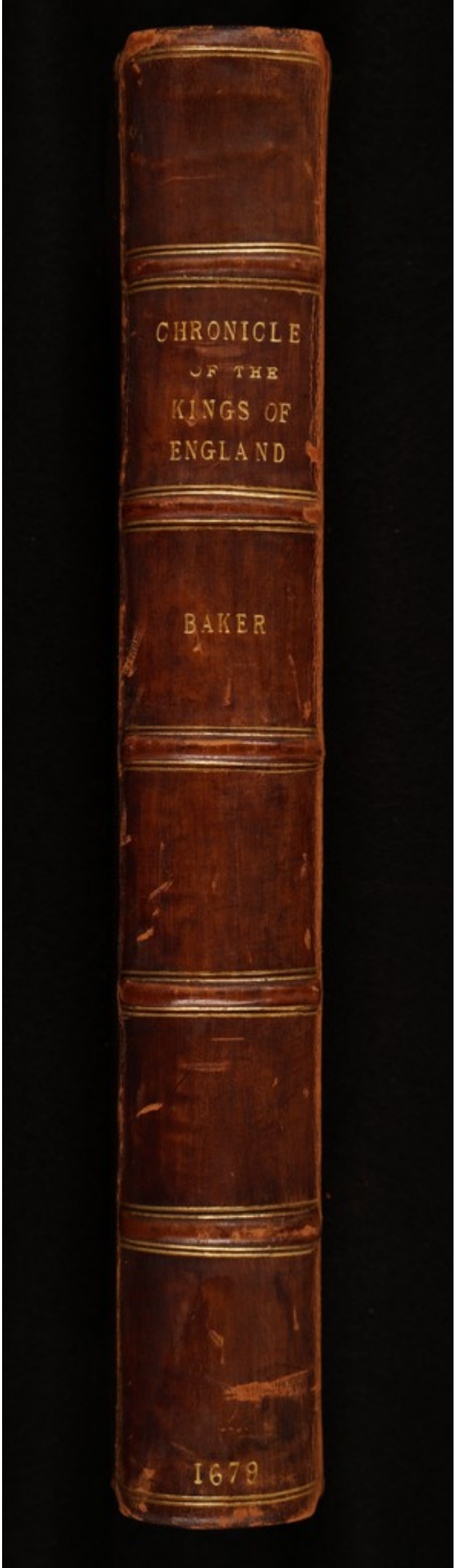
This work has been identified as being free of known restrictions under copyright law, including all related and neighbouring rights and is being made available under the Creative Commons, Public Domain Mark.

You can copy, modify, distribute and perform the work, even for commercial purposes, without asking permission.

wellcome collection

Wellcome Collection
183 Euston Road
London NW1 2BE UK
T +44 (0)20 7611 8722
E library@wellcomecollection.org
https://wellcomecollection.org




CHRONICLE
OF THE
KINGS OF
ENGLAND
BAKER
1679








CAROLUS Secundus
Britaniæ Franciæ
Dei gratia Magnæ
et Hiberniæ Rex



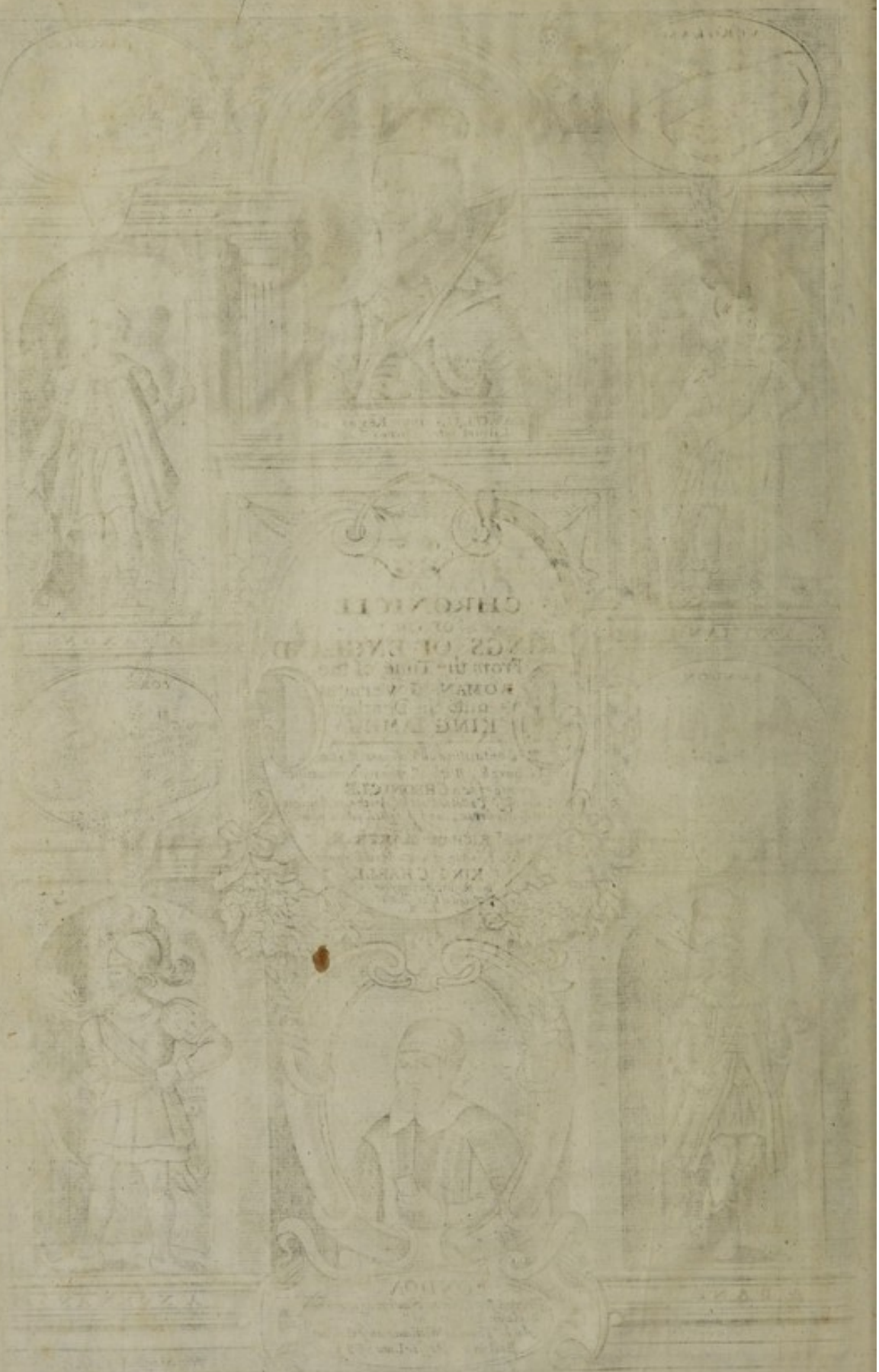
A

CHRONICLE
OF THE
KINGS OF ENGLAND
From the Time of the
ROMANS Goverment
unto the Deathof
KING IAMES

Containing all Passages of State and Church, With all other observations proper for a CHRONICLE.
Faithfully Collected out of Authours Ancient and Moderne; and digested into a new Method
by Sr. RICHARD BAKER Kt.
Where vnto is now added ye reigne of KING CHARLES I.
And the first thirteen years of the Reign of King Charles the II.

LONDON
Printed for George Sawbridge at the Bible on Ludgate hill.
And Thomas Williams at ye Golden Ball in Hoster Lane 1679

W. Marshall sculpsit.



A

CHRONICLE

OF THE

KINGS

OF

ENGLAND,

From the Time of the ROMANS Government, unto the Death of KING *JAMES.*

Containing all Passages of STATE and CHURCH, with all other Observations proper for a CHRONICLE.

Faithfully Collected out of Authors Ancient and Modern; and Digested into a Method,

By Sir *RICHARD BAKER*, Knight.

WHEREUNTO IS ADDED,

The REIGN of KING CHARLES the First,

AND

The First Thirteen Years of His Sacred MAJESTY,

King Charles the Second,

That now REIGNETH.

In which are many Material *AFFAIRS* of *STATE*, Never before Published; and likewise the most Remarkable *Occurrences* relating to His MAJESTIES most Happy, and Wonderful RESTAURATION, by the Prudent Conduct, under GOD, of

GEORGE late Duke of *ALBEMARLE*, *Captain General* of all His Majesties *ARMIES.*

As they were Extracted out of His *Excellencies* own *Papers*, and the *Journals* and *Memorials* of those employ'd in the most Important and Secret *Transactions* of that Time.

All which *Additions* are Revised in this Seventh Impression, and freed from many Errors and Mistakes of the former Editions: With a more exact Table than hath been hitherto Published to it.

LONDON,
Printed for *George Sawbridge* at the Bible on *Ludgate-Hill*, and *Rich. Chiswel*, *Ben. Took*, and *Tho. Sawbridge*, Assigns of *Thomas Williams*. M. DC. LXXIX.

ENGLAND.

OR

KINGS

OF THE

CHRONICLE

WELLCOME
HISTORICAL
MEDICAL
LIBRARY

The Epistle to the Reader.

SIR Richard Baker *who writ, and published this History, to the beginning of the Reign of King* Charles *the First, affirmed,* That it was Collected with so great Care and Diligence, that if all other of our Chronicles should be lost, this only would be sufficient to inform Posterity of all Passages memorable or worthy to be known; *And if so much might be said of what he did, I presume, nothing that hath been since added to it, and published, has impaired the Credit and Worth thereof.*

The many Impressions *that have been made and sold of the Book both before, and after the Addition, are a sufficient Testimony of the kind acceptance it has had in the World. How necessary this present* Continuation *is (which alone might have made a Competent History) will best appear by the perusal thereof; and in that part which describes the Transactions of the Duke of* Albemarle, *there is not only so exact an Accompt as is no where else to be found, but also many secret Passages of particular Remark, which could never have been known, but from his* Excellencie's *own Papers, and several other private Collections of Persons active with him in that Service, which I had the permission to make use of; wherein I have been so faithful, that there is not any Letter, Speech, or Discourse in Publick Conferences, which are not exactly set down as they were written, or spoke, save only that of such Letters, or Speeches, as were very long, the most pertinent parts are only retained.*

The Wonderful Restauration of his Majesty, which is the Subject of that part of the Continuation, *is one of the most Extraordinary Actions, that has been ever mentioned in Story, both for the Generosity of the Attempt, and the Prudent Conduct of it: For certainly, nothing was ever enterprized with greater Generosity and Courage, then with* * *Nine thousand Six hundred Foot, and Fourteen hundred Horse and Dragoons,* (and those long Train'd up in an aversion to Kingly Government) *to preserve the whole Kingdom of* Scotland *in* English *hands, and to Invade* England, *at a time when the Governing Power was in those that were irreconcileable to his Majestie's Person and Government, supported by Thirty Thousand Experienced and Victorious Souldiers in* England, *of the same Affections (besides what were at their devotion in* Ireland, *and* Dunkirk) *and a* Militia *of Trained Bands in all Counties, to a greater number than those in Pay, all of Chosen Men, of the like Principles: and this at a time, when by the Defeat of Sir* George Booth, *his Majestie's greatest Hopes were frustrated, and most of the Nobility and Gentry which were engaged with him, were disarmed,*

* See pag. 685. Where the numbers of his Forces are mentioned.

*diſarmed, and their Eſtates confiſcated, and ready to be divided amongſt the Enemies of Royalty, to alter, with the Riches, the Intereſt of the Kingdom; and when they were about to Enact, and many of the Legiſlators themſelves had taken an * Oath of Abjuration of his Majeſtie's Perſon and Family: But then his Secreſie in the Conduct of this Great Affair is very Remarkable, being obliged to act very differently from his Intentions, to gain the Confidence of thoſe Jealous Maſters whoſe Authority he pretended to obey: for if he had but once trod awry in any of the paths he mov'd, all had miſcarried; and notwithſtanding his greateſt Subtilty, many objected, (thinking thereby to weaken his Credit with the Army) That the King was in the bottom of his Deſign.*

* Page 700.

His moſt Prudent Contrivances were often diſappointed, but by his Wiſdom and Dexterity as often retrived; one of his greateſt Difficulties was to temper his own Officers and Souldiers to his Purpoſes, to which the Opinion they had of his Conduct and Courage, did much contribute; and when that was effected, he the eaſier Modelled the reſt.

†See pag. 731. towards the end.

It is evident that he acquainted but one † Perſon with his Deſign, and that he did, ſuppoſing it impoſſible alone without correſpondence to manage ſo hazardous an undertaking; for he was to compaſs his Ends by ſeveral and different means, which could not without great addreſs be prepared and diſpoſed thereunto. And how neceſſary this Correſpondence was, is apparent by many Tranſitions, but by none more, Then in the lucky * Contrivance of getting the Army out of *London*, and the Quartering his Souldiers in their places, and diſperſing the reſt; *Whereby the Parliament, City and Kingdom became at his Reverence; and without which his Majeſties Reſtauration could never have been effected in this way.*

* See pag. 701, 702, & 703.

The Conſideration of theſe things leads me unto ſo great a Labyrinth of Admiration, that I cannot eaſily deſiſt from detaining the Reader too long from the peruſal of the matter, which induces me to it: I ſhall therefore conclude this Epiſtle with that Commendation of this Renowned General's Undertaking, which a Reverend and Pious Prelate moſt juſtly delivered in a late * Sermon, *That it was* A Generous, Glorious, and Heroical Deſign, whereby he hath at once redeemed his Country both from Slavery and Oppreſsion, by reſtoring the King to his People, and the People to their King; and withal hath purchaſed unto himſelf, Honour without Envy; Greatneſs with Safety; and (which is the beſt Reward of Virtue in this World) a perpetual Satisfaction and Complacency in himſelf, for having ſo Nobly performed his Duty.

† Biſhop of *Winchester* in the Sermon he Preach'd at the Coronation, when he was Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Pag. 29, & 30.

E. Phillips.

A

Catalogue of Writers,

Both *ANTIENT* and *MODERN*,

Out of whom This

CHRONICLE

Hath been COLLECTED.

1 GIldas Britannicus, *firnamed the Wise, an Antient Writer of our* English *Nation; who amongst other his Works, writ a Treatise,* De Excidio Britanniæ: *He was born in the Year* 493. *and died in the Year* 580.

2 Nennius, *a Monk of* Bangor, *writ the Story of* Britain, *and lived about the Year* 620.

3 *Venerable* Bede, *a* Saxon, *and a Priest, writ the Ecclesiastical Story of the* English *Nation from the coming in of* Julius Cæsar, *to the Year* 733. *about which time he died.*

4 Ethelwardus, *an Eminent Historian, compiled a general Chronicle from the Creation to the end of King* Edgar.

5 Radulphus de Diceto, *who lived about the Year* 1210.

6 Segebert, *King of the East-Angles, writ an Institution of Laws, in his latter days became a Monk, and was slain by* Penda *King of the* Mercians, *in the Year* 652.

7 Cymbertus, *Bishop of* Linsey, *in the Kingdom of* Mercia, *writ the Annals of that Country, and lived about the Year* 730.

8 Daniel Wentalus, *a Bishop, writ the History of his Province, and the Acts of the South* Saxons, *and died in the Year* 746.

9 Asserius Menevensis, *born in* Pembrokeshire, *writ the Story of* Britain, *and the Acts of King* Alphred, *and lived about the Year* 890.

10 Alphredus, *the great King of the* Angles, *fourth Son of King* Ethelwolph, *writ, besides many other Works, a Collection of Chronicles, and died at* Winchester *in the Year* 901.

11 Osbernus, *a Benedictine Monk, writ the Life of Archbishop* Dunstan, *and other Works: and lived about the Year* 1020.

12 Colemannus Anglicus, *writ a Chronicle and a Catalogue of the* English *Kings, and lived in the time of King* Harold *the First.*

13 Gulielmus Gemeticensis, *a* Norman *and a Monk, writ the Lives of the Dukes of* Normandy, *to* William *the First, to whom he dedicated his Work: and after enlarged it to the death of King* Henry *the First, in the Year* 1160. *at which time he lived.*

14 Marianus Scotus, *a Monk, writ Annals from the beginning of the World to his own time, and died in the Year* 1086.

15 Alphredus, *a Priest of* Beverley, *writ a History from the first Original of the* Britains *to his own time, and lived about the Year* 1087. *in the time of* William *the First.*

16 Veremundus *a* Spaniard, *and a Priest, but who lived much in* Scotland, *writ the Antiquities of the* Scottish *Nation, and lived about the Year* 1090.

17 Lucianus *a Monk, and an* English *Writer, and lived in the first times of the* Normans.

18 Ingulphus, *Abbot of* Croyland, *writ from the Year* 664. *to the Year* 1066. *and lived in the time of* Henry *the First, whose Secretary he had been.*

19 Turgotus, *an* Englishman, *Prior of* Durham, *and afterwards Bishop of St.* Andrews *in* Scotland, *writ a History of the Kings of* Scotland; *also Chronicles of* Durham, *Annals of his own time, and the Life of King* Malcolm, *and lived in the Year* 1098. *in the time of King* William *the Second.*

20 Gulielmus Pictavienſis, *writ a Treatise of the Life of* William *the First.*

21 Gualterus Mapæus, *writ a Book* De Nugis Curialium, *and lived about the Year* 1210.

22 William *of* Malmesbury, *a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the* English *Nation from the first coming of the* Saxons *into* Britain, *to his own time; which Work he Dedicated to* Robert *Duke of* Glocester, *base Son of King* Henry *the First, and lived to the first year of King* Henry *the Second.*

23 Florentius Bravonius, *a Monk of* Worcester, *compiled a Chronicle from the Creation, to the Year* 1118. *in which Year he died; his Work was continued by another Monk to the Year* 1163.

24 Eadmerus, *a Monk of* Canterbury, *writ the Lives of* William *the First,* William *the Second, and King* Henry *the First, in whose time he lived.*

25 Raradocus *born in* Wales, *writ the Acts of the* Britain *Kings, from* Cadwalladar *to his own time, and lived in the time of King* Stephen.

26 Gervasius Dorobernensis, *a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the* English *Nation, and lived about the Year* 1200.

27 Johannes Fiberius, *commonly called* De Bever, *or* Castorius, *writ short Annals of the* English *Nation, and lived about the Year* 1306.

28 Henry, *Archdeacon of* Huntington, *writ a History of the Kings of* England, *to the Reign of King* Stephen, *in whose time he lived.*

29 Geoffry *of* Monmouth, *a Benedictine Monk, and afterward Bishop of* Asaph, *writ a History of the* Britains, *and was the first that makes mention of* Brute, *and of* Merlines *Prophecies, for which he is much taxed by divers Authors of his own time, and after; he lived about the Year* 1150. *in the time of King* Stephen.

30 William *of* Newborough, *born at the beginning of King* Stephen's *Reign, writ a History of the* English *Nation, and bitterly inveighs against* Geoffry *of* Monmouth, *as a Deviser of Fables.*

31 Sylvester Gyraldus, *born in* Wales, *and thereof called* Cambrensis, *after long Travel abroad was called home, and made Secretary to King* Henry *the Second; and*

after was ſent Tutor to his Son John *into* Ireland; *he writ the Hiſtory of that Nation very exquiſitely; alſo an* Itinerarium *of* Wales *and* Britain; *the Life of* Henry *the Second; the Acts of King* John, *and a Chronicle of the* Engliſh *Nation; and lived about the Year* 1190. *in the times of King* Richard *the Firſt, and King* John.

32 John *of* Hagulſtad, *a Town in the* North, *a Benedictine Monk in* Durham, *writ the moſt memorable Things from the Ninth year of King* Henry *the Second, to the firſt year of* Richard *the Firſt, in whoſe time he lived, about the Year* 1190.

33 Roger Hoveden, *a Prieſt of* Oxford, *writ the Annals of the Kings of* England, *and the memorable Paſſages under the* Romans, Picts, Saxons, Danes, *and* Normans; *he lived in the time of King* Richard *the Firſt, and died in the time of King* John.

34 Johannes Tilberienſis, *a Secular Prieſt, writ a Hiſtory of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived in the time of King* Richard *the Firſt.*

35. Richardus Canonicus, *travelled with King* Richard *the Firſt into* Paleſtine; *and writ of his Journey and Acts there.*

36. Aluredus Rivalenſis, *or* de Rivallis, *a Ciſtercian Monk in the Diocеſs of* York, *writ the Life of* Edward *King of* England, *and* David *King of* Scots, *and died in the year* 1166.

37. Simon Dunelmenſis, *a Benedictine Monk, writ a Hiſtory of the* Engliſh *Nation, from the death of Venerable* Bede, *to the year* 1164, *and lived in the time of King* Henry *the Second.*

38. John de Oxenford, *firſt Dean of* Salisbury, *and after Biſhop of* Norwich, *writ the* Britiſh *Hiſtory, and continued it to his own time; wherein he agreeth much with* Geoffry *of* Monmouth, *and lived about the year* 1174, *in the time of King* Henry *the Second.*

39. Johannes Sarisburienſis, *writ an Excellent Book* De Nugis Curialium; *and lived about the year* 1182. *in the time of King* Henry *the Second.*

40. Gulielmus Parvus, *a Canon regular in the Province of* York, *writ an Hiſtory of the* Norman *Kings; and lived about the Year* 1216. *in the time of King* John.

41. Johannes Campobellus, *a* Scotchman, *writ the Hiſtory of the* Scots, *from the firſt Original of the Nation, to his own time; and lived in the Year* 1260.

42. John Breton *an* Engliſhman, *Biſhop of* Hereford, *writ a Book* De Juribus Anglicanis, *and lived in the Year* 1270. *in the time of King* Henry *the Third.*

43. Thomas Wyke, *an* Engliſhman, *a Canon Regular of* Oſney *near* Oxford, *writ a ſhort Hiſtory, from the coming in of* William *the Firſt, to his own time, and lived in the year* 1250. *in the time of King* Edward *the Firſt.*

44. Thomas Langford, *an* Engliſhman, *a Dominican Frier of* Chelmsford *in* Eſſex, *writ an Univerſal Chronicle, from the beginning of the World to his own time; and lived in the Year* 1320. *in the time of King* Edward *the Second.*

45. Radulphus de Diceto, *an* Engliſhman, *writ a Chronicle of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived about the Year* 1210. *in the time of King* John.

46. Robertus Montenſis, *a Benedictine Monk, writ a Chronicle from the Year* 112, *to the Year* 1210. *at which time he lived.*

47. Johannes Brugenſis, *an* Engliſhman, *a Benedictine Monk, writ Annals of the* Engliſh *Nation.*

48. Thomas Spot, *an* Engliſhman, *a Benedictine Monk of* Canterbury, *writ the Chronicles of* Canterbury, *and lived about the time of King* Edward *the Second.*

49. Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis, *called* Florilegus, *for Collecting* Flores Hiſtoriarum, *chiefly of* Britain, *containing from the beginning of the World, to the Year* 1377. *about which time he lived.*

50. Ranulphus Higden, *a Benedictine Monk of* Cheſter, *writ a Book which he called* Polychronicon, *containing from the beginning of the World to the* 16*th year of King* Edward *the Third, in whoſe time he lived.*

51. Matthew Paris, *a Benedictine Monk of St.* Albans, *writ a Hiſtory, chiefly Eccleſiaſtical, of the* Engliſh *Nation, and brought it down to the Year* 1259.

52. William Pachenton, *an* Engliſhman, *writ a Hiſtory of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived about the time of King* Edward *the Third.*

53. Bartholomeus Glanvile, *a Franciſcan Frier, writ a Book intituled* De Proprietatibus rerum, *and a Hiſtory* de Sanctis, *and lived in the Year* 1360. *in the time of King* Edward *the Third.*

54. Nicholas Trivet, *born in* Norfolk, *of a Worſhipful Family, became a Dominican Frier, writ many Excellent Books in Divinity and Philoſophy; alſo Annals of the* Engliſh *Kings, from King* Stephen, *to King* Edward *the Second, and lived in the Year* 1307. *in the time of King* Edward *the Third.*

55. Alexander Eſſebienſis, *Prior of a Monaſtery of Regular Canons, writ divers learned Works; amongſt other, an Epitome of the* Britiſh *Hiſtory; and lived in the Year* 1220.

56. John Froyſſart *born in the Low-Countries, writ a Chronicle in the* French *Tongue, containing* 74 *years; namely, beginning with King* Edward *the Third, and ending with King* Henry *the Fourth, in whoſe time he lived; whoſe Chronicle, Sir* John Bourchier *Knight, Tranſlated into* Engliſh, *and* John Sleyden *a* Frenchman *hath lately contracted into an Epitome.*

57. Thomas de la Moore, *born in* Glocesterſhire, *in the time of King* Edward *the Firſt, by whom, as having Twenty pounds Land, holden by Knights Service, he was made a Knight; and afterwards being very inward with King* Edward *the Second, writ a Hiſtory of his Life and Death.*

58. Thomas Rodboum *an* Engliſh-man, *and a Biſhop, writ a Chronicle of his Nation, and lived in the Year* 1480.

59. John Treviſa *born in* Cornwal, *a Prieſt, Tranſlated* Polychronicon *into* Engliſh, *adding to it an Eighth Book, intituled,* De Memorabilibus eorum temporum, *containing from the year* 1342, *to the year* 1460. *He writ alſo of the Acts of King* Arthur, *and Deſcriptions both of* Britain *and* Ireland, *and lived in the time of King* Edward *the Fourth.*

60. John Harding, *a Gentleman of a good Family in the* North, *writ a Chronicle in Verſe, of the Kings of* England, *to the Reign of King* Edward *the Fourth; wherein he alleadgeth many Records, which he had got in* Scotland, *that teſtifie the* Scottiſh *Kings ſubmiſſions to the Kings of* England; *he lived in the Year* 1448. *in the time of King* Henry *the Sixth.*

61. John Capgrave, *born in* Kent, *an* Auguſtin *Frier, writ many learned Works in Divinity, and a Catalogue of the* Engliſh *Saints, and lived in the Year* 1464. *in the time of King* Edward *the Fourth.*

62. John Lydgate, *Monk of Saint* Edmundsbury *in* Suffolk, *writ divers Works in Verſe, and ſome in Proſe: as the Lives of King* Edward, *and King* Ethelſtan, *of the Round Table of King* Arthur, *and lived in the Year* 1440. *in the time of King* Henry *the Sixth.*

63. John Weathamſtead *Abbot of St.* Albans, *in his Work of* Engliſh *Affairs, accuſeth* Geoffry *of* Monmouth *of meer Fabulouſneſs, and lived about the Year* 1440.

64. Gulielmus Elphinſton, *a* Scotchman, *Biſhop of* Aberdene, *writ the Antiquities of* Scotland, *and the Statutes of Councils, and lived in the Year* 1480. *in the time of* James *the Third, King of* Scotland.

65. George

65. George Buchanan *a* Scotchman, *writ the Story of* Scotland *from* Fergusius, *to Queen* Mary, *in whose time he lived.*

66. William Caxton *an* Engliſhman *writ a Chronicle to the Three and twentieth year of King* Edward *the Fourth, which he calls* Fructus Temporum: *alſo a Deſcription of* Britain, *the Life of St.* Edward, *and the Hiſtory of King* Arthur, *and lived in the Year* 1484.

67. Thomas Walſingham *born in* Norfolk, *a Benedictine Monk of St.* Albans, *writ two Hiſtories; one ſhorter, the other larger; the firſt beginning from the Year* 1273. *and continued to the Year* 1423. *the other beginning at the coming in of the* Normans, *and continued to the beginning of King* Henry *the Sixth, to whom he dedicateth his Work.*

68. Robert Fabian *a Sheriff of* London, *writ a Concordance of Hiſtories, from* Brute *the firſt King of the* Britains, *to the laſt year of King* Henry *the Second, and another Work from King* Richard *the Firſt, to King* Henry *the Seventh, in whoſe time he lived.*

69. *Sir* Thomas Moore *born in* London, *Lord Chancellour of* England, *beſides many other learned Works, writ the Life of King* Richard *the Third; and dyed for denying the Kings Supremacy, in the Reign of King* Henry *the Eighth, in the Year* 1535.

70. Hector Boetius *a* Scotchman, *writ a Catalogue and Hiſtory of the Kings of* Scotland, *alſo a Deſcription of that Kingdom, and lived in the Year* 1526. *in the time of* James *the Fifth, King of* Scotland.

71. Polydor Virgil *an* Italian, *but made here in* England *Arch-Deacon of* Wells; *amongſt other his Learned Works, writ the Hiſtory of* England *from its firſt beginning, to the* 30th *year of King* Henry *the Eighth, to whom he Dedicated his Work.*

72. Edward Hall *a Lawyer, writ a Chronicle, which he calls,* The Union of the Two Roſes, the Red and the White, *containing from the beginning of King* Henry *the Fourth, to the laſt year of King* Henry *the Eighth, and died in the Year* 1547.

75. John Leland *a* Londoner, *amongſt divers other Works, writ a Book of the Antiquity of* Britain, *and of the Famous Men and Biſhops in it, and lived in the Year* 1546. *in the time of King* Henry *the Eighth.*

74. John Rogers, *firſt a Papiſt, and afterward a Proteſtant; amongſt other his Learned Works, writ a Hiſtory from the beginning of the World; and lived moſt in* Germany *in the Year* 1548. *in the time of King* Edward *the Sixth.*

75. Philip Commines *a Knight of* Flanders, *writ the Lives of* Lewis, *and* Charles *the Eighth, Kings of* France, *wherein he handles many paſſages between them and the Kings of* England *their Contemporaries.*

Of the Modern, Theſe:

76. Richard Grafton *a Citizen of* London, *writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the World, to the beginning of the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *in whoſe time he lived.*

77. Raphael Holingſhed *a Miniſter, writ a large Chronicle from the Conqueſt to the Year* 1577. *and was continued by others, to the Year* 1586.

78. *Doctor* Goodwin *Biſhop of* Hereford, *writ the Lives of King* Henry *the Eighth, King* Edward *the Sixth and Queen* Mary, *and dyed in the Year* 1638.

79. *Doctor* Heyward *writ the Hiſtory of the firſt Kings,* William *the Conqueror,* William Rufus, *and* Henry *the Firſt; alſo the Reign of King* Henry *the Fourth, and* Edward *the Sixth, and lived to the time of King* James.

80. Samuel Daniel *writ a Chronicle of the Kings of* England, *to the end of King* Edward *the Third, and is continued by* John Truſſel *to the beginning of* Henry *the Seventh.*

81. *Sir* Francis Bacon *Viſcount St.* Albans *hath written an Hiſtory of the Reign of King* Henry *the Seventh, in a moſt elegant ſtyle, and lived in the time of King* James.

82. John Fox *writ three large Volumes of the Acts and* Monuments *of the Church; particularly treating of the* Engliſh *Martyrs in the Reigns of King* Henry *the Eighth, and Queen* Mary, *and lived in the time of Queen* Elizabeth.

83. Thomas Cowper *Biſhop of* Winchester, *writ a Continuation of Chronicle-Notes of all Nations, eſpecially of* England, *from the beginning of the World to his own time, and lived in the time of Queen* Elizabeth.

84. William Cambden *King at Arms, writ the Life of Queen* Elizabeth, *and a Deſcription of* Britain, *and lived in the time of King* James.

85. William Martin *Eſq; writ the Reigns of the Kings of* England, *from* William *the Firſt, to the end of King* Henry *the Eighth; to which was afterwards added the Reigns of King* Edward *the Sixth, Queen* Mary, *and Queen* Elizabeth.

86. Francis Biondi *an* Italian *Gentleman, and of the Privy Chamber to King* Charles *the Firſt, hath written in the* Italian *Tongue, the Civil Wars between the Two Houſes of* Lancaſter *and* York, *from King* Richard *the Second, to King* Henry *the Seventh: Tranſlated Elegantly into* Engliſh *by* Henry *Earl of* Monmouth.

87. Henry Iſaackſon *a* Londoner, *hath written a Chronology of all Kingdoms, from the beginning of the World, to the Year* 1630. *being the fifth year of King* Charles *the Firſt his Reign.*

88. Nicholas Harpſefield *Arch-Deacon of* Canterbury, *hath written an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of* England, *to which* Edmund Campion *the Jeſuite, made an Addition.*

89. John Stow *Citizen of* London, *writ a Chronicle from* Brute, *to the end of Queen* Elizabeth, *and is continued to this preſent time, being the* 18 *year of King* Charles *the Firſt, by* Edward Howes *a* Londoner.

90. John Speed *a* Londoner, *writ the Story of* Britain, *from the firſt beginning to the Year* 1605. *being the ſecond Year of King* James.

91. William Habington *Eſq; hath written the Reign of King* Edward *the Fourth in a very fine ſtyle, and is yet living.*

92. Thomas Fuller *Batchelour of* Divinity, *and Prebendary of* Sarum, *hath written the Holy War in very fine Language, wherein he relates the Acts of our Kings of* England *in the* Holy Land.

93. Andre du Cheſne *a* Frenchman, *Geographer to the King of* France, *hath written the Hiſtory of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *from their firſt beginning, to the Seventeenth year of King* Charles *the Firſt,* 1641.

The End of the Catalogue of Authors.

THE

Beginning, Continuance, and Ending

OF THE

REIGNS

OF THE

KINGS

OF

ENGLAND,

To this Year 1678.

After the time of the *ROMANS* Government.

1. KIng *Vortigern a Britain.*
2. King *Vortimer* his Son, a *Britain*, reigned 4 years. Then deposed.
3. King *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a *Roman*, reigned 32 years.
4. King *Uter*, began his Reign *Anno Christi* 497, and reigned 18 years.
5. King *Arthur* his Son, reigned 26 years.
6. King *Constantine* his Cousin, reigned 3 years.
7. King *Aurelius Conanus*, Nephew to King *Arthur*.
8. King *Vortiporus* reigned 4 years.
9. King *Malgo Conanus* reigned 6 years.
10. King *Careticus* reigned 3 years.
11. King *Cadwan* reigned 22 years.
12. King *Cadwallo* his Son, reigned 48 years.
13. King *Cadwalladar* his Son, the last of the *Britiſh* Kings, who died at *Rome* in the Year 689, after he had reigned 3 years. After which, *Britain* was a Colony of the *Saxons*; who divided it into Seven Kingdoms: But the *Saxons* before the death of King *Cadwalladar* took *Kent* from the *Britiſh* Kings, and had it in their poſſeſſion: Which Kingdom of *Kent* began by *Hengiſt* the *Saxon* in the year 455, in the Reign of King *Aurelius Ambroſius*, before mentioned, and laſted 372 years, during the Reigns of Seventeen Kings of *Kent*: The laſt of which *Kentiſh* Kings was overcome by *Egbert* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, who made *Kent* a Province to his Kingdom in the year 827. The ſecond Kingdom was of the South-*Saxons*, began by *Ella* in 488, in the Reign of the ſame *Britiſh* King *Aurelius Ambroſius*, containing

Suſſex

Suſſex and *Surrey*, and continued 113 years during the Reigns of Five Kings only; the laſt of which Kings was overcome by *Ine* King of the Weſt-*Saxons*, and ſo became a Province to that Kingdom of the Weſt-*Saxons* in the year 601. The third Kingdom was of the Weſt-*Saxons*, which began by *Cerdic* in 519, in the Reign of the *Britiſh* King *Arthur*, containing *Cornwal*, *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and *Barkſhire*, and continued 561 years, during the Reigns of Eighteen Kings; the laſt of whom *Egbert* became King of the whole Nation. The fourth Kingdom was of the Eaſt-*Saxons*, begun by *Erchenwin* in the year 527, containing *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*, and continued 281 years, during the Reigns of Fourteen Kings; the laſt of which Kings, *Egbert*, King of the Weſt-*Saxons*, ſubdued, and ſo made the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Saxons* to be a Province to his own Kingdom. The fifth Kingdom was of *Northumberland*, began by *Ella* and *Ida* in the year 547, containing *York-ſhire*, *Durham*, *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmerland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 370 years, during the Reigns of 23 Kings; after the laſt of which, this Kingdom yielded to the Protection of *Egbert* King of the Weſt-*Saxons*. The ſixth Kingdom was of *Mercia*, began by *Crida* in the year 522. containing *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Warwick-ſhire*, *Leiceſter*, *Northampton*, *Derbyſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, and *Hartfordſhire*, and continued 220 years, during the Reigns of Twenty Kings; after which they were ſubdued by the Weſt-*Saxons*. The ſeventh Kingdom was of the *Eaſt Angles*, began by *Uffa* in 575, containing *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the *Iſle of Ely*, and continued 353 years, during the Reigns of Fifteen Kings; and at laſt was ſubject to the Kingdom of the Weſt-*Saxons*: But this Kingdom of the Eaſt-*Angles* was enjoyed by the *Danes* fifty years before the Weſt-*Saxons* had it; ſo the Kingdom of the Eaſt-*Angles* continued diſtinct from the reſt of the Nation in the whole 403 years: So it appears that after King *Vortigerne* the firſt of the *Britain* Kings in the year 455, had called in the *Saxons* out of *Germany* to aſſiſt him in defending the Kingdom againſt the Invaſions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, every *Britain* King who ſucceeded him, loſt ſome part or other of it to the *Saxons*; till at laſt in the year 689, *Cadwallader* the laſt *Britain* King loſt all at his death; and then the *Saxon* Kings ſtriving amongſt themſelves for Sovereignty, they ſtill gained one upon another, till at laſt in the year 818, *Egbert*, or ſome under him, reduced them all under his ſubjection, who then cauſed all the South of the Iſland to be called *England*; the Dominion whereof continued under him and his Succeſſors, till the *Danes* in the year 1017, made the great interruption.

14. King *Egbert* began his Reign in 818, reigned 18 years, at whoſe time the *Danes* began firſt to infeſt *England*; he was buried at *Wincheſter*.
15. King *Ethelwolph* his Son, began his Reign in 836, reigned 21 years.
16. King *Ethelbald* his Son, began his Reign 857, reigned 2 years, and was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorſetſhire*, then an Epiſcopal See.
17. King *Ethelbert* his Brother, began his Reign in 857, reigned 1 years, and was buried at the ſame place.
18. King *Ethelred* his Brother, began his Reign in 864, and was buried at *Winborn* in *Dorſetſhire*.
19. King *Alfred* his Brother, reigned 27 years, who divided *England* into Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, and began the Foundation of the Univerſity of *Oxford* in the year 895, and is accounted the Founder of the Town of *Shaftesbury* in *Dorſetſhire*; and was buried in St. *Peters* in *Wincheſter*, but removed afterward.
20. King *Edward* the Firſt, called *Edward* the Elder, his Son, began his Reign in 901, reigned 24 years, and was buried in the New Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, which his Father and himſelf wholly finiſhed.
21. King *Athelſtan* his eldeſt Son began his Reign in 924. reigned 15 years, who was Knighted by his Grand-father King *Alfred* with his own hands in an extraordinary manner, putting upon him a Purple Robe, and girding him with a Girdle wrought with Pearl. He cauſed the Bible to be Tranſlated into the *Saxon* Tongue, then the Mother Tongue of *England*. He was buried at *Malmsbury* in *Wiltſhire* in the year 940, having never been married.
22. King *Edmund* the Firſt, his Brother, began his Reign in 929, reigned 5 years and 7 months: he was buried a *Glaſtenbury* in *Somerſetſhire*.
23. King *Edred*, his Brother, began his Reign in 946, reigned 9 years; who was crowned King, for that his Nephew *Edwyn*, Son to King *Edmund*, was then in his Minority, the Title of Lord Protector unto a young King being not then in uſe; which King *Edred* died, and was buried in the old Minſter without the City of *Wincheſter*, when his ſaid Nephew was but 14 years old, who notwithſtanding, upon his death, was Crowned King by the name of King *Edwin*. Which
24. King *Edwin*, his Nephew, began his Reign in 955, reigned 4 years, and was buried in the New Abby of *Hyde* at *Wincheſter*.
25. King *Edgar*, his Brother, began his Reign at 16 years of age in 959, reigned 16 years, and was buried with great Funeral Pomp in the Abby of *Glaſtenbury*.
26. King *Edward* the Second, his Son, called *Edward* the Martyr, began his Reign, being but 12 years of Age, in 979, reigned 37 years and 6 months; and was buried at *Wincheſter*; afterwards removed to *Shaftsbury* in *Dorſetſhire*.

27. King

27. King *Ethelred*, his half-brother, began his Reign at 12 years old in 982, reigned 34 years, and was buried in St. *Paul's* Church in *London*.
28. King *Edmund* the Second, his Son, called *Edmund Iron-side*, began his Reign in 1016, reigned 7 moneths, and was buried at *Glastenbury*.
29. King *Canutus* a *Dane*, began his Reign in 1017, reigned 19 years, and was buried in the Old Monastery at *Winchester*.
30. King *Harold* the First, his Son, surnamed *Harefoot*, began his Reign in 1036, reigned 4 years, and 7 months, and was buried at *Westminster*; afterwards thrown into the *Thames*, and then afterwards buried in St. *Clement Danes* Church at *Temple-Barr*, having never been married.
31. King *Hardicnute*, his half-brother, the third and last of the *Danish* Line, began his Reign in 1040, reigned 2 years; which *Danes* had afflicted the Kingdom for the space of 240 years, though in Regal Government but only 26: he was buried at *Winchester*, having never likewise been married.
32. King *Edward* the Third, surnamed the *Confessor*, Half-Brother by the Mother to the last King, King *Hardicnute*, began his Reign in 1042, reigned 23 years and 6 months; he was the first King that Cured the *Kings-Evil*, built the *Abby*-Church of *Westminster*, and St. *Margarets* Church there: he was buried at *Westminster*, who died in the *Painted-Chamber* at *Westminster*.
33. King *Harold* the Second, began his Reign in 1065, reigned 9 months, and was buried in *Waltham* Abby.
34. King *William* the First, a *Norman*, began his Reign in 1066, reigned 20 years and 10 months; and was buried in *Caen* in *Normandy*; whose bones after, in 1562, were removed out of his Tomb, and some of them afterward brought into *England*.
35. King *William* the Second, his Son, began his Reign in 1087, reigned 12 years and 10 months; he died *Aug.* 2. 1099, and was buried in St. *Swithen* in *Winchester*, having never been married.
36. King *Henry* the First, his Brother, began his Reign in 1099, reigned 35 years; he died *Decemb.* 1. 1134. and was buried at *Reading* as to part of his Body; the other part at *Roan* in *Normandy*, where he died.
37. King *Stephen*, his Sisters Son, began his Reign in 1134, reigned 19 years and 10 months; he died at *Dover Octob.* 25. 1154. and was buried at *Feversham* Abby.
38. King *Henry* the Second, his Kinsman, surnamed *Plantagenet*, the first King of that name, began his Reign in 1154, reigned 35 years; he died in *Normandy*, and was there buried at *Fountevevard*.
39. King *Richard* the first, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1189, reigned 9 years and 8 months; he died *April* 6. 1199. and buried, as to part of his body, at *Fountevevard* by his Father, and the other part at two other places.
40. King *John*, his Brother, began his Reign 1199, reigned 17 years and 6 months; he died *Octob.* 19. 1216. and was buried, as to part of his body, at *Worcester*, and the other at *Croxton* Abby.
41. King *Henry* the Third, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1216, reigned 56 years; he died *Novemb.* 16. 1272. and was buried at *Westminster*.
42. King *Edward* the Fourth, otherwise called *Edward* the First, being the first King *Edward* of the *Norman* Line, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1272, reigned 34 years and 7 months: he died *July* 7. 1307. and was buried at *Westminster*.
43. King *Edward* the Fifth, otherwise called *Edward* the Second, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1307, reigned 18 years: he was forced to Resign, and then something more than half a year after, murthered in 1327. and was buried at *Glocester* in the Monastery of St. *Peters*.
44. King *Edward* the Sixth, otherwise called *Edward* the Third, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1327, reigned 50 years and 4 months; he died *June* 21. 1377, aged 63 years, and was buried in *Westminster* Church; who created *Edward* his Eldest Son, Duke of *Cornwal*, *Anno Christi* 1337, being the first Duke that ever was created in *England*.
45. King *Richard* the Second, his Grandson, his Sons Son, began his Reign in 1377, reigned 22 years and 3 months; he was forced to Resign, and then shortly after murthered in 1399, aged 33 years, and was buried in the Church of the Fryers Preachers at *Langley* in *Buckinghamshire*; but after, the Remains of his Body were removed to *Westminster*; who created *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, Marquis of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, being the first Marquis that ever was created by a King of *England*.
46. King *Henry* the Fourth his Cosin, began his Reign in 1399, reigned 13 years and 6 months; he died *March* 20. 1413, aged 46 years, and was buried at *Canterbury*.
47. King *Henry* the Fifth, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1413, reigned 9 years and 5 months; he died *Aug.* 31. 1422. aged 38 years; he was buried at *Westminster*.
48. King *Henry* the Sixth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1422, aged 8 months, reigned 38 years, 6 months, and 4 days, then removed *March* 4. 1460. from the Government; after which, more than 11 years, *viz. May* 21. 1472. he was murthered in the Tower of *London* by *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, afterwards King *Richard* the Third; he was buried at *Chersey*-Abby, but afterwards removed to *Windsor*; aged at his death 52 years, or thereabouts; who created the first Vicount that ever was created in *England*.

49. King

49. King *Edward* the Seventh, otherwise called *Edward* the Fourth his Cosin, began his Reign in 1460; aged 19 years, reigned 22 years and one month; he died *April* 9. 1483, aged 41 years, and was buried at *Windsor*.
50. King *Edward* the Fifth, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1483, aged 10 years, reigned 10 weeks; then removed *Jan.* 18. 1483. shortly after which he was murthered.
51. King *Richard* the Third, his Unkle, the last of the Family of *Plantaginet*, began his Reign in 1483, reigned 2 years and 2 months; slain at the Battel at *Bosworth*, *August* 22. 1485, aged 37 years; and was buried at *Leicester* in the *Gray-Friers* Church, but afterwards all or the most part of the Remains of his Body carried none knowes whither: he died without Issue.
52. King *Henry* the Seventh, his Kinsman, of the surname of *Ap Thomas ap Theodore*, began his Reign in 1485, reigned 23 years and 8 months; he died at *Richmond April* 22. 1509, aged 52 years, and was buried at *Westminster*.
53. King *Henry* the Eighth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1509, reigned 37 years, 9 months and 6 days; he died *Jan.* 28. 1546. aged 55 years, and was buried at *Windsor*.
54. King *Edward* the Sixth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1546, reigned 6 years, 5 months and 9 days; he died *July* 6. 1553. aged 15 years, and was buried at *Westminster*.
55. Queen *Mary*, his eldest Sister of the Half-blood, began her Reign in 1553. reigned 5 years, 4 months and 11 days; She died *November* 17. 1558. aged 43 years, and was buried at *Westminster*.
56. Queen *Elizabeth*, her only Sister of the Half-Blood, the last of the Family of *Ap Thomas ap Theodore*, began her Reign in 1558, aged 25 years, reigned 44 years, 4 months and 7 days; She died *March* 24. 1602. aged 69 years, 6 months and 7 dayes, and was buried at *Westminster*.
57. King *James* her Cosin, the first of the Family of *Stuart*, and King of *Scotland*, began his Reign in 1602, reigned 22 years and 3 dayes; he died *March* 27. 1625. at *Theobalds*, aged 58 years, and was buried at *Westminster*; who in the Year 1611, the Ninth Year of his Reign, erected the Degree of Baronet of *England*, in that Year creating Sir *Nicholas Bacon* of *Redgrave* in Suffolk, Knight, and others, unto the Dignity and Degree of Baronet of *England*.
58. King *Charles* the First, Christened by the Name of *Charles-James*, his only Son surviving, the second of the Family of *Stuart*, began his Reign in 1625, reigned 23 years, 10 months, and 3 dayes; he died *Jan.* 30. 1648, aged 48 years, 2 months and 11 days, and was buried at *Windsor*.
59. King *Charles* the Second, Christned by the name of *Charles-Frederick*, his eldest Son surviving, Reigns now in this present Year 1678.

The

The KING'S Pedigree in a direct Line from King EGBERT.

Egbert King of *England*.

King *Ethelwolph*.

King *Alfred*.

Edward the First, called *Edward* the Elder.

King *Edgar*.

King *Ethelred*.

Edmund the Second, called *Edmund Ironside*.

Edward called *Edward* the *Out-law*, a private Person, though Son and Heir to the last King.

Edgar Atheling likewise never enjoyed the Crown.

Margaret the Wife of *Malcolme* King of *Scotland*.

Mathilda the Wife of *Henry* the First, King of *England*.

Maud Empress of *Germany*, the Wife of *Geoffery Plantaginet* Earl of *Anjou*.

Henry the Second.

King *John*.

Henry the Third.

Edward the First, *aliàs* the Fourth of that Name.

Edward the Second, *aliàs* the Fifth of that Name.

Edward the Third, *aliàs* the Sixth of that Name.

Lyonel Duke of *Clarence*, Third Son, died in the Life-time of his Father, but his Issue were afterwards True Heirs to the Crown.

Philippa his only Daughter and Heir, the Wife of *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*.

Roger Mortimer Earl of *March*.

Anne his Daughter and Heir, the Wife of *Richard Plantaginet* Earl of *Cambridge*.

Richard Plantaginet Duke of *York*.

Edward the Fourth, *aliàs* the Seventh of that Name.

Elizabeth his eldest Daughter and Co-heir, the Wife of *Henry ap Thomas ap Theodore*, called *Henry* the Seventh King of *England*.

Margaret their Eldest Daughter, the Wife of *James Stuart*, called *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*; The Issue of which *Margaret* were and are now True Heirs to the Crown.

James the Fifth King of *Scotland*.

Mary Queen of *Scots*, the Wife of *Henry Stuart*, Duke of *Albanie*, and Earl of *Rossan*, but before his marrying the Queen he was called Lord *Darnely*, as being the Eldest Son of *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*.

James King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*.

King *Charles* the First.

King *Charles* the Second, now Reigning.

A CATALOGUE OF THE NOBILITY,

Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Privy Councellors, Judges, and Baronets of *ENGLAND.*

DUKES of ENGLAND.

5. HIS Royal Highneſſe, *James* Duke of *York*, and Duke of *Albany*; Earl of *Ulſter*, Knight of the Illuſtrious Order of the *Garter*; Prince of the Royal Blood of *England*; Sole ſurviving Brother of our Sacred Sovereign *CHARLES* the Second, and Son of King *Charles* the Firſt, of moſt Bleſſed Memory, being the late Monarch-Proto-Martyr of *England*, whoſe Illuſtrious Son *James*, was by him called Duke of *York* at the time of his Chriſtning; But created by Patent, the 27th. of *January*, 1643. in the 19th. year of his Fathers Reign.

4. His Illuſtrious Highneſſe, *Rupert*, Duke of *Cumberland*, and Earl of *Holderneſs*, Knight of the Garter, Prince of the Royal Blood of *England*, Privy Councellor, Nephew unto the late King *Charles* the Firſt, and only Brother ſurvivant unto *Charles Guſtavus*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, Conſtable of *Windſor* Caſtle, and Lord Lieutenant of *Berkſhire*, Created Duke by his Unkle, *Charles* the Firſt, *January* the 24th. 1643. in the 19th year of his Reign.

1. The moſt High, Potent, and Noble Prince, *Henry Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*; Earl of *Arundell*, *Surrey*, *Norfolk* and *Norwich*; Baron *Howard*, *Fitz-Allen*, *Matravers*, *Mowbray*, *Seagrave*, *Bruſe*, *Clunn*, and *Howard* of *Caſtle-Riſing*: Sir *John Howard* Knight, his Illuſtrious Anceſtor, (who was ſummoned a Baron to the Parliament, in 1461. by King *Edward* the 4th of the *Norman* Line, but the 7th of that name, King of *England*) was afterwards created Duke of *Norfolk*, by *Richard* the Third, *June* 28. 1483. and made Knight of the Garter; at which time his Son *Thomas* was alſo created Earl of *Surrey*. This Duke in the lifetime of the Duke his elder Brother, was *March* 27. 1669. created Baron *Howard* of *Caſtle-Riſing*; and was afterwards *Octob.* 19. 1672. created Earl of *Norwich*, and Earl Marſhal of *England*.

2. *Francis de Sanctis Maure*, (pronounced *Seamour*) Duke of *Somerſet*, Earl of *Hertford*, Viſcount *Beauchamp*, Baron *Seamour*, and *Seamour* of *Trarbridge*. Whoſe Anceſtor Earl *Edward* of *Hertford*, and maternal Unkle to *Edward* the Sixth, of the *Norman* Line, was by him created Duke of *Somerſet*, *Febr.* 17. in the year 1546. in the firſt year of his Reign; which *Edward* was created Earl, 18. *Octob.* 1537. by King *Henry* the Eighth, 29th of his Reign. *William* Earl of *Hertford* his Great Grand-ſon, was created Marqueſs of *Hertford* by King *Charles* the Firſt, *June* the Third, 1641.

1641. Which Title of Marquis determined with his Iſſue Male. Sir *Francis de Sancto Maure*, Knight, this Duke's Grandfather, was created Baron *Seymour* of *Trarbridge*, *Febr.* 19. 1640. 16 *Car.* I dyed in 1664. unto whom ſucceeded his Son Baron *Charles*, who dyed in 1665. who was the Father of this Duke.

3. *George Villiers*, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Coventrey*, Viſcount *Villiers*, and Baron *Whaddon* of *Whaddon*; Chancellour (as his Father before him) of the Famous Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and Companion of the Royal Order of the Garter: He is the onely Son ſurvivant, and Heir of that thrice Illuſtrious Peer, and Pole-ſtar in the firmament of our Horizon, the late *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, ſo created by King *James* of bleſſed Memory in the 21. year of his Reign, 1623.

Charles Stuart, Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Earl of *March* and *Lichfield*, Baron of *Layton-Bromſwold*, Steward of *Newberry*, *Darneley*, *Mertiven*, and St. *Andrews*, and Knight of the Garter. Duke *James* of *Lenox*, his Unkle, created Duke of *Richmond*, *Aug.* 18. 1641. 17 *Car.* I. whoſe Father, the Lord *Eſme Stuart*, was created Earl of *March*, and Baron of *Layton Bromſwold*, in 1619. 17 *Jac.*

6. *Chriſtopher Monck*, Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Torrington*, Baron *Monck* of *Potheridge*, *Beauchamp* and *Teyes*; One of the Gentlemen of His Majeſties Bed-Chamber, Collonel Commander of one of His Majeſties late rais'd Regiments, and Companion of the Royal Order of the Garter. He is the ſole Son and Heir of his moſt Renowned, and highly Magnanimous Father, the late Illuſtrious *George* Duke of *Albemarle*; To which Title of Duke his Son ſucceeded his ſaid Father, being created Duke by King *Charles* the Second, *July* 7. 1660.

7. *James Scott*, Duke of *Monmouth* and of *Buckleingh*; Earl of *Doncaſter*, and of *Dalkeith*, Baron of *Tyndal*, *Whitchoſter* and *Aſtodale*; One of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Councel, Great Captain Commander of his Majeſties Royal Life-Guard; General of the *Engliſh* Forces now militant in *France*; and Knight of the Thrice Noble Order of the Garter.

8. *Henry Cavendiſh*, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of *New-Caſtle*; Earl of *Ogle*, Viſcount *Mansfield*, Baron *Ogle*, *Bertram*, and *Bolſover*; One of the Gentlemen of his Majeſties Bed-Chamber, and one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Councel; Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Nottingham*. *William* his Father was created Viſcount *Mansfield*, 18. *Jac.* 1620. and Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and Baron *Bolſover* in 1627. *Anno tertio* Caroli *primi*; Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, *Oct.* 27. 1643. 19 *Car.* I. and Duke of *New-Caſtle*, and Earl of *Ogle*, in 1664.

9. *Barbara Villiers*, Daughter and Heir unto the late *William* Vicount *Grandiſon* in *Ireland*, Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*, Counteſs of *Southampton* and *Caſtlemayne*, and Baroneſs of *Nonſuch*, and *Palmer* of *Limrick*; created in 1670.

10. *Loviſe de Querovalle*, Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, Counteſs of *Faram* alias *Farnham*, and Baroneſs of *Peterſfield*; ſo created for her life, *Auguſt* 19. 1673.

11. *Charles Lenox*, Duke of *Richmond*, Earl of *March*, and Baron of *Setrington*; created *Aug.* 9. 1675.

12. *Charles Fitz-Roy*, Duke of *Southampton*, Earl of *Chicheſter*, and Baron of *Newberry*; created *Sept.* 10. 1675.

13. *Henry Fitz-Roy*, Duke of *Grafton*, Earl of *Euſton*, Vicount *Ipſwich*, and Baron of *Sudbury*; created Earl, Vicount, and Baron, in or about 1672. and Duke, *Sept.* 11. 1675.

The Son, Brother, Unkle, and Nephew of the King, have Precedency of all other Dukes, by Act of Parliament, 31 *Hen.* 8. Chap. 10. Which Brother, Unkle, and Nephew, are onely Princes of the Royal Blood of *England*: Which Priviledge ends with them, and deſcends not unto their Poſterity. The firſt Duke of *England*, according unto Antiquity, is the Duke of *Norfolk*.

MARQUIS's of England.

1. THE moſt Noble and Potent Prince *Charles Pawlet* Marquis of *Winchcſter*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Baron *S. John of Bazing*, *Le premier Marquis D'Angleterre*, lineally deſcended from Sir *William Pawlet*, Knight, and Knight of the Garter, and of that Ancient Knightly Family of the *Pawlets* in *Wilts*; and the Heir general of the Lord *St. John* of *Bazing* in *Hants*. Which Sir *William* was created Baron *St. John* of *Bazing* by King *Hen.* 8. 30th of his Reign, to whom he was Treaſurer of his Houſhold. He was Lord High Steward of the Houſhold to *Edward* the 6th, of the *Norman* Line, Preſident of the Privy Councel to *Henry* the 8th, *Edward* the 6th, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*; and Lord Treaſurer of *England* under the Three laſt Princes, and living to ſee an hundred and three perſons iſſued out of his Loins; Died in the 87th year of his age, at his Mannor of *Bazing*, the 10th of *March*, 1571. From that Marquis *William*, is lineally deſcended the preſent *Charles*, ſucceſſively the 6th Marquis of *Winchcſter*, by the name of *Pawlet*.

2. *Henry Somerſet*, Marquis and Earl of *Worceſter*, Earl

Earl of *Glamorgan*, Baron *Herbert* of *Chepſtow*, *Ragland*, and *Gower*; One of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council; Lord Preſident of the *Marches* of *Wales*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Glouceſter*, *Hereford*, and *Monmouth*, and Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter: Deſcended from *Henry Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, Earl of *Somerſet* and *Meriton*, and Lord of *Chirk*, *Chirkland*, and Knight of the Garter; Sir *Charles Somerſet* Knight, Lord *Herbert*, Anceſtor unto the preſent Marquis, was created Earl of *Worceſter*, *Febr.* 1. 1514. by *Henry* the Eighth, in the 5th year of his Reign, as appears by part of the Patent of his Creation of Earls, which differing from moſt Patents is here expreſs'd; *Conſiderantes generis Nobilitatem, & præcipue nobis in ſanguine propinquitatem, probatiſſimi viri, amantiſſimi conſanguinei noſtri*, Caroli Somerſet, *militis Domini* Herbert, *& Camerarii noſtri, qui nullis cedens laboribus aut expenſis, ſe nobis obſequioſum ſemper adhibuit, volenteſque proinde eundem* Carolum Somerſet *militem, condignis honoribus & regalibus præmiis ornare, ampliare & ſublimare: de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, & ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris, de aſſenſu Dominorum Spiritualium & Temporalium, Procerumque & Communitatis Regni noſtri Angliæ in præſenti Parliamento apud* Weſtmonaſterium *convocato, exiſtentium, ipſum* Carolum *in Comitem* Wigorn. *ereximus, præfecimus, & creavimus, & per præſentes erigimus, præficimus, & creamus, & ei nomen, ſtatum, ſtilum, titulum, honorem, & dignitatem Comitis* Wigorn. *cum omnibus & ſingulis præeminentiis, honoribus, & cæteris quibuſcunque hujuſmodi ſtatui Comitis* Wigorn. *pertinentibus, ſive ſpectantibus, damus & concedimus per præſentes, ipſumque* Carolum *hujuſmodi ſtatu, ſtilo, titulo, honore, & dignitate, per cincturam gladii inſignimus, inveſtimus, & realiter nobilitamus. Habendum*, &c. *Dat per manum noſtrum apud* Weſtm. *primo die* Februarii, *Anno Regni noſtri quinto.* He was Vice-Chamberlain unto *Henry* the 7th. afterwards Lord Chamberlain both unto him and unto *Henry* the 8th. He was alſo Lord *Herbert* of *Gower*, *Chepſtow*, and *Ragland*. The ſame day he was made an Earl, he was made Lord Chamberlain for Term of his Life, for which he had a particular Patent. He was by *Henry* the Seventh made a Privy Counſellor, and Knight of the Garter, and Captain of his Guard. He died in 1526. 17 *Hen.* 8. aged ninety ſeven years. Which was the Father of the firſt Earl *Henry*, who died aged eighty four years, which two Earls lived nineſcore and one year; the laſt of whom was the Father of Earl *William*, who died *Febr.* 22. 1588. 31 *Eliz.* at his houſe by St. *John's* at *London*, and was buried at *Ragland April* the 30th following, 1589. who was the Father of Earl *Edward*, who died in 1627. who was the Father of the the ſecond Earl *Henry*, who, *Novemb.* 2. 1642. 18 *Car.* 1. was created Marquis of *Worceſter*; and died in 1646. who was the Father of Marquis *Edward*, who in 1645. was created Earl of *Glamorgan*, in the life-time of his Father the firſt Marquis *Henry*. Which Marquis *Edward* died in 1667. the Father of the ſecond Marquis *Henry* now living.

3. *Henry Pierepont* Marquis of *Dorcheſter*, Earl of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, Viſcount *Newark* upon *Trent*, and Baron *Pierepoint* of *Holme-Pierepoint*, *Manners*, and *Herris*; one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy-Council, and a Peer conſpicuouſly eminent for his univerſal Learning; ſucceeded, as unto that Earldom, his Renowned Father, *Robert* Earl of *Kingſton*, who was killed in 1643. in the cauſe of his King and Countrey, and was created Baron, Viſcount, and Earl of *Kingſton*, by *Charles* the Firſt, and his Son *Henry* was moſt deſervedly created Marquis of *Dorcheſter* by the ſame King, *March* 25. 1645. 20th of his Reign.

The Title of Noble and Potent Prince is given unto Marquiſſes in the Stalls of the Knights of the Garter at *Windſor*, and in ſeveral Books formerly printed; and the other Titles are likewiſe given unto the other Degrees herein mentioned.

The EARLS *of* ENGLAND.

1. THE moſt Noble, Potent, and Honourable; *Aubrey* (in Latine *Alberius*,) *de Vere*, the firſt Earl of *England*, Earl of *Oxford*, Baron *Bolbeck*, *Sandford* and *Badelſmere*, one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy-Council; Collonel-Commander of his Majeſties Regimental Horſe-Guard; Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Eſſex*, and Knight of the Thrice Noble Order of the Garter; Is ſucceſſively the twenty ſecond Earl of this Name, all which have been Earls of *Oxford*; one of them Marquis of *Dublin*, and Duke of *Ireland*; thirteen of them Lord High-Chamberlains of *England*, ten of them Knights of the Garter, ſome of them Governours of Great Counties and Caſtles; others of them Founders of Priories, Chappels and Religious Houſes; and moſt of them Peers of moſt High Renown and Honour.

Joceline Percy Earl of *Northumberland*, Baron *Percy* of *Alnaick*, *Lucy*, *Poynings*, *Fitz-Pain*, and *Bryan*: Deceaſed in or about 1670. without iſſue male, whoſe Anceſtor, *Henry* Baron *Percy* of *Alnaick*, was at the Coronation of *Richard* the Second, 1377. created Earl of *Northumberland*.

2. *Charles Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord *Talbot*, *Strange* of *Blackmere*, *Gifford* of *Brimſfield*, *Furnival*, *Verdon* and *Lovetoft*; Whoſe Anceſtor *John Talbot*, Baron *Talbot*, *Strange* of *Black*

Blackmere, Lord *Furnival* and *Verdon*, Son and Heir of *Richard* Lord *Talbot*, a Baron of High Blood, and Perſonal Valour, was created Earl of *Shrewsbury* by King *Henry* the 6th, *May* 20. 1422. 20th of his Reign. He was alſo created Earl of *Waſhford*, and Steward of *Ireland*, by the ſame King, *July* 17. 1426. 24th of his Reign, and afterwards Marſhall of *France*; under whoſe Brave Courage and Prudent Conduct, the *Engliſh* Affairs in *France* flouriſh'd exceedingly: But after his Death (who was there ſlain by a Gun out of a Tower) our then Armies in *France* declined daily more and more, and at laſt dwindled into nothing. This now living Earl *Charles* is the Twelfth Earl of *Shrewsbury*; of whom five of them were Knights of the Garter.

3. *Anthony Grey* Earl of *Kent*, Deſcended from *Edmond Grey*, Lord *Grey*, Baron *Ruthin*, after the Vacancy of the Earldom of *Kent* by the death of *William Nevil* Lord *Falconberg*, who laſt enjoyed it, was created Earl of *Kent* by King *Edward* the 4th, of the *Norman* Line, in the fifth year of his Reign, 1465. His Father was *John* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, the Son of *Roger Grey* Baron of *Ruthin*, which Lordſhip he had by the Gift of his Father *John* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, and was created Baron *Ruthin* by *Edward* the Firſt, of the *Norman* Line. The Wife of which *Roger*, *Elizabeth* the Daughter of *John* Lord *Haſtings* of *Burgaveny*, was Couſin and Heir unto *John* Lord *Haſtings* Earl of *Pembroke*; who dyed in the 4th year of King *Henry* the 7th, without Iſſue, ſo that the Titles of this *Anthony* are, Earl of *Kent*, Baron *Grey*, *Haſtings* and *Valence*; and is the Tenth Earl ſucceſſively of this Family, by the Noble Name of *Grey*.

4. *William Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, Lord *Stanley* and *Strange* of *Knocking* and *Mohun*, Lord of the Iſle of *Man*, Lord Lieutenant of *Lancaſhire*, and Vice-Admiral of the Coaſts of *Cheſhire*: He deſcended from *Thomas* Lord *Stanley* and Lord of *Man*, who was created Earl of *Derby* by King *Henry* the 7th, and alſo Lord Conſtable of *England*. His Father *Charles* lately dead, he became ſucceſſively the Ninth Earl of his Name of *Derby*.

5. *John Manners* Earl of *Rutland*, Baron *Roos* of *Hamelacke*, *Trusbut* and *Belvoire*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Leiceſter*; whoſe Anceſtor *Thomas Manners* Knight of the Garter, Lord *Roos*, by his Mother *Anne* deſcended from *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, and Earl of *Derby*. The which *Thomas* was created Earl of *Derby* by King *Henry* the 8th, *June* 18. in the 17th year of his Reign, 1525. The Grandfather of this *Thomas* called Sir *Robert Manners*, married *Eleanor* Siſter and Heir of *Edward* Baron *Roos*. This Earl *John* now living, is the Eighth Earl of *Rutland*, by the Name of *Manners*.

6. *Theophilus Haſtings* Earl of *Hungerford*, Baron *Haſtings*, *Botereaux*, *Molins*, and *Moeles*; Deſcended from *George* Earl of *Huntington*, Lord Baron *Haſtings*, *Botereaux*, *Molins* and *Moels*, and Knight of the Garter, was Son of *Edward* Lord *Haſtings*, Lord Chamberlain to King *Edward* the Fourth of the *Norman* Line, and of *Mary* his Wife, which was Niece and Heir to *Robert Hungerford*, Lord *Hungerford Boterlaune*, *Molins* and *Moels*: The which *George* was created Earl, *Decemb.* 8. 1529. in the Twenty firſt year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth: So that the now living *Theophilus* is the 24th Earl of *Huntington* by Title, and ſucceſſively the ſeventh Earl by the Name of *Haſtings*.

Thomas Wriothesly Earl of *Southampton*, and Baron *Wriothesly* of *Tichfield*; whoſe Great Grandfather, Baron *Thomas Wriothesly* of *Tichfield*, was created Earl, *Febr.* 17. 1546. 1 *Edw.* 6. of the *Norman* Line: The laſt Earl *Thomas* dyed without Iſſue Male, on *Thurſday*, *May* 16. 1667.

7. *William Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford*, Baron *Ruſſel* of *Taveſtock*, and Baron *Ruſſel* of *Thornhaugh*, Knight of the *Bath*, and of the Illuſtrious Order of the Garter; Deſcended from that Memorable Perſon of his time, *John Ruſſel* Knight of the Garter, Comptroller of the Houſhold to King *Henry* the Eighth, and one of his Privy Council: Who was by the ſame King, upon the ſeventh day of the *Ides* of *March*, 1538. in the 30th year of his Reign, created Lord *Ruſſel*, and Lord Privy Seal: And the 14th day before the Calends of *February*, 1549. in the Third year of *Edward* the Sixth, of the *Norman* Line, was created Earl of *Bedford*. He was originally deſcended from a very Antient Family in the County of *Dorſet*, ſome part of the Demeſnes of whoſe Anceſtors are ſtill at this day in the poſſeſſion of this preſent *William* Earl of *Bedford*, who is by Title the fifth Earl of *Bedford*, by the Name of *Ruſſel*, and of this Right Noble Name and Family the third Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter,

8. *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiffe*, *Roos* of *Kendall*, *Parbe*, *Marmion*, *St. Quintin*, *Fitz-hugh*, and *Skurland*, &c. Whoſe Anceſtor *William* was Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiffe*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and Knight of the Garter; Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King *Henry* the Eighth, &c. From whom this Earl *Philip* is the 10th Earl of *Pembroke* by the Noble Name of *Herbert*, created Earl of *Pembroke*, *Octob.* 11. 1551. 5th of *Edward* the Sixth, of the *Norman* Line.

9. *Edward Fiennes*, otherwiſe *Tankerville*, Grandchild of *Theophilus* Earl of *Lincoln*, Baron *Clinton*, and Knight of the Bath; lineaſy deſcended from that Famous *Edward Fiennes*, Lord *Clinton*, Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Admiral of *England*, and one of the Lords of Queen *Elizabeth's* Privy Council; by whom he was on the 4th of *May*, 1572. in the 14th year of her Reign, created Earl of *Lincoln*; he lineally derived himſelf from *John* Baron of *Clinton*, and Earl of *Huntington*, in the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, of the *Norman* Line; whoſe next Heir male ſucceeding in the Barony of *Clinton*, married *Idonea* eldeſt Daugh-

Daughter of *Geoffry* Lord *Say*, Baron of *Seal*, from whose Daughter and Coheir *Joan*, married to Sir *William Fiennes* of *Herst-Monchanke* in *Kent*, descended the two Houses of the *Fiennes*; whereof the one was Viscount *Say* and *Seal*, and the other Lord *Dacres* of the *South*. There have been Thirteen Earls of *Lincoln* by several names; And five by the Name and Family of this Earl of *Lincoln*.

10. *Charles Howard* Earl of *Nottingham*, and Baron *Howard* of *Effingham*, descended from *William Howard*, Lord *Effingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, Lord Chamberlain to Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, one of her Majesties Privy Council, and one of the Knights of the Garter; Was, for his signal Service (with *Robert Devereux* Earl of *Essex*) in sacking of *Calis*, created in 1599. Earl of *Nottingham*, in right of his Descent, from the' Renowned *Mowbayes* Dukes of *Norfolk*, and Earls of *Nottingham*.

11. *James Howard* Earl of *Suffolk*; and Baron *Howard* of *Walden*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Suffolk* and *Cambridge*, and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King *Charles* the Second. He is likewise a Descendent from that numerously Noble Family of the Dukes of *Norfolk*: The which *James* his Grand-father was *Thomas* Baron *Howard* of *Walden*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Knight of the Garter, Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Houshold, second Son of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, by *Margaret* his Wife, Daughter and onely Heir of *Thomas Audley* Baron *Audley* of *Walden*, created Earl in *July* 1603. 1 *Jac.*

12. *Charles Sackville* Earl of *Dorset*, and of *Middlesex*, Baron *Buckhurst*, and *Cranfield* of *Cranfield*; Descended from a Noble Family of that Name, and lineally from that most Memorable Man of his time, both for the eminence of his Learning, and high abilities, Baron *Thomas Sackville*, Baron *Buckhurst*, twice Lord Ambassadour from Queen *Elizabeth*, *viz.* once to *France*, and once to the *Netherlands*, Privy Councellor to the said Queen, Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, High Butler of *England*, and Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter; and lastly, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, made by the said Queen *Elizabeth*, and made Earl of *Dorset* by King *James* of Blessed Memory, in 1605. in the Third year of his Reign. Who was the Great Grandfather of the present Earl. This Earl was created Earl of *Middlesex*, and Baron *Cranfield* of *Cranfield*, *Febr.* 4. 1674.

13. *James Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, Viscount of *Cranbourn*, and Baron *Cecil* of *Essenden*: Descended from a very Ancient and Honourable Family of that Name; who had for his immediate Ancestor, his Great Grandfather Sir *Robert Cecil* Knight, Son of Sir *William Cecil* Knight, Lord *Burleigh*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, Knight of the Garter, one of the Lords of the Privy Council to Queen *Elizabeth*, Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*; who, following the steps of so worthy a Father, was himself by the same Queen made Principal Secretary of State, one of her Majesties Privy Council, Master of the Court of Wards, and Chancellour of the University of *Cambridge*; and in the end was created by King *James*, in the first year of his Reign, Baron *Cecil*, Baron of *Essenden* in *Rutlandshire*, created, in his Second year, Viscount of *Cranbourn* in *Dorsetshire*, and created in his Third year, Earl of *Salisbury*, in his Fourth year made Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Treasurer of *England*: Which Earl *Robert* dyed in 1612. aged about 58 years, who was the Father of Earl *William*, who dyed *Dec.* 3. 1668. in the 78th year of his age, who was the Father of *Charles* Viscount of *Cranbourn*, who dyed in or about 1659. before his Father, by which means *James*, his surviving onely Son, the now Earl, succeeded his Grandfather as unto the Earldome of *Salisbury*.

14. *John Cecil* Earl of *Exeter*, Baron of *Burleigh*, whose Fathers Great Grand-father, *Thomas* Baron of *Burleigh*, was created Earl the 4th of *May* 1605, in the Third year of the Reign of King *James*.

15. *John Egerton* Earl of *Bridgewater*, Viscount *Brackley*, Baron *Ellesmere*, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Buckingham*; whose Father *John* was Earl of *Bridgewater*, Viscount *Brackley*, Baron *Ellesmere*, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, Lord President of *Wales*, and Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter; was created Earl of *Bridgewater*, 1617. 15 *Jac. May* 17th; whose Son, Earl *John*, the Inheritor of his Fathers Virtues and Noble Endowments, succeeded to his Title of *Bridgewater*.

16. *Philip Sidney* Earl of *Leicester*, Viscount *Lisle*, Baron *Sidney* of *Penshurst*, was the Son of *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, who dyed in 1677. who was the Son of *Robert* Viscount *Lisle*, who was created Earl, *Aug.* 2. 1618. in the Sixteenth year of King *James*.

17. *James Compton* Earl of *Northampton*, and Baron *Compton* of *Compton*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Warwick*, *Custos Rotulorum* of the County of *Northampton*, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council; whose Memorable Right Valiant Father, *Spencer* Earl of *Northampton*, was kill'd in the late Wars, in the defence of his King and Countrey: and whose right Noble Grand-father *William* Baron *Compton* of *Compton*, was created Earl of *Northampton* 1618. in the Sixteenth year of King *James*.

18. *Edward Rich* Earl of *Warwick*, and Earl of *Holland*, Baron *Rich* of *Leez*, and Baron *Kensington* of *Kensington*, whose Father was *Robert* Earl of *Warwick* and of *Holland*; who was the Son of *Henry* Baron *Kensington*, who was created Earl of *Holland* 1624. in the 24th of King *James*, the Title of *Warwick* and Barony of *Leez* falling to his late Father by the death of his late Father's Cousin Germane the

late

late *Charles* Earl of *Warwick*. His Great Grand-father *Robert* Baron *Rich* of *Leez* was created Earl of *Warwick* in 1618. 16 *Jac.*

19. *William Cavendiſh* Earl of *Devonſhire*, Baron *Cavendiſh* of *Hardwick*, Knight of the *Bath*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Derby*, and one of the Learned'ſt Peers of his age, and Liberalleſt Promoters of learned Lucubrations; Is the elder Houſe of the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, whoſe thrice Noble Grand-father, Lord *William Cavendiſh*, Baron *Cavendiſh* of *Hardwick* in the County of *Derby*, was created Earl of *Devon.* in *Aug.* 1618. in the 16th year of King *James*.

John Ramſey Earl of *Holderneſs*, and Baron of *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, in *England*, and Viſcount *Hadington* in *Scotland*, created Earl *Decemb.* 30. 1620. 18 *Jac.* dyed without Iſſue. Extinct.

James Hay Earl of *Carliſle*, Viſcount *Doncaſter*, Baron *Hay* of *Sauley*, and Knight of the Bath; whoſe Father *James* Viſcount *Doncaſter*, was created Earl *Sept.* 13. 1622. 20 *Jac.* which *James* the ſecond Earl of *Carliſle* died in 1660. without Iſſue male, whereupon all his Titles were Extinct.

20. *Baſil Fielding* (*alias de Hapsburgh*) Earl of *Denbigh*, and *Deſmond*, Viſcount *Fielding*, Baron of *Newnham-padox* and St. *Liz*, whoſe Grand-father *William* Viſcount *Fielding* was created Earl in 1622. *Reg. Jacobi* 20. and ſlain in the late Civil Wars, in the behalf of his Maſter *Charle* the Firſt, of Bleſſed Memory.

21. *John Digby* Earl of *Briſtol*, Baron *Digby* of *Shirborne*; whoſe Grand-father *John* Baron *Digby* of *Shirborne*, many years Lord Liedger Ambaſſadour to, and in the Court of *Spain*, was created Earl of *Briſtol*, *Sept.* 15. 1622. *Regis Jacobi*, 20.

Lionel Cranfield Earl of *Middleſex*, whoſe Father *Lionel* Baron *Cranfield*, and Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, was created Earl of *Middleſex* in 1622. *Reg. Jac.* 20. Dyed in or about 1675. without Iſſue.

Charles Villiers Earl of *Angleſea*, and Baron of *Daventry*, whoſe Father, *Chriſtopher Villiers*, was ſo created *Sept.* 24. in 1624. 2 *Jac.* which Earl *Charles* deceaſed in 1660, whereupon all his Titles were extinct.

22. *Gilbert Holles* Earl of *Clare*, Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton*; whoſe Grand-father *John* Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton*, was created Earl of *Clare*, *Nov.* 2. 1624. *Reg. Jacobi* 22. and dyed on *Wedneſday Octob.* 4 *Anno* 1637. in the Seventy fourth year of his age, 13 *Car.* 1. Earl *John* the ſecond, his eldeſt Second, dyed on *Tueſday*, *January* the ſecond, 1665. in the Seventy firſt year of his age; unto whom moſt worthily ſucceeded his eldeſt and onely Son, at his deceaſe, *Gilbert* the now Earl.

23. *Oliver St. John* Earl of *Bullingbrook*, and Lord Baron *St. John* of *Bletſoe*; whoſe Grand-father, *Oliver* Lord *St. John*, Baron of *Bletſoe*, and Knight of the Bath, was created Earl of *Bullingbrook* 1624. *Regis Jacobi* 22.

24. *Charles Fane* Earl of *Weſtmerland*, Lord *de le Spencer* and *Burwaſh*; whoſe Grand-father *Francis Fane* Knight of the Bath, was created Earl, 1624. *Jacobi Regis*, 22. Earl *Mildmay* his Son dyed in *Anno* 1665. or 1666, unto whom worthily ſucceeded the now Earl *Charles*, his eldeſt Son.

25. *Robert Montague* Earl of *Manchester*, Viſcount *Mandevil*, Baron of *Kimbolton*, one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſties Bed-Chamber, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Huntington*; whoſe Grand-father, *Henry* Viſcount *Mandevil*, Baron of *Kimbolton*, Lord Privy Seal, Preſident, and one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council, was created Earl of *Manchester*, 1625. *primo Caroli primi*, ſome dayes before his Coronation, being his firſt Coronation Earl: at which time there were eight Coronation Earls, but no Coronation Barons.

26. *Charles Howard* Earl of *Berkshire*, Viſcount *Andover*, Baron *Howard* of *Charleton*, Knight of the Bath: A Branch of that Renowned and Ducal Stock of the *Howards* of *Norfolk*; whoſe Father *Thomas* Viſcount *Andover*, and one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council, and Knight of the Garter, ſecond Son of *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, was created Earl of *Berkshire* in 1625. *Anno primo* Caroli *primi*, at the ſame time with the former Earl, being the ſecond Coronation Earl, who dyed *Anno* 1669.

Thomas Wentworth Earl of *Cleveland*, and Baron *Wentworth* of *Nettleſtead*, created Earl at the ſame time with the two former Earls; died *March* 26. 1667. without Iſſue male, whereby that Earldom was extinguiſhed; who was the third Coronation Earl.

27. *John Sheffeild* Earl of *Mulgrave*, and Lord *Sheffeild* of *Butterwick*, Vice-Admiral of the Coaſts of *Yorkshire*; whoſe Great Grand-father Earl *Edmund* Baron *Sheffeild* of *Butterwick*, one of the Lords of the Privy Council, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, was created Earl of *Mulgrave* in 1625. *Anno primo* Caroli *primi*, at the ſame time with the three former Earls; who was the fourth Coronation Earl.

Henry Cary Earl of *Monmouth*, and Baron *Cary* of *Leppington*, died without Iſſue male in 1661. whereby that Earldom was extinct. His Father *Robert* Baron *Cary* of *Leppington* was created Earl at the ſame time with the four former Earls, who was the fifth Coronation Earl.

28. *William Ley* Earl of *Marlborough*, Baron *Ley* of *Ley*, whoſe Father *James* Baron *Leigh* of *Leigh*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, was created Earl at the ſame time with the five former Earls. This Earl *William* ſucceeded his Renowned Nephew Earl *James* the ſecond, ſlain at Sea, 1665. in *June*, in that ſo ſignal Sea-Fight betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*; who was the ſixth Coronation Earl.

George Carew, Earl of *Totnes*, created Earl with the ſix former Earls, at the ſame time; who died without Iſſue, who was the ſeventh Coronation Earl.

Henry Danvers Earl of *Danbigh*, Baron *Danvers*

of

of *Dauſey*, Knight of the Garter, and Privy Councellor unto the late King, created Earl with the Seven former Earls, at the ſame time, dyed a Batchelour in 1643. who was the Eighth and laſt Coronation Earl.

29. *Nicholas Knowles* Earl of *Banbury*, Viſcount *Wallingford*, and Lord *Knowles* of *Greyes*, whoſe Father *William* Viſcount *Wallingford*, was created Earl of *Banbury* in 1625. *primo* Caroli *primi Regis*. Dyed in or about 1673.

30. *Thomas Savage* Earl of *Rivers*, Viſcount *Colcheſter* and *Rock-Savage*, and Baron *Darcy* of *Chich*; whoſe Grand-mothers Father *Thomas Darcy* Viſcount *Colcheſter*, was created Earl of *Rivers*, 1626. *Anno* 2 *Car.* 1.

31. *Robert Berty* Earl of *Lindſey* Baron *Willoughby*, *Beak* and *Eresby*, and of this Line the third Great Lord Chamberlain of *England*, and alſo one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Lincoln*; whoſe Grand-father *Robert* Baron *Willoughby*, was created *Nov.* 29. 1626. 2 *Car.* 1. who died in 1642. unto whom ſucceeded his Son, Earl *Montague*, who died in 1666. who was the Father of the now Earl.

John Cary Earl of *Dover*, Viſcount *Rochford*, and Baron *Hunſdon*, and Knight of the Bath; whoſe Father *Henry* Viſcount *Rochford*, was created Earl of *Dover*, *March* 8. 1627. *Anno* 3 *Car.* 1, who died *Anno* 1666. in the 83d. year of his age. This Earl *John* died in or about 1677. without Iſſue male.

32. *Henry Mordant* Earl of *Peterborough*, and Baron *Mordant* of *Turvey*, Groom of his Royal Highneſs Stool, and firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Northampton*; whoſe Father *John* Baron *Mordant* of *Turvey*, was created Earl *March* 9. 1627. in *An.* 3 *Car.* 1.

33. *Henry Grey* Earl of *Stamford*, Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, *Bonneuill*, and *Harrington*, was created Earl, *March* 26. *Anno* 1628. Caroli *primi tertio*. Died in or about 1673.

34. *Heneage Finch* Earl of *Winchelſey*, Viſcount *Maidſtone*, Baron *Fitz-herbert* of *Eaſtwell*, Lord of the Royal Mannor of *Wye*, and ſometimes Ambaſſadour to the Grand Scignior; whoſe Grandmother *Elizabeth Heneage Finch*, Viſcounteſs *Maidſtone*, was created Counteſs, *July* 11. *An.* 1628. 4 *Car.* 1.

35. *Charles Dormer* Earl of *Carnarvon*, Viſcount *Aſcot*, Baron *Dormer* of *Wing*; whoſe Magnanimous Father, *Robert Dormer* Baron of *Wing*, was created Viſcount and Earl, *Aug.* 2. 1628. in the 4th year of *Charles* the Firſt, who, in his Cauſe, bravely died in the Bed of Honour, being ſlain in the firſt Fight near *Newberry*, in 1643.

36. *Montjoy Blount* Earl of *Newport*, Baron *Montjoy* of *Thurveſton* in *England*, and Baron *Montjoy* of *Montjoy*-Fort in *Ireland*; whoſe Father *Montjoy Blount*, Baron *Montjoy*, Maſter of the Ordnance, and one of the Council of Warr, was created Earl of *Newport*, *Aug.* 3. 1628. the 4th year of *Charles* the Firſt, and dyed in the year 1665.

37. *Philip Stanhop* Earl of *Cheſterfield*, and Baron *Stanhop* of *Shelford*, ſucceeded his Grand-father, *Philip* Earl of *Cheſterfield*, who was created Earl, *Aug.* 4. 1628. in the 4th year of *Charles* the Firſt, and dyed in 1656.

38. *Nicholas Tuſton* Earl of *Thanet*, and Baron *Tuſton* of *Tuſton*, whoſe Grand-father Baron *Nicholas Tuſton* of *Tuſton*, was created Earl of *Thanet*, *Aug.* 4. 1628. in the 4th year of *Charles* the Firſt; unto whom ſucceeded his Son, who was *John* Earl of *Thanet*, who dyed *Anno* 1664. the Father of the preſent Earl *Nicholas*, the ſecond of that Name, and the third Earl of *Thanet*.

Ulick de Burgh Earl of St. *Alban*, Viſcount *Tunbridge*, and Baron of *Somerhill* in *England*; Marquis and Earl of *Clanrickard*, Viſcount *Galloway*, and Baron of *Dunkelly* and *Imaney* in *Ireland*: Dyed in *Oct.* 1657. without Iſſue male, by whoſe deceaſe, all his *Engliſh* Titles and the Title of Marquis of *Clanrickard* were extinguiſhed: who was created Marquis *Febr.* 21. 1645. whoſe Father *Richard* Earl of *Clanrickard*, was created Earl of *St. Alban*, *Aug.* 23. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1. and dyed in 1636.

39. *Thomas Weſton* Earl of *Portland*, and Baron *Weſton* of *Neyland*, whoſe Father *Richard* Baron *Weſton* of *Neyland* Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, and one of his Majeſties Privy Council, was created Earl of *Portland*, *Febr.* 15. 1632. in the eighth year of *Charles* the Firſt, who dyed in 1635. Earl *Jerom* his eldeſt Son ſucceeded, and dyed *March* 18. 1662. who was the Father of Earl *Charles*, his onely Son, who dyed in the Bed of Honour, ſlain with his dear Kinſman *James* Earl of *Marlborough*, in *June* 1665. in that great Sea-Fight againſt the *Dutch*, unto whom ſucceeded his Uncle *Thomas* (Brother of Earl *Jerome*) who is the 4th Earl of *Portland*.

40. *William Wentworth* Earl of *Strafford*, Viſcount *Wentworth*, Baron *Wentworth* of *Wentworth-Woodhouſe*; *Newmerch* of *Overſely*, and Baron of *Raby*, Knight and Baronet, and Knight of the Garter: He was the Son of that moſt Renowned Peer, and Martyr of the Peoples Envy, *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Deputy, and afterwards Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; who was created Earl, *Jan.* 12. 1639. 15 *Car.* 1. who deceaſed *May* 12. 1641.

41. *Robert Spencer* Earl of *Sunderland*, and Baron *Spencer* of *Wormleyton*; ſucceeded his Memorable Father, *Henry* Earl of *Sunderland*, who was ſlain in the firſt Battel of *Newberry*, nobly dying in the Bed of Honour; who was created Earl of *Sunderland*, *June* 8. 1643. in the 19th year of *Charles* the Firſt.

James Savil Earl of *Suſſex*, Baron *Savil* of *Pontfrait*, and Viſcount *Savil* in *Ireland*, (a Family very diffuſive, and anciently honourable) was the Son of *Thomas* Baron *Pontfrait*, who was created Earl, *May* 25. 1644. 20 *Car.* 1. the Line of the *Radcliffs* being broken off in *Edward* the laſt Earl of *Suſſex* of that name.

Patrick Ruthen Earl of *Brentford* in *England*, and Earl of *Forth*, and Baron *Ruthen* of *Etrick* in *Scotland*; created an *Engliſh* Earl at *Oxford*, *May* 27. 1644. 20 *Car.* 1. extinct.

Francis Leigh Earl of *Chicheſter*, Baron *Dunſmore*, and

and Baronet; created Earl, *June* 3. 1644. 19 *Car.* 1.

Charles Goring Earl of *Norwich*, and Baron *Goring* of *Hurſt-Pierre-pont*, who dyed without Iſſue, on *Thurſday March* 2. 1670. who was the ſurviving Son of *George* Earl of *Norwich*, created Earl, *Nov.* 28. 1644. 20 *Car.* 1. who died in *January*, 1662.

42. *Nicholas Leake* Earl of *Scarſdale*, Baron *Daincourt*, and Baronet; ſucceeded his Father *Francis* Earl of *Scarſdale*, ſo created *Nov.* 15. 1645. 21 *Car.* 1.

43. *John Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*, and Baron *Wilmot* of *Aderbury* in *England*, and Viſcount *Wilmot* of *Athlone* in *Ireland*, whoſe Father *Henry* Viſcount *Wilmot* of *Athlone* in *Ireland*, was a moſt Eminent and Active Commander in the late Wars: who was created Earl of *Rocheſter* in 1652, by the now King: and deceaſed in 1659.

44. *Henry Jermin* Earl of St. *Albans*, and Baron *Jermin* of St. *Edmunds Bury*, and one of the Lords of his Majeſties Council, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter: who was created Earl of *St. Albans* in 1660. by the now King.

45. *Edward Montague* Earl of *Sandwich*, Viſcount *Montagu* of *Hinchingbrook*, and Baron *Montagu*, and *Montagu* of St. *Neotes*; A Perſon of good accompliſhments, acquired from his foreign Travels, and domeſtick Education, ſucceeded the Magnanimous, and nobly Renowned Earl *Edward* his Father, who fell in that fatal Sea-Fight in 1672. and lies buried amongſt the Kings in *Weſtminſter* Abby: created Earl, *July* 12. 1660.

Elizabeth Viscounteſs of *Kynelmeky* in *Ireland*, created Counteſs of *Gilford*, *July* 14. 1660. with whoſe life that Title extinguiſhed.

46. *James Butler* (or *Boteler*,) Earl of *Brecknock*, and Baron *Butler* of *Lanthony* in *England*, and Duke, Marquis, and Earl of *Ormond*, Earl of *Oſſory*, Viſcount *Thurles*, and Baron of *Arclo* in *Ireland*, Lord of the Regalities and Liberties of the County of *Tipperary*, Chancellour of the Univerſity of *Dublin*, and Chancellour of the Famous Univerſity of *Oxford*, High Steward of his Majeſties Houſhold, Lord Steward of *Weſtminſter* and *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, Lord Steward of the City of *Briſtol*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Somerſet*, one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council, and one of the Knights of the Thrice Noble Order of the Garter: who was created Marquis of *Ormond*, *Aug.* 30. 1642. 18 *Car.* 1. Afterwards Earl of *Brecknock*, *July* 20. 1660. by the preſent King: afterwards Duke of *Ormond*, *March* 30. 1661.

47. *Henry Hyde* Earl of *Clarindon*, Viſcount *Cornbury*, and Baron *Hyde* of *Hindon*, and Knight of the Bath. Baron *Edward* his Father was created Earl and Viſcount with ſolemnity in the Banquetting-Room at *White-Hall*, on *Saturday*, *April* 20. 1661. three dayes before the Coronation of the now King; for he was the firſt Coronation Earl unto this King; He was before that time created Baron *Nov.* 3. 1660. and Knighted when he was Chancellour of the Exchequer, *Febr.* 22. 1642. 18 *Car.* 1. At which time there were Six Coronation Earls made, and as many Coronation Barons. He dyed at *Rouen* in *Normandy*, in 1674.

48. *Arthur Capel* Earl of *Eſſex*, Viſcount *Malden*, and Baron *Capel* of *Hadham*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Hertford*, one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council: who was created Earl and Viſcount at the ſame time, being the ſecond Coronation Earl: He was the eldeſt Son of *Arthur* Baron *Capel* of *Hadham*; who was created Baron, *Aug.* 6. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1. and afterwards Knighted, *January* 17. 1644. who died *March* 9. 1648.

49. *Robert Brudenell* Earl of *Cardigan*, Baron *Brudenell* of *Stoughton*, and Baronet; He ſucceeded his Father *Thomas* Earl of *Cardigan*, ſo created at the ſame time, being the third Coronation Earl; who dyed in 1663. who had been formerly created Baron, *Febr.* 26. 1627. 3 *Car.* 1.

50 *Arthur Anneſley* Earl of *Angleſey*, Baron of *Newport-Pagnel* in *England*, Viſcount *Valentia*, and Baron *Mount-Norris* of *Mount-Norris* in *Ireland*, and Baronet of *Ireland*, and one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council in *England* and *Ireland*, and Lord Privy Seal; a Perſon of Univerſal Learning, and of Noble Parts, was created Earl and Baron of *England*, at the ſame time, being the fourth Coronation Earl. His Father *Francis* Vicount *Valentia* was created Vicount, Baron, and Baronet of *Ireland*, and dyed in 1660.

51. *John Greenvil* Earl of *Bath*, Viſcount *Greenvil* of *Lanſdown*, Baron *Greenvil* of *Biddiford* and *Kilhampton*, and Knight, one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council, Groom of the Stool, and firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber; Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*; was the Son and Heir of that Renowned Souldier Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, Knight, who was ſlain in his late Majeſties Service, and bravely dyed in the Bed of Honour. This Earl *John* his Son, was created Earl, Viſcount, and Baron at the ſame time, being the fifth Coronation Earl, who had been formerly Knighted, *Aug.* 3. 1643. 19 *Car.* 1.

52. *Charles Howard* Earl of *Carliſle*, Viſcount *Howard* of *Morpeth*, Baron *Dacres* of *Giſland*, one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, Vice-Admiral of the Coaſts of *Carliſle*, *Durham*, *New-Caſtle*, and *Northumberland*; and lately Lord Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to Three of the Great Northern Kings; alſo Lord Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to the High and Mighty Monarch *Charles* the Eleventh King of *Sweden*. He was the Son of Sir *William Howard*, Knight, the Son of Sir *Philip Howard*, Knight, who was the Son of the Lord *William Howard*, Third Son of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*. The which Earl was moſt worthily ſo created

Earl

Earl of *Carliſle* at the ſame time, being the ſixth and laſt Coronation Earl.

53. *William Craven* Earl of *Craven*, Viſcount *Craven* of *Uffington*, and Baron *Craven* of *Hamſtead*-Marſhal, and Knight, one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Middleſex*, and Borough of *Southwark*, and one of the Colonels of his Majeſties Regiments of Guards, was for his ſignal Fidelity and Fortitude both abroad and at home, created Earl and Viſcount, *March* 20. 1664. in the 17th year of our gracious Sovereign *Charles* the Second; was created Baron *March* 18. 1626. 2 *Car.* 1. and Knighted at *London*, the 4th day of the ſame moneth of *March*, 1626.

54. *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Alesbury*, Viſcount *Bruce* of *Ampthil*, and Baron *Bruce* of *Wharlton* and *Skelton* in *England*; and Earl of *Elgin*, and Baron of *Kinloſſe* in *Scotland*: hereditary High Steward of the Honour of *Ampthil*, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Bedford*; who was the Son of *Thomas* Earl of *Elgin*, and Baron of *Kinloſſe* in *Scotland*; which Earl *Thomas* was created Baron *Bruce* of *Wharleton* in *England*, *July* 30. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1. Whoſe Anceſtors were deſcendents from thoſe famous *Bruces* ſometimes Kings of *Scotland*. This *Robert* was created Earl of *Alesbury*, *March* 20. 1664.

55. *Richard Boyle* Earl *Burlington* of *Burlington*, alias *Bridlington*, and Baron *Clifford* of *Landsborough* in *England*, and Earl of *Cork*. Viſcount *Dungarvan*, and Baron of *Toughall* in *Ireland*: who was created Earl *Burlington* the ſame day. For his *Iriſh* Titles, he ſucceeded his Father, *Richard* Earl of *Cork*, Viſcount *Dungarvan*, and Baron of *Toughall*.

56. *Henry Bennet* Earl of *Arlington*, Viſcount *Thetford*, Baron *Arlington* of *Arlington*, alias *Harlington*, Knight, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, Principal Secretary of Eſtate, one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council; who, in compenſation of his ſeveral ſignal Services, was very worthily created Earl and Viſcount by his preſent Majeſty, in *Apr.* 1672. and Baron in 1664.

57. *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Earl of *Shafteſbury*, Baron *Aſhley* of *Wimborne St. Giles*, and *Cooper* of *Pawlet*, and Baronet created Earl, and Baron *Cooper* of *Pawlet*, *Apr.* 23. 1672. Baron *Aſhley* of *Wimborne St. Giles*, *Apr.* 20. 1661. being then the 5th Coronation Baron made by this King: then for Baronet he ſucceeded his Father Sir *John Cooper*, who was created Baronet *July* the 4th. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

58. *William Herbert* Earl of *Powys*, Baron *Powys* of *Powys*, and Baronet; created Earl, *April* 4. 1674. His Grand-father *William Herbert* was made Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King *James*, and was afterwards created Baron, *April* 2. 1629. 5 *Caroli primi*: unto which Barony ſucceeded his Son Sir *Percy Herbert* Baronet, who was created Baronet, *November* 16. 1622. who was the Father of the now Earl of *Powys*.

59. *Edward Henry Lea*, Earl of *Litchfield*, Viſcount *Quarendon*, and Baron of *Spelsbury*; created Earl, *June* 5th. 1674.

60. *John Maitland*, Earl of *Guilford*, and Baron of *Peterſham* in *England*, and Duke of *Lautherdale* in *Scotland*; created Earl of *Guilford*, *June* 25. 1674.

61. *Thomas Osborne* Earl of *Danby*, Vicount *Latimer*, and Baron *Osborne* of *Kiveton* in *England*, and Baronet of *England*, and Vicount *Osborne* of *Dunblany* in *Scotland*; created Vicount *Osborne* of *Dunblany* in *Scotland* in or about 1672. Created Vicount *Latimer* and Baron *Osborne* of *Kiveton*, 15. *Auguſt*, 1673. and Earl, *June* 27. 1674.

62. *George Fitz-Roy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, Vicount *Falmouth*, and Baron of *Pomfret*; created *Oct.* 1. 1674.

63. *Thomas Leonard*, Earl of *Suſſex*, and Baron *Dacres* of *Herſtmenceaux*, created Earl, *Oct.* 5. 1674. whoſe Anceſtor was created Baron in or about 1321.

64. *Charles Fitz-Charles* Earl of *Plymouth*, Vicount *Totnes*, and Baron of *Dartmouth*, created *July* 29. 1675.

65. *George Sonds* Earl of *Feverſham*, Vicount *Sonds* of *Lees-Court*, Baron of *Throwley*, and Knight of the Bath; created Earl, Vicount, and Baron for life: Afterwards intailed unto his Son-in-Law *Lewes Duras*, Baron *Duras* of *Holmeby* in *England*, and Marquis of *Blanefort* in *France*, and unto the Heirs males of his Body, by Patent dated *April* 8. 1676. Which Earl *George* dyed about a year after, and then the ſaid Baron *Duras* ſucceeded him unto that Earldome.

66. *Charles Beau-Clarke* Earl of *Burford*, and Baron of *Haddington*; created *Decemb.* 27. 1676.

VISCOUNTS of England.

1. THe moſt Noble, Potent, and Honourable, *Leiceſter Devereux* Viſcount *Hereford*, the firſt Viſcount of *England*; whoſe Anceſtors had that Title in or about the year 1461.

2. *Francis Brown* (anciently *Brune*) Viſcount *Montague*; his Anceſtor *Anthony Brown*, was ſo created in the ſecond year of Queen *Mary*, *Sept.* 2. 1554. who was deſcended from the Lady *Lucy Nevil*, Daughter of *John* Marquis *Montagu*.

3. *Robert Villiers* Vicount *Purbeck*, and Baron of *Stoak-Poges*; whoſe Father Sir *John Villiers* was created Viſcount 17 *Jac.*

4. *William Fiennes* Viſcount and Baron *Say* and *Seal*, whoſe Grand-father Baron *William Say* and *Seal*, was created Viſcount in or about 1624. in the Twenty ſecond year of King *James*, who dyed in 1662. *James* his eldeſt Son ſucceeding him, who dyed in or about 1674. who was Unkle unto the now Viſcount.

5. *Edward Conway*, Viſcount *Conway* in *England*, and Viſcount *Kilultaph* in *Ireland*, and Baron *Conway* of *Ragley* in *England*; whoſe Father *Edward* Baron *Conway* was created an *Engliſh* Viſcount in or about 1627. in the Third year of King *Charles* the Firſt, who was a Memorable Stateſman, and worthy Souldier.

6. *Baptiſt Noel* Viſcount *Cambden*, Baron *Noel* of *Ridlington* and *Elmington*, and Baronet, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Rutland*, a great Lover of Learning, and generous Encourager of Learned Men. Sir *Baptiſt Hicks* Baronet and Knight, was created Viſcount of *Cambden*, and Baron of *Elmington*, in the 4th year of *Charles* the Firſt, in or about 1628. with an entail unto his Son in Law *Edward* Baron *Noel* of *Ridlington*, who was the Father of the now Viſcount.

7. *William Howard* Viſcount of *Stafford*, and Baron *Stafford*, and Knight of the *Bath*; whoſe lineal and immediate Anceſtors were the Great Dukes of *Norfolk*, who is Unkle unto the preſent Duke; whoſe Vicounteſs is a *Stafford*, linealy deſcended from the Illuſtrious *Staffords* Dukes of *Buckingham*; who, together with his Vicounteſs, were, *Sept.* 12. 1640. 16 *Car.* 1. declared Baron and Baroneſs *Stafford*: afterwards he was created Viſcount, *Novemb.* 11th following. He was the ſecond Son of *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, *Surrey*, and *Norfolk*.

8. *Thomas Bellaſis* Viſcount *Falconberg* of *Henknowle*, Baron *Falconberg* of *Yaron*, and Baronet, and one of the Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council, and late Lord Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to the Illuſtrious Republick of *Venice*, whoſe Noble Grand-father, *Thomas* Baron *Falconberg* of *Yaren*, was created Viſcount, *Jan.* 31. 1642. in the 18th year of our late Gracious Sovereign, King *Charles* the Firſt, who formerly was created Baron, *May* 25. 1627. in the Third year of his Reign.

9. *John Mordant* Viſcount *Mordant* of *Aviland*, and Baron *Mordant* of *Rygate*, ſecond Son and Brother unto *John* and *Henry* Earls of *Peterborough*, was created Viſcount and Baron in or about 1660.

10. *George Savil* Viſcount *Halliſax*, Baron *Savil*, and Baronet, One of the Lords of his Majeſties Council, and Twice Plenipotentiary to the States of *Holland*; was created Viſcount and Baron in or about 1667. in the 19th year of our Sacred Sovereign *Charles* the Second.

11. *Robert Paſton* Viſcount of *Yarmouth*, and Baron *Paſton* of *Paſton*, and Baronet: He is the Son and Heir of the late Sir *William Paſton* Baronet; a Family both ancient and honourable. The which Sir *Robert* was created Viſcount and Baron, *Aug.* the 19th, 1673. in the 25th year of his Majeſties Reign: which Sir *William* was created Baronet, *June* the 8th, 1641. 17 *Car.* 1.

12. Mrs. *Anne Murray*, a Widow, created Vicounteſs *Bayning* of *Foxley* in *Berkſhire*, for life, 27th of *March*, 1674.

13. *Francis Newport*, Vicount *Newport* of *Bradford*, and Baron *Newport* of *High-Ercall*. His Father Sir *Richard Newport*, Knight, was *Oct.* 18. 1642. 18 *Car.* 1. created Baron; and this Lord *Francis* was created Viſcount, *March* the 11th, 1674.

The

The Lords Spiritual of the Realm of ENGLAND, *now in Being, Ranked according to their respective Places or Consecrations.*

Arch-Bishops.

1. THE most Reverend, and Eminently Right Honourable, his Grace *Gilbert Sheldon* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, Primate, and Metropolitan of all *England*, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, was Consecrated Bishop of *London*, *Oct.* 28. 1660. and thence Translated to *Canterbury*, *Aug.* 31. 1663. Dyed in 1677. Was succeeded by *William Sanderoft* Dean of *London*, who was Consecrated Arch-Bishop in or about *January*, 1677.
2. The most Reverend *Richard Stern*, Arch-Bishop of *York*; Consecrated Bishop of *Carliſle*, *Decemb.* 2. 1660. and thence Translated to *York* in 1664.

Bishops.

1. The Right Reverend, and Right Honourable *Humphrey Hinchman*, Bishop of *London*, Lord Almoner, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council; was Consecrated Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Octob.* 28. 1660. and thence Translated to *London*, in 1663. Dyed in 1675. Who was succeeded by *Henry Compton* Bishop of *Oxford*, who was Translated unto *London* in or about *January* 1675. Consecrated Bishop of *Oxford* in or about 1674.
2. *Nathanael Crew*, Bishop of *Oxford*, was Translated unto *Durham* in or about 1674. Third Son of *John* Baron *Crew* of *Stene*.
3. *George Morley* Bishop of *Winchester*, Consecrated Bishop of *Worcester*, *Octob.* 28. 1660. and thence Translated to *Winton* in 1662. or 1663. Prelate of the most Noble Order of the Garter.
4. *Herbert Croft*, Consecrated Bishop of *Hereford*, in 1661.
5. *Seth Ward* Bishop of *Salisbury*, Consecrated Bishop of *Exeter* in 1662. Translated to *Salisbury* in 1667. and Chancellor of the most Noble Order of the Garter.
6. *Joseph Henshaw*, Consecrated Bishop of *Peterborough* in 1663.
7. *Edward Rainbow*, many years Master of St. *Mary Magdalen* Colledge in *Cambridge*, Consecrated Bishop of *Carliſle* in 1664.
8. *John Dolbin*, long time *Dean* of *Weſtminſter*, Consecrated Bishop of *Rochester* in 1666.
9. *Anthony Sparrow*, sometimes Master of Queens Colledge in *Cambridge*, Consecrated Bishop of *Exeter* in 1667. Translated unto *Norwich* in 1676.
10. *Peter Gunning*, long time *Professor Regius* in Divinity in *Cambridge*, sometimes Vice-Chancellor of that University, long Master of St *Johns* there, was Consecrated Bishop of *Chichester*, in 1669. Translated unto *Ely* in or about 1673.
11. *Thomas Wood* Bishop of *Coventrey* and *Lichfield*, Consecrated in 1671. who hath been formerly Dean of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*.
12. *Guy Carleton* Bishop of *Bristol*, Consecrated in 1671. who had been Dean of *Carliſle*.
13. *William Pritchard* Bishop of *Gloucester*, Consecrated in 1672.
14. *John Pearſon*, long time the Lady *Margarets* Professor of *Divinity* in *Cambridge*, sometimes Vice-Chancellor of the University; many years Master of *Trinity* Colledge there, was Consecrated Bishop of *Chester* in 1672.
15. *Peter Mewe*, many years Master of St. *John Baptist* Colledge in *Oxford*; four years intermiſſively the most beloved Vice-Chancellour of that Famous University, lately Dean of *Rochester*, and Consecrated Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, in 1672.
16. *Humphrey Lloyd*, Bishop of *Bangor*, Consecrated in 1673.
17. *William Lloyd*, Bishop of *Landaff*, Consecrated in or about 1675.
18. *Ralph Bredock* Bishop of *Chichester*, Consecrated in or about 1675.
19. *John Fell* Bishop of *Oxford*, Consecrated in or about 1675.
20. *James Fleetwood* Bishop of *Worcester*, Consecrated in or about 1675.
21. *Thomas Barlow* Bishop of *Lincoln*, Consecrated in or about 1675.
22. *Thomas Lamplugh* Bishop of *Exeter*, Consecrated in *Nov.* 1676.
23. *William Thomas* Bishop of St. *David*, Consecrated in or about 1675.
24. *Iſaac Barrow* Bishop of St. *Aſaph*, Consecrated in or about *January*, 1677. the same day with the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

The BARONS *of* ENGLAND.

1. HEnry *Howard*, Baron *Mawbray*, eldeſt of *Henry* Duke of *Norfolk*, called by Writ, and ſate by virtue thereof on *Munday*, *January* 28. 1677.

2. The moſt Noble, and Right Honourable *John Nevil* Baron of *Abergaveny*, firſt Baron of *England*; of the Degree onely of a Baron.

3. *James Touchett*, Baron *Audley* of *Highley*, and Earl of *Caſtle-Haven* in *Ireland*, whoſe Anceſtor was created Baron in or about 1297. in the 25th year of *Edward* the firſt of the *Norman* Line, but he was the fourth of that Name who had been King of *England*.

4. *Charles Wiſt*, Baron *de la Ware*.

5. *George Berkley*, alias *Fitz-harding*, Baron *Berkley* of *Berkley* Caſtle, whoſe Anceſtors have been often Knights of the Garter, and undoubtedly a Family of as Antient Honour as any in *England*.

6. *Thomas Parker* Baron *Morley* and *Monteagle*, of very great Antiquity.

7. *Benjamin Mildmay*, Baron *Fitz-Walter*.

8. *Longueville*, Baroneſs *Grey* of *Ruthin*.

9. *Coigniers* (uſually pronounced *Conyers*) *Darcy*, Baron *Darcy* and *Menil*, exceeding antient in the *North*.

10. *Robert Sherley*, Baron *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and Baronet.

11. *Sutton*, Baroneſs *Dudley*, by Deſcent, and Baroneſs Dowager *Ward* of *Birmingham*. Her Anceſtor *John Sutton* of *Dudley* was ſummoned by Writ unto Parliament in or about 1442. the 20th of *Henry* the Sixth.

12. *William Stourton*, Baron *Stourton* of *Stourton*, whoſe Anceſtor, Sir *John Stourton*, Knight, was created Baron in the 26th year of *Henry* the 6th, *May* 30. 1448.

13. *Edward Vaux*, Baron *Vaux* of *Harowden*, his Anceſtor was created Baron by *Henry* the Eighth.

14. *Henry Sandys*, Baron *Sandys de la Vine*, whoſe Anceſtor was created Baron in or about 1524. in the 15th of *Henry* the 8th.

15. *Thomas Windeſor Hickman*, Baron *Windeſor* of *Bradenham*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Worceſter*; his Anceſtor Sir *Andrew Windſor* was created Baron by Writ in or about 1524. in the 15th of *Henry* the 8th.

16. *Wingfield Cromwel*, Baron *Cromwel* of *Oakham* in *England*, and Earl of *Argles* in *Ireland*, whoſe Anceſtor, the Lord *Gregory Cromwel*, was created Baron *Cromwel* of *Oakham*, in or about 1539. in the Thirty firſt year of *Henry* the Eighth; Which Lord *Gregory Cromwell*, was the only Iſſue of *Thomas Cromwell* Earl of *Eſſex*, who was made Baron *Cromwell* of *Oakham*, *July* the 9th, 1536. 28 *Hen.* 8. which Earl *Thomas* was alſo Knight of the Garter, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, and created Earl of *Eſſex* the 14th of the Calends of *May*, 1539. 31 *Hen.* 8th. He was alſo Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*, and the King's Vice-gerent in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which gave him Precedency before all Archbiſhops; an Eminent Privy Councellor unto *Henry* the Eighth. He was alſo Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Juſtice in Eyre of the Foreſts and Chaces from the River of *Trent* Northward. He dyed *July* 28th, 1540. 32 *Hen.* 8th. When the Father was created an Earl, the Son was created a Baron.

17. *Ralph Eure*, Baron *Eure*, whoſe Anceſtor was created Baron by Patent in the 35th year of *Henry* the Eighth, in or about 1544. The which *Ralph* ſucceeded his Brother Baron *George* lately deceaſed.

18. *Philip Wharton*, Baron *Wharton* of *Wharton*, and Lord of *Helie*, whoſe Anceſtor *Thomas Wharton* was by Writ made Baron in the 35th year of *Henry* the 8th, in or about 1544.

19. *William Willoughby*, Baron *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Governour of the Iſle of *Barbadoes*, whoſe Anceſtor Sir *William Willoughby* Knight, was created in or about 1546.

20. *William Paget*, Baron *Paget* of *Beaudeſert*, and Knight of the Noble Order of the *Bath*; whoſe Anceſtor Sir *William Paget* Knight, was by Writ made Baron *Paget* of *Beaudeſert* in or about 1551. who was Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter.

21. *Charles North*, Baron *North* of *Kirtlidge*; *Grey* of *Rolleſton* and Knight. This Baron in the life-time of his Father was ſummoned by Writ, and ſate by the Title of Baron *Grey* of *Rolleſton*, *Oct.* 27. 1673. whoſe Father the ſecond Baron *Dudley North* dyed *June* 24. 1677. Whoſe Anceſtor Sir *Edward North*, Knight, was ſummoned unto Parliament in or about 1553. 1 *Mariæ*.

22. *James Bruges*, Baron *Shandois* of *Sudeley*, whoſe Anceſtor was created Baron by Patent unto him and the Heirs males of his Body, in the ſame year.

23. *Robert Cary*, Baron *Hunſdon*, whoſe Anceſtor was created Baron in or about 1558. 1 *Eliz.*

24. *James Bertie* (Son of the late *Mountague Bertie* Earl of *Lindſey*, and Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*) Baron *Norris* of *Ricott*; whoſe Anceſtor *Henry Norris* was by Writ made

made Baron in or about 1573. 15 *Eliz.*

25. *William Petre*, Baron *Petre* of *Writtle*, whose Anceſtor Sir *John Petre*, Knight, a Perſon very memorable both in his Foreign Negotiations abroad, and Tranſactions at home, in behalf of his King and Countrey, was created Baron in the firſt year of King *James*, *May* 13. 1603.

26. *Digby Gerrard*, Baron *Gerrard* of *Gerrards-Bromley*; Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Knight, ſometimes Knight-Marſhal, was created Baron *July* 21. in the ſame year.

Charles Stanhop, Baron *Stanhop* of *Harrington*, whoſe Father Sir *John*, a Knight, Vice-Chamberlain unto Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, was created Baron in the third year of King *James*, *May* 4. 1605. Dyed without Iſſue, and ſo extinguiſhed in or about 1676.

27. *Henry Arundel*, Baron *Arundel* of *Warder-Caſtle*, and of the Earls of the Sacred Empire; whoſe Anceſtor *Thomas Arundel* Count of the Empire, was created Baron, *May* 5. 1605.

28. *Steward*, Baroneſs *Cliſton* of *Lawton-Bromſwold*; Her Great Grand-father Sir *Gervaſe Cliſton*, Knight, was created Baron by Writ, 6 *Jac.* 1608.

29. *Chriſtopher Roper*, Baron *Tenham* of *Tenham*, whoſe Great Grand-father, Sir *John Roper*, Knight, was created with Solemnity Baron in the 14th of King *James*, *July*. 9. 1616.

30. *Foulk Grevil*, Baron *Brook* of *Beauchamps-court*, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Stafford*; whoſe Predeceſſor Sir *Foulk Grevil*, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Couſin German unto the now Baron's Grand-father, was created Baron, *Jan.* 29. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

31. *Edward Mountague*, Baron *Mountague* of *Boughton*, the Head of all the *Mountagues* in *England*, and ſeveral times Marquiſſes, and Earls, and Men of high Renown in *France*, whence they firſt deſcended; whoſe Father, Sir *Edward Mountague*, was created Baron in the 19th year of King *James*, *June* 29. 1621.

32. *Ford Grey*, Baron *Grey* of *Wark*, and Baronet, (a Name and Family of great Antiquity and Honour in the *North*) his Grand-father was made Baron in the Twenty firſt year of King *James*, *Febr.* 11. 1623. formerly created Baronet, *June* 15. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

33. *John Roberts*, Baron *Roberts* of *Truro*, and Baronet; whoſe Father, Sir *Richard Roberts* Knight and Baronet, was created Baron *Roberts* of *Truro* in the Twenty ſecond year of King *James*, *January* 26. 1624. and formerly created Baronet, *July* 3. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

34. *John Lovelace*, Baron *Lovelace* of *Hurley* in the County of *Berks*, Son and Heir of that great Example of Loyalty and obliging Candour, Sir *Richard Lovelace* Knight; who was created Baron *Lovelace* of *Hurley*, in the Third year of King *Charles* the Firſt, *May* 31. 1627.

35. *John Pawlet*, Baron *Pawlet* of *Hinton St. George*, whoſe Grand-father *John Pawlet* was created Baron in the Third year of King *Charles* the Firſt, *June* 23. 1627. and was afterwards Knighted: who dyed in or about 1648. unto whom ſucceeded Sir *John Pawlet* his eldeſt Son, who dyed in or about 1665. who was the Father of the now Baron.

36. *William Maynard*, Baron *Maynard* of *Eſtaines* in *England*, and Baron *Maynard* of *Wickloe* in *Ireland*, and Baronet of *England*, Comptroller of his Majeſties Houſhold, and one of the Lords of his Majeſties Council; *William* Baron *Maynard* of *Wicklow* in *Ireland*, Baronet and Knight, was created an *Engliſh* Baron, *March* 14. 1627. in the Third year of *Charles* the Firſt.

37. *George Coventry*, Baron *Coventry* of *Alsborough* in *Worceſterſhire*, whoſe Grand-father, Sir *Thomas Coventry* Knight, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, was created Baron in the 4th year of *Charles* the Firſt, *April*, 10. 1628. unto whom ſucceeded Baron *Thomas*, his eldeſt Son, who deceaſed in 1661. who was Father of the now Baron.

38. *Charles Mohun*, Baron *Mohun* of *Oak-hampton*, and Baronet, Great Grand-ſon of *John Mohun* Eſquire; who was created Baron *Mohun* of *Oakhampton* in the Life-time of Sir *Reginald Mohun* Baronet, his Father, *April* 15. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1. who dyed in or about 1641. unto whom ſucceeded his Son Baron *Warwick Mohun*, who dyed in 1665. whoſe Son Baron *Charles Mohun* dyed in 1677. leaving the now Baron his onely Son in the firſt year of his age.

39. *Edward Howard*, Baron *Howard* of *Eſerick*, and Knight of the Bath; created Baron in the 4th year of *Charles* the Firſt, *April* 19. 1628. a fair Branch of thoſe High and Flouriſhing Cedars of the *Howards*, in that ſpreading *Libanus* of *Norfolk*. Which Baron dyed in 1675. ving his Eldeſt Son the now Baron *Thomas* to ſucceed him.

40. *William Boteler*, Baron *Boteler* of *Bramfield* and Baronet; Sir *John Butler* Baronet and Knight, his Father, was created Baron in the 4th year of *Charles* the Firſt, *July* 10. 1628. formerly created Baronet *April* 12th. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

41. *Edward Herbert*, Baron *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, and Baron *Herbert* of *Caſtle-Iſland* in *Ireland*, His Father a Perſon of great Parts and Learning, Sir *Edward Herbert* Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King *James*, was created an *Engliſh* Baron in the 5th year of *Charles* the Firſt, *May* 7. 1629. 5 *Car.* 1.

John Finch, Baron *Finch* of *Fordwich*, and Knight, created Baron *Apr.* 7. 1640. 16 *Car.* 1. died without Iſſue in 1660.

John Craven, Baron *Craven* of *Ryton*, created Baron, *March* 21. 1642. 18 *Car.* 1. dyed without Iſſue.

42. *Richard*

42. *Richard Vaughan*, Baron *Vaughan* of *Emlin* in *England*, and Earl of *Carbury* in *Ireland*, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, was created Baron in the 19th of *Charles* the First *Oct.* 25. 1643. 19 *Car.* 1.

43. *Charles Smith* Baron *Carrington* of *Wetoncrawen* in the County of *Warwick*, and Viscount *Carrington* of *Barefare* in *Ireland*, Sir *Charles Smith* Knight, his Father, was created Baron *Oct.* 13. 1643. 19 *Car.* 1. died in 1664. who was also created Viscount, *Nov.* 4. following, 1643.

44. *Thomas Leigh*, Baron *Leigh* of *Stonley* in the County of *Warwick*, and hereditary Baronet. Sir *Thomas Leigh* his Grand-father, was created Baron in the 19th year of *Charles* the First, *July* 1. 1643. and died in 1671. whose Son Sir *Thomas Leigh* Knight, died before him, who was the Father of the now Baron.

45. *William Widdrington*, Baron *Widdrington* of *Blackney* in the County of *Lincoln*, created Baron in the 19th years of *Charles* the First, *Nov.* 10. 1643.

46. *Christopher Hatton*, Baron *Hatton* of *Kirby*, and Governour of the Isle of *Guernsey*, Son and Heir of *Christopher* Baron *Hatton* of *Kirby*, and Knight of the Bath, who was created Baron *Hatton* of *Kirby* in the 19th year of *Charles* the First, *July* 29. 1643.

Raiph Hopton, Baron *Hopton* of *Staton*, and Knight of the Bath, created Baron *Sept.* 4. 1643. 19 *Car.* 1. dyed without Issue.

47. *Richard Byron*, Baron *Byron* of *Rochdale Com. Lanc.* and Knight; Sir *John Byron* (his Brother) Knight of the Bath, created Baron *Oct.* 24. 1643. 19 *Car.* 1.

48. *Edward Ward*, Baron *Ward* of *Birmingham*; Sir *Humble Ward* his Father, was Knighted at *Oxford June* 24. 1643. 19 *Car* 1. afterwards created Baron *March* 23. in the same year, who dyed in 1670.

49. *Thomas Culpeper*, Baron *Culpeper* of *Thirefmy* in *Kent*; Sir *John* his Father Knight, was created Baron the 20th year of King *Charles* the First, *Oct.* 21. 1644.

. *Isaac Astley*, Baron *Astley* of *Reading*; Sir *Jacob Astley* Knight, (that memorable Souldier of his time, both in the *Netherlands* and *England*) his Grand-father, was created Baron *Astley* of *Reading* in the 20th year of *Charles* the First, *Nov.* 4. 1644. unto whom succeeded his Son Baron *Isaac Astley*, the Father of the now Baron.

John Brook, Baron *Cobham*, and Knight, was created Baron *Jan.* 3. 1644. 20 *Car.* 1.

51. *Lucas*, Baron *Lucas* of *Shenfield*; His Unkle Sir *John Lucas* Knight, was created Baron *Jan.* 3. 1644. 20 *Car.* 1.

52 *John Bellasis*, Baron *Bellasis* of *Worlaby* in the County of *Lincoln*; In the time of the late War, Governour of *York* and *Newark* upon *Trent*; created Baron in the 20th year of *Charles* the first, *Jan.* 27. 1644. 20 *Car.* 1.

53. *Edward Watson*, Baron *Rockingham* of *Rockingham*-Castle in the County of *Northampton*; and Baronet; whose Father Sir *Lewis Watson* Knight and Baronet, was created Baron in the 20th of *Charles* the first, *Jan.* 29. 1634. 20 *Car.* 1. who was formerly created Baronet *June* 22. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

54. *Charles Gerrard*, Baron *Gerrard* of *Brandon* in *Suffolk*, sometimes one of his late Majesties Generals; who for his eminent services in the Wars, was created Baron *Gerrard* of *Brandon* in the twenty first year of *Charles* the first, *Nov.* 8 1645.

55. *Robert Sutton*, Baron *Lexington* of *Aram* in the County of *Nottingham*; whose Father *Robert Sutton* was created Baron in the twenty first year of *Charles* the first, *Nov.* 21. 1645.

56. *Charles Henry Birkhoven*, Baron *Wotton* of *Boughton* in the County of *Kent*, created Baron by this King.

57. *Marmaduke Langdale*, Baron *Langdale* of *Holme*; His Father Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* Knight, sometimes one of his late Majesties Generals of his Northern Armies: For his very many signal, and often successful services for his King and Country, was most desevedly created Baron *Langdale* of *Holme*, in the Reign of *Charles* the Second.

William Crofts, Baron *Crofts* of *Saxham* in the County of *Suffolk*, one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Bed-chamber, and a most active and faithful servant to him ever, both at home and abroad; was worthyly created by him in or about 1660. dyed without Issue in 1677.

58. *John Berkley*, Baron *Berkley* of *Stratton* in the County of *Somerset*, and Knight, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council. He is one of the younger Sons of the late *Maurice Berkley* of *Bruiton* in the County of *Somerset*, Knight, to which Family he the said *John* is so fair an Ornament, being a Person of polite Learning, having been acquainted both with The Colledge and Camp. Who (to say nothing of his publick or private Imployments abroad, and his constant adhesion to our Sacred Sovereign beyond Seas) served his Father of blessed memory, from the first to the last: and having formerly laid the Foundation of his military Experience in the *Netherlands*, was here meritoriously aduanced from a Captain to a Collonel, from a Collonel to a Brigade, from a Brigadeer to a General; being one of those four prime Commanders (after his happy Reduction of the City of *Exeter*, of which City and Castle he consequently was made Governour) who were constituted and appointed for management of the *Western Counties*, and so commissionated by our late Sacred Sovereign, by whom he was long before dubbed with the honour of Knighthood: and by his Right and Royal Successor *Charles* the Second (in compensation of his several signal

signal Services, Fidelity, and Fortitude) dignified with the Baronry of *Berkley* of *Stratton*, in which quality of a Baron he appeared not publickly, till the Kings Coronation, although he had received his Patent two years before: the which Title was afterwards improved by other honourable and official accessions.

59. *Denzel Holles*, Baron *Holles* of *Ifrild* in the County of *Sussex*, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, Lord High Steward of the Honours, Mannors, and Revenues belonging to the Queen, and *Custos Rotulorum* of the County of *Dorset*. A Peer universally learned, of eminent Prudence, Piety, Courage, Conduct, and Experience; and consequently most condignly constituted, and sent Great Lord Ambassadour Extraordinary by our Soveraign to the Crown and Court of *France*; where, to the great Honour of the King, Interest of his three Kingdomes, and most ample satisfaction to that Great Court, he Resided in that most Noble Quality, from the year 1663. to *May* in the year 1666. maintaining there all the while, for the Honour of his Master, a Princely Port, and suitable Equipage both in the Entertainments at his Table, and splendid Retinue. And afterwards being sent by his, our said Soveraign Lord, Ambassadour Extraordinary, and Great Plenipotentiary to the High and Mighty States of the *United Provinces*, then conven'd at *Breda*; He appear'd in the same splendour and Princely Equipage. He had some years before been actively instrumental in the Restauration of our present Sovereign: for whose, and blessed Fathers sake, He was forced heretofore to fly, and seek shelter in the *Western* parts of *France*; wisely then foreseeing that black storm which hover'd over the head of the then imprison'd King, and enslaved Kingdom: A storm that had been long in Brewing, and then ready to be Broach'd, by the Ring-leaders of that approaching Army, whose Disbandment, Downfal, and total Dissolution, He, the said *Denzell*, (with that small remnant of the Kings cordial Friends then sitting) most vigorously, with all might and main endeavour'd and labour'd for in the Long Parliament. The which Parliaments former Vote and free Donation of 5000 *l.* in lieu of his Losses, He, like a publick-spirited Patriot, utterly refus'd, with a magnanimous yet modest Disdain, in effect telling them, It would more consist with the Honour and Equity of the Houses, first to discharge the debts of the Nation, and make up the Breaches of the divided Kingdom, whose ruinous frame very much required those Supplies and Reparations which they had so prodigally heap'd on such Persons who in them had little want, less worth, and least of gratitude. He is the Son, and sole survivant Brother of two *Johns*, the two penultimate Earls of *Clare*, and also Unkle to the present *Gilbert*, the third Earl, by the now more than thrice Noble Name of *HOLLES*; the which Earl *Gilbert's* Great Great Grand-father, was that memorable Sir *William Holles* Knight, the second of that name, a younger Son of Sir *William Holles* Knight, Lord Mayor of *London*, in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth: To which City, with that of *Coventry*, He was a worthy Benefactor; where, at his own Cost and Charges He erected that Magnificent Cross; and his Lady also built and fairly endowed Alms-houses, which will stand as the Monuments and Witnesses of so worthy minded, and publick-spirited Persons. The said *Denzell* was created Baron three dayes before the Coronation; in whose Veins runs the Blood of the greatest and best Families of the Three Kingdoms: being the first Coronation Baron of this King's making.

60. *Charles Cornwallis*, Baron *Cornwallis* of *Eye*, and Baronet, Grand-son of that memorable Sir *Frederick Cornwallis* Knight and Baronet; who was created Baron *Cornwallis* of *Eye* in *Suffolk* the same time, being the second Coronation Baron of this King's making; unto whom succeeded his eldest Son, Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Knight of the Bath, Baron *Cornwallis* of *Eye*, who dyed in or about 1672. those Hereditary Dignities of Baron and Baronet, are justly devolved, and consequently possessed by his Son the now Baron, at this day living.

61. *George Booth*, Baron *Delamer* of *Dunham-Massey* in *Cheshire*, and Baronet: being the third Coronation Baron. His Grand-father Sir *George Booth*, Knight and Baronet, and a lineal Descendant from one of those Eight most memorable Barons of *Chester*; was created Baronet, *May* 22. 1611. 9 *Jac.* being the first day of the Creation of Baronets.

62. *Horatio Townsend*, Baron *Townsend* of *Lyn Regis*, and Baronet, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Norfolk*, and Vice-Admiral of the Coasts of that Country, was for his exemplary Loyalty, and known Fortitude, created Baron at the same time, being the fourth Coronation Baron of this King's making. His Father, Sir *Roger Townsend* of *Raynham* in *Norfolk* was created Baronet, *April* 16. 1617. 15 *Jac.* unto whom succeeded Sir *Roger* the eldest Son; after him, the now Baron.

63. *John Crew*, Baron *Crew* of *Stene* in the County of *Northampton*, a Peer of surpassing Piety, Prudence, Candour, and Moderation, was most worthily created Baron *Crew* of *Stene* at the same time, being the sixth and last Coronation Baron of this King's making. The Baron *Ashley* was the fifth Coronation Baron at that time; but since that time he was created Earl of *Shaftsbury*, wherefore he is ranked amongst the Earls.

64. Baroness *Lucas* of *Wrisle*, created Baroness in 1663. and Countess of *Kent*.

65. *John Fresheville*, Baron *Freshvill* of *Staveley* in the County of *Derby*, and Governour of *York*; a Person of good Prudence, Fortitude, and Military Conduct; was most worthily created by our Sacred Sovereign, Baron, in or about 1664.

66. *Richard Arundel*, Baron *Arundel* of *Trevice* in the County of *Cornwall*; a Family of very great

great Veneration and Antiquity in the *West*, whose Ancestours were men of great Remark and Honour, to which this Lord *Richard* is a superadded ornament; was very meritoriously, for his great Loyalty, and consequently Losses, made Baron, *Anno prædicto*.

67. *Thomas Butler* (or *Boteler*) Baron *Butler* of *Moreparke*, one of the Lords of his Majesties Council, and one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Bed-Chamber, and Knight of the thrice Noble Order of the Garter, and Son and Heir apparent to his Illustrious Father *James* Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, and Earl of *Brecknock* in *Wales*. The Family of which *Botelers* were highly Eminent and Honourable in the time of *Henry* the Second, and memorable long before. And how often they have been reputed both in War and Peace, I refer the Reader to the Antient Annals of *England*, and Records of the *Tower*, for fuller Information. The which Baron *Thomas*, for his signal and successful Services both by Sea and Land, in his respective Commands at home, and also Negotiations abroad, in the behalf of his Sovereign, was by him most deservedly created by Writ Baron *Butler* of *Moreparke*, and accordingly summon'd to sit amongst the Peers of the High Court of Parliament, *Sept.* 18. 1666. who was not called unto Parliament by his Father's Baronry.

68. *Thomas Clifford*, Baron *Clifford* of *Chudleigh*, and Knight, created Baron, *April* 22. 1672.

69. *Richard Butler*, (or otherwise *Boteler*) Lord *Butler*, Baron of *Weston* in *Huntingtonshire*, so created by his Patent dated *August* 27. 1673. by the Titles of Lord *Butler*, and Baron of *Alton*; which is rare, if to be presidented in the like kind; who was also formerly in or about 1661. created Earl of *Arran* in *Ireland*. He is second Son unto *James* Duke of *Ormond*.

70. *Heneage Finch*, Baron *Finch* of *Daventry*, Baronet and Knight, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; created Baron, *January* 10. 1673. who had formerly been created Baronet *June* 7. 1660.

71. *Susan Ermine*, Baroness *Bellasis* of *Osgodby* in *Lincolnshire*, and Lady Dowager *Bellasis*, created Baroness for her life, *April* 1. 1674.

Privy Councellors.

1. *James* Duke of *York*, the King's onely Brother survivant.
2. Prince *Rupert*.
   Gilbert Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, dyed in *Nov.* 1677.
3. *Heneage* Baron *Finch*, Lord Chancellor of *England*.
4. *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, Lord Treasurer.
5. *Arthur* Earl of *Anglesey*, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.
6. *George* Duke of *Buckingham*.
7. *James* Duke of *Monmouth*.
   William Duke of *New-Castle*, dyed in 1676.
8. *John* Duke of *Lauderdale* in *Scotland*.
9. *James* Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*.
10. *Henry* Marquis of *Dorchester*.
11. *Henry* Marquis of *Worcester*.
12. *Thomas* Earl of *Ossory* in *Ireland*, A Duke's Eldest Son.
13. *Robert* Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*.
14. *Aubrey* Eal of *Oxford*.
15. *John* Earl of *Bridgewater*.
    Robert Earl of *Leceister* dyed in 1677.
16. *Henry* Earl of *St. Alban*.
17. *John* Earl of *Bath*.
18. *Charles* Earl of *Carlisle*.
19. *William* Earl of *Craven*.
20. *Henry* Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold.
21. *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*.
22. *John* Earl of *Rothesse* in *Scotland*.
23. *John* Earl of *Middleton* in *Scotland*.
24. *John* Earl of *Tivedale* in *Scotland*.
25. *Richard* Earl of *Carbury* in *Ireland*.
26. *Roger* Earl of *Orery* in *Ireland*.
27. *Thomas* Vicount *Falconbridge*.
28. *George* Vicount *Hallifax*.
    Humphrey Bishop of *London*, dyed in 1675.
29. *John* Baron *Roberts*.
30. *William* Baron *Maynard*.
31. *Francis* Vicount *Newport*.
32. *John* Baron *Berkley*.
33. *Denzell* Baron *Holles*.
34. *Ralph Mountague* Esq; A Baron's Eldest Son.
35. Sir *George Carteret* Knight, Vice-Chamberlain of the King's Houshold.
36. *Henry Coventry* Esq. one of the Principal Secretaries of State.
37. Sir *John Duncombe* Knight.
38. Sir *Robert Car* Baronet, Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*.
39. Sir *Thomas Chicheley* Knight; Master of the Ordnance.
    Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* Baronet, dyed in 1674.
    Sir *William Morrice*, Knight, dyed in or about 1676.
40. *Edward Seymour* Esq.
41. *Henry Compton* Bishop of *London*.
42. *William Sancroft* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.
43. Sir *Joseph Williamson* Knight, one of the Principal Secretaries of State.
44. Sir *John Ernley* Knight, Chancellour of the Exchequer.

Priucipal

Principal Secretaries of State.

HEnry Coventry, Esquire.

SIr *Joseph Williamson* Knight.

JUDGES.

HEneage Baron *Finch*, Lord Chancellor of *England.*

Sir *Matthew Hale*, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Kings-Bench. Dyed in or about 1676. Unto whom succeeded Sir *Richard Rainsford* Knight, who had his Writ of Ease in 1678. And then succeeded Sir *William Scrogg*, Knight.

Sir *Harbottle Grimston* Baronet, Master of the Rolls in *Chancery.*

Sir *John Vaughan* Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Dyed in or about 1674. Unto whom succeeded the Honourable Sir *Francis North*, Knight.

Sir *Edward Turner* Knight, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer; Dyed in or about 1676. Unto whom succeeded the Honourable *William Mountague* Esquire.

Sir *Tho. Twisden* Baronet, Sir *William Wild* Baronet, Sir *Tho. Jones*, Knight. — Judges of the Court of King's Bench.

Sir *John Archer* Knight. Sir *William Ellis* Baronet. Discharged in 1676. Sir *Hugh Wyndham* Knight. Sir *Robert Atkins* Knight of the Bath. *Veere Berty* Esquire. — Judges of the Court of the Common-Pleas.

Sir *Christopher Turner* Knight; Dyed in or about 1674. Sir *Timothy Littleton* Knight. Sir *Edward Thurland* Knight. *Francis Bramston* Esq; *Clement Spelman* Esq; — Barons of the Court of Exchequer.

The King's Counsell at Law.

SIr *John Maynard* Knight, the King's eldest Serjeant at Law.

Sir *William Jones* Knight, the King's Attorney General.

Sir *Job Charleton* Knight, Chief Justice of *Chester*, and the King's Serjeant at Law.

Sir *Francis Winnington* Knight, the King's Solicitor General.

Robert Milward Esq; the King's Justice at *Chester*, and of his Councel Learned at Law.

Sir *Timothens Baldwin* Knight, the King's Serjeant.

Sir *Francis Pemberton* Knight, the King's Serjeant.

Richard Stoat, the King's Serjeant.

Sir *James Butler* Knight, one of his Majesties Learned Councel; and the Queens Attorney General.

Sir *John Churchill* Knight, another of his Majesties Learned Councel, and Attorney General unto the Duke of *York*.

Sir *John Otway* Knight, one of his Majesties Learned Councel.

Sir *Thomas Hanmer* Knight, another of his Majesties Learned Councel, and the Queens Solicitor.

The Honourable *Heneage Finch* Esq; another of his Majesties Learned Councel, and the Duke of *York*'s Solicitor General.

Sir *Robert Sawyer* Knight, another of his Majesties Learned Councel.

Sir *George Jeffryes* Knight, another of his Majesties Learned Councel.

Sir *Peter Ball* Knight, who was Attorney General unto the late Queen-Mother.

BARONETS of ENGLAND.

1. SIr *Nicholas Bacon* of *Redgrave* in the County of *Suffolk*, firſt Baronet of *England*, created *May* 22. 1611. 9 *Jacob.* unto the Dignity and Degree of a Baronet of *England*.
2. Sir *Tho. Manſell* of *Morgan* in the County of *Glamorgan*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the ſame day.

Sir *George Shirley* of *Staunton* in the County of *Leiceſter*, created Baronet the ſame day. Sir *Charles*. Sir *Robert*. Sir *Seymour*. Sir *Seymour*. Sir *Robert*, now Baron *Ferrers* of *Chartley*.

3. Sir *John Stradling* of *St. Donates* in *Glamorgan*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the ſame day.
4. Sir *Tho. Pelham* of *Laughton* in *Suſſex*, created Baronet the ſame day. Sir *John*.
5. Sir *Rich. Houghton* of *Houghton-Tower* in the County of *Lancaſter*, created Baronet the ſame day. Sir *Gilbert*.
6. Sir *Henry Hobart* of *Intwood* in *Norfolk*, Baronet and Knight, then Attorney-General, afterwards Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common-Pleas, created Baronet the ſame day. Sir *Miles*. Sir *John*.

Sir *John Peyton* of *Iſleham* in *Cambridge*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the ſame day. *Extinct.*

7. Sir *Gervaſe Cliſton* of *Cliſton* in *Nottingham*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the ſame day: who dyed in 1666. Sir *Gervaſe* his eldeſt Son.
8. Sir *Tho. Gerrard* of *Bryn* in *Lancaſh.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the ſame day.
9. Sir *John St. John* of *Liddiard-Tregoz* in *Wilts*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the ſame day. Sir *John*. Sir *Walter*.
10. Sir *John Shelley* of *Michel-grove* in *Suſſolk*, created Baronet the ſame day.
11. Sir *Francis Barrington* of *Barrington-Hall* in *Eſſex*, created Baronet *June* the 29th. 1611. Sir *Thomas*. Sir *John*.

Hen. Berkley of *Wymondham* in *Com. Leiceſt. Extinct.* created Baronet *ut ſupra*.

12. Sir *Richard Muſgrave* of *Hartley*-Caſtle in *Weſtmerland*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.
13. Sir *Edward Seymour* of *Bury* Caſtle in *Com. Devon*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.
14. Sir *Anthony Cope* of *Hanwell* in *Com. Oxf.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.
15. Sir *Tho. Monſon* of *Carleton* in the County of *Lincoln*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*. Sir *John*.
16. Sir *George Griſeley* of *Drakedow* in *Com. Derby*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.
17. Sir *Paul Tracy* of *Stanway* in *Com. Glouceſt.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.
18. Sir *Robert Cotton* of *Connington* in *Com Hunt.* Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*. Sir *Thomas*. Sir *John*.

Sir *John Wentworth* of *Coſſield* in *Eſſex*, *Extinct.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.

Sir *William Conſtable* of *Flamborrough* in *Yorkſhire*, *Extinct.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.

19. Sir *John Mollineux* of *Taverſall* in *Com. Notting.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.

Sir *Francis Wortley* of *Wortley* in *Com. York*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*. *Extinct.*

20. Sir *William Kniveton* of *Mercaſton*, in *Com. Derb.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.
21. Sir *William Woodhouſe* of *Wilbey-Hall*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut ſupra*.
22. Sir *James Harrington* of *Ridlington* in *Com. Derb.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut ſupra*.

Sir *Henry Savil* of *Methley* in the County of *York*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*. *Extinct.*

Sir *Henry Willoughby* of *Riſly* in *Com. Derby*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*. *Extinct.*

Sir *Lewis Treſham* of *Ruſhton* in *Com. Northampt.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra*. *Extinct.*

Sir *George St. Paul* of *Snareſford* in *Com. Linc.* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *ut ſupra*. *Extinct.*

23. Sir *Phil. Tirwhit* of *Stainfield* in *Com. Linc.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.

Sir *Roger Dalliſon* of *Loughton* in *Com. Lincoln*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut ſupra*. *Extinct.*

24. Sir *Edward Carr* of *Sleford* in *Com. Linc.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*. Dyed in 1619. Sir *Robert* dyed on *Wedneſday Auguſt* 14. 1667. Sir *Robert*.
25. Sir *Edward Huſſey* of *Hennington* in *Com. Linc.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.
26. Sir *Le Eſtrange Mordant* of *Maſſingham parva* in *Com. Norfolk*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.
27. Sir *Tho. Bendiſh* of *Steeple-Bumſted* in *Com. Eſſex*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.
28. Sir *John Gwinne* of *Gwidder* in the County of *Carnarvan*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.
29. Sir *Will. Throckmorton* of *Tortworth* in *Com. Gloceſt.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut ſupra*. Sir *Bainham*.
30. Sir *Rich. Worſely* of *Appledorf-combe*, in *Com. Hants*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.
31. Sir *Richard Fleetwood* of *Calwich* in *Com. Stafford*, created Baronet *ut ſupra*.
32. Sir *William Spencer* of *Tardington* in the County of *Oxf.* created Baronet *ut ſupra*. Sir *William*. Sir *Thomas*.
33. Sir *Samuel Peyton* of *Knowlton*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut ſupra*. Sir *Thomas*.

Sir *Charles Morriſon* of *Caſhabury* in *Com. Hertf.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*. *Extinct.*

Sir *Henry Baker* of *Siſſingburſt* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*. *Extinct.*

34. Sir *Roger Appleton* of *South Hemſtead* in *Eſſex*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*.
35. Sir *William Sidley* of *Ailesford* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *ut ſupra*. Sir *William*. Sir *Charles*.

36. Sir

36. Sir *William Twisden* of *East-Peckam* in *Com. Kent*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra.* Sir *Roger.*

37. Sir *Edward Hales* of *Wood-Church* in *Com. Kent*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra.* Sir *Edward.*

38. Sir *William Monyns* of *Waltwercher* in *Kent*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

39. Sir *Thomas Mildmay* of *Mulsham* in *Com. Essex*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

Sir *Henry Lee* of *Quarendon* in *Com. Buckingham*, created Baronet, *ut supra. Extinct.* In which year of 1611. there were created on two several dayes, *May* 22. and *June* 29. Threescore and ten Baronets, many of whom are advanced unto higher Dignities, whose names are not therefore, for the most part, herein mentioned.

40. Sir *Robert Nappier-Sandy* of *Lewton-How* in the County of *Bedford* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Sept.* 24. 1612. 10 *Jac.* Sir *Robert* his Son surrendred that Patent unto King *Charles* the Second, with intent to take new Letters Patents of that Dignity to himself, with a Remainder unto his younger Sons *John* and *Alexander*, in Tail-male; but he dyed soon after. Whereupon King *Charles* the Second granted that Dignity unto the said *John Nappier*, with Remainder unto *Alexander* his Brother, with Remainder unto the Heirs males of the said Sir *Robert*, his Grand-father; with precedency before all Baronets made since that *September* the 24th, 1612. which was in the 10th year of King *James*; which new Letters Patents are dated *March* 4. 1660.

41. Sir *Thomas Temple* of *Stow* in *Com. Bucks*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet, *ut supra.* Sir *Peter.* Sir *Richard.*

42. Sir *Tho. Penifton* of *Leigh* in *Com. Suffex*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

43. Sir *John Portman* of *Orchard* in *Com. Somerset*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet in the Tenth year of King *James*, *Nov.* 25. 1612. Sir *Henry.* Sir *John.* Sir *Hugh.* Sir *William*, and Sir *William.*

44. Sir *Miles Sands* of *Ulberton* in the Isle of *Ely*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet the same day.

45. Sir *William Goftwick* of *Willington* in *Com. Bedford*, created Baronet, *ut supra.* Sir *Edward.* Sir *William.*

Sir *Thomas Puckering* of *Weston* in *Com. Hertford*, created Baronet, *ut supra. Extinct.*

46. Sir *William Wray* of *Glentworth* in *Com. Lincoln*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

47. Sir *William Ayloffe* of *Braxted Magna* in *Com. Essex*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

48. Sir *Marmaduke Wivel* of *Constable-Burton* in *Com. York*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

49. Sir *John Pesball* of *Horsley* in *Com. Staff.* created Baronet *ut supra.* Sir *John.*

50. Sir *Francis Inglesfield* of *Wotton-Basset* in *Com. Wilts*, created Baronet *ut supra.*

51. Sir *William Essex* of *Beaucot* in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet, *ut supra.* Sir *Thomas.*

52. Sir *Harbotle Grimston* of *Bradfield* in *Com. Essex*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra.* Dyed in 1648. Sir *Harbotle*, Master of the Rolls in Chancery.

53. Sir *Thomas Holt* of *Aston* juxta *Birmingham*, in *Com. Warwick*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra.*

Sir *Thomas Blackston* of *Blackston* in *Com. Durham*, created Baronet in the 13th year of King *James*, *May* 27. 1615. *Extinct.*

54. Sir *Rowland Egerton* of *Egerton* in *Com. Cest.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet in the 15th year of King *James*, *April* 6. 1617.

55. Sir *Simon Clark* of *Salford* in *Com. Warwick*, created Baronet *May* 1. 1617.

Sir *Edward Fitton* of *Howsworth* in *Com. Cest.* created Baronet *Oct.* 2. 1617. *Extinct.*

56. Sir *Richard Lucy* of *Broxborne* in the County of *Hertf.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *March* 11. 1617. Dyed in *April* 1667. Sir *Kingsmill.*

57. Sir *Matthew Boynton* of *Bramston* in the County of *York*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet in the 16th year of King *James*, *May* 25. 1618.

58. Sir *Tho. Littleton* of *Frankley* in the County of *Worcester*, created Baronet *July* 25. 1618. 16 *Jac.*

59. Sir *Thomas Burdet* of *Bramcot* in the County of *Warwick*, created Baronet *February* 25. *ut supra.*

60. Sir *George Morton* of *St. Andrews Milbourn* in the County of *Dorset*, created Baronet *March* 1. 1618. 16 *Jacob.* Dyed in or about 1661. Sir *John.*

61. Sir *Thomas Mackworth* of *Normanton* in *Com. Rutland*, created Baronet *June* 4. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

62. Sir *William Villiers* of *Brookesby* in *Com. Leicester*, created Baronet, *June* 19. *ut supra.* Sir *George.*

63. Sir *William Hicks* of *Beverston* in the County of *Gloucester*, created Baronet *July* 21. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

64. Sir *Henry Salisbury* of *Llewenny* in *Com. Denby*, created Baronet *Nov.* 10. *ut supra.*

65. Sir *Erasmus Dryden* of *Canon-Ashby* in *Com. Northampton*, created Baronet *Nov.* 16. *ut supra* Sir *John.*

66. Sir *William Armin* of *Osgodby* in the County of *Lincoln*, Son and Heir of Sir *William Armin* Knight, was created Baronet *Novem.* 28. *ut supra.* Sir *William.* Sir *Michael.* Dyed in 1668.

Sir *William Bamburgh* of *Hanson* in *Com. York*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Decem.* 1. *ut supra.*

67. Sir *Edward Hartopp* of *Freathby* in the County of *Leicester*, created Baronet *Decemb.* 3. *ut supra.*

68. Sir *John Mill* of *Canons-Court* in *Sussex*, created Baronet *Decemb.* 3. *ut supra.*

69. Sir *Francis Radcliffe* of *Darwent-water* in the County of *Cumberland*, created Baronet *Jan.* 31. *ut supra.*

70. Sir *David Fowlys* of *Ingleby* in *Com. York*, Baronet and Knight, was created Baronet *Febr.* 6. *ut supra.* Sir *David.*

71. Sir *Tho. Philips* of *Barrington* in the County of *Somerf.* created Baronet *February* 16. *ut supra.*

Sir *Claudius Forster* of *Bambrough* Caſtle in *Com. Northampt.* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *March* 7. 1619. 17 *Jac. Extinct.*

72. Sir *Anthony Cheſter* of *Chickley* in *Com. Buckr*, created Baronet *March* the twenty third, 1619. 17 *Jac.*

73. Sir *Samuel Tryon* of *Lair-Marney* in *Com. Eſſex*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *March* 28. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

74. Sir *Adam Newton* of *Charleton* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet *April* 2. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

75. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* of *Harrow of the Hill* in *Middleſex*, created Baronet *April* 13. 1620. 18 *Jac.* Dyed *January* 6. 1669. Sir *Francis.*

76. Sir *Humphrey Lee* of *Langley* in the County of *Salop*, created Baronet *May* 3. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

77. Sir *Richard Berney* of *Park hall* in *Redham* in *Com. Norfolk*, created Baronet *May.* 5. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

78. Sir *Humphry Foſter* of *Aldermaſton* in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet *May* 20. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

Sir *Thomas Biggs* of *Lentthwick* in *Com. Wigorn.* created Baronet *May* 26. 1620. 18 *Jac. Extinct.*

79. Sir *Henry Belſingham* of *Helſington* in *Com. Weſtmorland*, created Baronet *May* 30. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

Sir *William Yelverton* of *Rengham* in *Com. Norfolk*, created Baronet *May* 31. 1620. 18 *Jac. Extinct.*

80. Sir *Thomas Gower* of *Stetingham* in *Com. York*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *June* 2. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

81. Sir *John Packington* of *Alesbury* in the County of *Bucks*, created Baronet *June* 22. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

82. Sir *Ralph Aſhton* of *Lever*, in the County of *Lancaſter*, created Baronet *June* 28. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

83. Sir *Tho. Roberts* of *Glaſſenbury* in *Com. Kent*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 3. *ut ſupra.*

84. Sir *John Hanmer* of *Hanmer* in *Com. Flint*, created Baronet *July* 8. 1620. 18 *Jac.* Sir *John.*

85. Sir *Henry Felton* of *Plaiford* in *Com. Suffolk*, created Bar. *July* 20. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

Sir *William Challoner* of *Gisborough* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *July* 21. 1620. *Extinct.*

Sir *Edward Frier* of *Water-Eaton* in *Com. Oxford*, created Baronet *July* 22. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

86. Sir *Tho. Biſhop* of *Parham* in *Com. Suſſex*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 24. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

87. Sir *Francis Vincent* of *Stoak-daberon* in *Com. Surrey*, Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *July* 26. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

Sir *Henry Clere* of *Ormeshy* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet, *February* 27. 1620. 18 *Jacob. Extinct.*

88. Sir *Benjamin Tichborne* of *Tichborne* in *Com. Hants*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *March* 8. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

89. Sir *Richard Wilbraham* of *Woodley* in *Com. Ceſtr.* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *May* 5. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

90. Sir *Thomas Delves* of *Doddington* in *Com. Ceſtr.* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *May* 5. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

91. Sir *Thomas Palmer* of *Wingham* in *Com. Kent*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *June* 29. 1621. 19 *Jac.* Sir *Thomas.* Sir *Henry.*

92. Sir *John Rivers* of *Chafford* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet *July* 19. 1621. 19 *Jac.* Sir *Thomas.* Sir *John.*

93. Sir *Henry Jernegan* of *Coſley* in the County of *Norfolk*, created Baronet *Aug.* 16. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

94. Sir *Thomas Darnell* of *Heyling* in the County of *Lincoln*, created Baronet *Sept.* 6. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

95. Sir *Iſaack Sidley* of great *Chartre* in *Com. Kent*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Sept.* 14. 1621. Sir *Iſaack.*

96. Sir *Robert Brown* of *Walcott* in *Northamptonſhire*, created Baronet *Sept.* 21. 1621. 19 *Jac.* Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Robert.*

97. Sir *John Hewet* of *Headly-Hall* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *Oct.* 11. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Nicholas Hide* of *Alebury* in *Com. Hartf.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Nov.* 8. 1621. Sir *Thomas. Extinct.*

98. Sir *John Phillips* of *Picton* in *Com. Pembr.* created Baronet *Nov.* 9. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

99. Sir *John Stepney* of *Pendergaſt* in *Com. Pemb.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Nov.* 24. *ut ſupra.*

100. Sir *Baldwin Wake* of *Clevedon* in *Com. Somerſ.* created Baronet *Decemb.* 5. *ut ſupra.*

101. Sir *William Maſham* of *High-Laver* in the County of *Eſſex*, created Baronet *Decemb.* 20. 1621.

102. Sir *John Colebrand* of *Botham* in the County of *Suſſex*, created Baronet *Decemb.* 21. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

103. Sir *John Hotham* of *Scarborough* in *Com. York*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *Januar.* 4. 1621. deceaſed *January* 2. 1644. Sir *John.*

104. Sir *Francis Manſell* of *Mudleſcombe* in *Com. Carnarvan*, created Baronet *January* 14. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

Sir *Edward Powel* of *Penkelly* in the County of *Hertf.* who was one of the Maſters of the Requeſts, created Baronet *Jan.* 18. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

105. Sir *John Gerrard* of *Lammer* in *Com. Hertf.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Febr.* 6. 1621. 19 *Jac.* Sir *John.*

106. Sir *Richard Groſſevenor* (contractedly *Grawenor*) of *Laton* in the County of *Cheſter*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *Febr.* 23. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Henry Mody* of *Gareſdon* in *Com. Wilts*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *March* 11. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

Sir *John Barker* of *Grimſton-Hall* in *Trinley* in *Com. Suffolk*, created Baronet *March* 17. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

107. Sir *William Button* of *Alton* in *Com. Wilts*, Baronet and Knight; created Bar. *March* 18. *ut ſupra.* Sir *William.*

108. Sir *John Gage* of *Featle* in *Com. Suſſex*, created Baronet *March* 26. *Anno* 1622. *Viceſimo Regis Jacobi.*

109. Sir *William Goring* (Son and Heir of Sir *Henry Goring* of *Burton* in *Suſſex*, Knight;) created Baronet, *May* 14. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Peter Courteen* of *Aldington* in the County of *Worceſter*, created Baronet *May* 18. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

110. Sir *Richard Norton* of *Rotherfield* in *Com. Southampton*, Baronet and Knight, was created Baronet *May.* 23. *ut ſupra*; to whom ſucceeded his Son Sir *Richard*, and then ſucceeded Sir *John.*

111. Sir *John Leventhorp* of *Shingle-Hall* in *Com. Hertf.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *May* 30. *ut ſupra.* Sir *Tho.*

Sir *Capel Bedell* of *Hamerton* in the County of *Huntington*, created Baronet *June* 3. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

112. Sir *John Darell* of *Weſt-woodhey* in the County of *Carnarvan*, created Baronet *June* 13. *ut ſupra.*

113. Sir *William Williams* of *Veynold* in the County of *Carnarvan*, created Baronet *June* 15. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Francis Aſhby* of *Harſield* in *Com. Midd.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *June* 18 *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

Sir *Anthony Aſhley* of *St. Giles Wimborne* in *Com. Dorſet*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *July* 3. 1622. 20 *Jac.* deceaſed without Iſſue male in *Jan.* 1627. 3 *Car.* 1. Left onely one Daughter, The Baroneteſs *Anne Couper*, Wife of Sir *John Couper* of *Rockburne* in the County of *Southampton*, Baronet, who were the Father and Mother of *Anthony* now Earl of *Shafisbury.*

114. Sir *Edmund Prideaux* of *Netherton* in *Com. Devon.* created Baronet *July* 17. *ut ſupra.* Sir *Peter.*

115. Sir *Tho. Haſterigge* of *Noſely* in *Com. Leiceſt.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 21. *ut ſupra.* Sir *Arthur.* And now Sir *Thomas.*

116. Sir *Tho. Burton* of *Stokerſton* in *Com. Leiceſt.* Baronet and Knight; created Bar. *July* 22. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Francis Foliambe* of *Walton* in *Com. Derb.* created Bar. *July* 24. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

117. Sir *Edward Yates* of *Buckland* in *Com. Berks*, created Bar. *July* 30. *ut ſupra.*

118. Sir *George Chudleigh* of *Aſhton* in the County of *Devon*, created Baronet *Aug.* 1. *ut ſupra.*

119. Sir *William Meredith* of *Stanſly* in *Com. Denb.* created Baronet *Aug.* 13. *ut ſupra.*

120. Sir *Francis Drake* of *Buckland* in the County of *Devon.* created Baronet *Aug.* 20. *ut ſupra.*

121. Sir *Hugh Middleton* of *Ruthen* in the County of *Denby*, created Baronet, *Octob.* 22. *ut ſupra.*

122. Sir *Giffard Thornhurſt* of *Ague-Court*, in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet *Novemb.* 12. *ut ſupra.*

123. Sir *Robert Fiſher* of *Packington* in *Com. Warwick*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *Decemb.* 7. *ut ſupra.*

124. Sir *Hardolph Weſtneys* of *Headon* in *Com. Notting.* created Baronet *Decemb.* 18. *ut ſupra.* Sir *Hardolph.*

Sir *Henry Skipwith* of *Preſtwould* in *Com. Leiceſt.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *Dec.* 20. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

125. Sir *Tho. Harris* of *Boraton* in *Com. Salop.* created Baronet *Dec.* 22. *ut ſupra.*

126. Sir *Nichol. Tempeſt* of *Stella*, in the County of *Durham*, created Baronet *Decemb.* 23. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Thomas Harris* of *Tong-Caſtle* in the County of *Salop.* Serjeant at Law, was created Baronet *April* 12. 1623. 21 *Jac. ut ſupra. Extinct.*

127. Sir *Edward Barkham* of *South-acre* in the County of *Norfolk*, created Baronet *June* 28. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *John Corbet* of *Sprowſton* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet *July* 4, *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

128. Sir *Tho. Plaiters* of *Sotterly* in *Suffolk*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *Aug.* 13. *ut ſupra.* Sir *William.* Sir *Lyonell.* A Miniſter.

129. Sir *John Aſhfield* of *Netherhall* in *Com. Suſſex*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *July* 27. 1626. 2 *Car.* 1.

130. Sir *Henry Harper* of *Calk* in *Com. Derby*, created Bar. *Sept.* 8. *ut ſupra.*

131. Sir *Edward Seabright* of *Beſford* in *Com. Worceſter*, created Baronet, *Decemb.* 20. *ut ſupra.*

132. Sir *John Beaumont* of *Gracedieu* in the County of *Leiceſter*, created Baronet *Jan.* 29. *ut ſupra.*

133. Sir *Edward Dering* of *Surrenden-Dering* in *Com. Kent*, Baronet and Knight; created Bar. *Febr.* 1. *ut ſupra.* Dyed in or about 1644. Sir *Edward.*

Sir *George Kemp* of *Pentlow* in *Com. Eſſex*, created Baronet *Feb.* 5. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

134. Sir *William Brereton* of *Handford* in *Com. Ceſt.* created Baronet *March* 10. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Patricius Curwen* of *Workinton* in *Com. Cumb.* created Baronet *March* 12. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

135. Sir *William Ruſſel* of *Witley* in the County of *Worceſter*, created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

136. Sir *John Spencer* of *Offley* in *Com. Hertf.* created Bar. *March* 14. *ut ſupra.*

137. Sir *Giles Eſcourt* of *Newton* in *Com. Wilts*, Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *March* 17. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Thomas Ailsbury* (one of the Maſters of Requeſts) created Baronet *Apr.* 19. 1627. in the third year of *Charles* the Firſt. *Extinct.*

138. Sir *Tho. Style* of *Wateringbury* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet *Apr.* 21. *ut ſupra.*

139. Sir *Drue Drury* of *Norfolk*, created Baronet *May* 7. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Robert Crane* of *Chilton* in the County of *Suffolk*, Knight, created Baronet *May* 11. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

140. Sir *Anthony Wingfield* of *Goodwin* in *Com. Suffolk*, created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

141. Sir *William Culpepper* of *Preſton-Hall* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

142. Sir *Giles Bridges* of *Wilton* in *Com. Hereford*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

143. Sir *John Kirle* of *Much Marle*, in the County of *Hereford*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.* Sir *John.*

Sir *Humphry Styles* of *Beckenham* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet, *May* 20. *ut ſupra.*

144. Sir *Henry Moor* of *Faley*, in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet *May* 21. *ut supra.*

145. Sir *Tho. Heal* of *Fleet*, in *Com. Devon.* created Baronet *May* 28. *ut supra.*

Sr *John Carleton* of *Holcum* in the County of *Oxford*, created Baronet, *ut supra. Extinct.*

Sir *Tho. Maples* of *Stow*, in *Com Hunt.* created Baronet *May* 30. *ut supra Extinct.*

146. Sir *John Thom* of *Lamport* in the County of *Northampton*, Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra.* Sir *Justinian.*

147. Sir *Henry Bagot* of *Blithfield* in *Com. Staff.* created Baronet *ut supra.*

Sir *Lewis Pollard* of *Kings Nymph* in the County of *Devon.* created Baronet *May* 31. *ut supra.* Sir *Hugh*, who was Comptroller of the King's Houſhold. *Extinct.* Deceaſed in 1666.

148. Sir *Francis Mannock* of *Giffords-Hall* in *Stoke* near *Neyland* in *Com. Suffolk.* created Baronet *June* 1. *ut supra.*

Sir *Henry Griffith* of *Agnes-Burton* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *June* 7. *ut supra. Extinct.*

149. Sir *Lodowick Dier* of *Stoughton* in the County of *Huntington*, created Baronet *June* 8. *ut supra.*

150. Sr *Hugh Stukely* of *Hinton* in *Com. Hants.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *June* 9. *ut supra.* To which Dignity his Son Sir *Hugh* deſervedly ſucceeded.

151. Sir *Edward Stanley* of *Bickerſtaff* in *Com. Lanc.* created Bar. *June* 26. *ut supra.*

152. Sir *Edward Littleton* of *Pileton-Hall* in the the County of *Staffard*, created Bar. *June* 28. *ut supra.*

153. Sir *Am'roſe Brown* of *Betſworth-Caſtle* in *Com. Surrey*, created Baronet *July* 7. *ut supra.* Sr *Adam.*

154. Sir *Sackvil Crow* of *Llanbern* in *Com. Carnarvan*, created Baronet *July* 8. *ut supra*: and afterwards many years Ambaſſadour to the *Grand Seignior.*

155. Sr *Michael Livesey* of *Eaſt-Church* in the Iſle of *Shippy*, in the County of *Kent*, created Bar. *July* 11. *ut supra.*

Sir *Simon Bennet* of *Beanhampton* in the County of *Bucks.* created Baronet *July* 17. *ut supra. Extinct.*

156. Sir *Thomas Fiſher* of the Pariſh of St. *Giles* in *Middleſex*, Baronet and Knight; created Bar. *July* 19. *ut supra.* To whom ſucceeded Sir *Thomas*, and Sir *Thomas*, and laſtly Sir *Richard Fiſher* the fourth Baronet of this Family.

157. Sir *Tho. Bowyer* of *Legthorne* in the County of *Suſſex*, created Baronet *July* 23. *ut supra.* Sir *Henry.*

158. Sir *Butts Bacon* of *Miden-hall* in the County of *Suffolk*, created Baronet *July* 29. *ut supra.*

159. Sir *John Corbet* of *Stoak* in *Com. Salop.* created Baronet *Sept.* 19. *ut supra.*

160. Sir *Edward Tirrel* of *Thornton* in the County of *Bucks*, Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *Octob.* 31. *ut supra*: Which Patent was afterwards ſurrendred by the ſaid Sir *Edward Tirrel*, who thereupon, by a new Patent dated *Febr.* 19. 1638. 14 *Car.* 1. had the Title of a Baronet of *England*, granted unto himſelf with the Remainder unto the Heirs of *Toby Tirrel*, one of his Sons; and for default of ſuch Iſſue, on *Francis Tirrel*, another of his Sons, and the Heirs males of the Body of the ſaid *Francis*: and to have precedency from the date of his former Patent, dated as before-mentioned, *Oct.* 31. 1627. 3 *Car.* 1.

Sir *Baſil Dignel* of *Tarlingham*, alias *Girlingham*, in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet, *Febr.* 28. *ut supra. Extinct.*

Sir *Richard Young* Baronet and Knight, one of his late Majeſties Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, created Baronet *March* 10. *ut supra. Extinct.*

Sir *William Pennyman* of *Marſk* in the County of *York*; ſometimes Governour of *Oxford*, where he lies buried under a fair Monument in *Chriſt-Church*, whoſe Name and Fame will live in the Annals of after-Ages. He was created Bar. *May* 6. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1.

161. Sir *William Stonhouſe* of *Radley* in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet *May* 7. *ut supra.*

Sir *Tho. Fowler* of *Iſlington* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *May* 21. *ut supra. Extinct.*

162. Sir *John Fenwick* of *Fenwick* in *Com. Northumb.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *June* 9. *ut supra.*

163. Sir *William Wray* of *Trebitch* in *Com. Cornwall*, Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *June* 30. *ut supra.*

164. Sir *John Trelawny* of *Trelawny* in *Cornwall*, created Baronet *July* 1. *ut supra.*

165. Sir *John Conniers* of *Horden* in *Com. Durham*, was created Baronet *July* 14. *ut supra.* To whom ſucceeded Sir *Chriſtopher.*

166. Sir *John Bolles* of *Scampton*, (Son of Sir *Geo.* a Knight) was created Baronet *July* 24. *ut supra.*

167. Sir *Thomas Aſton* of *Aſton* in *Com. Ceſt.* created Baronet *July* 25. *ut supra.*

168. Sir *Kenelm Jennour* of *Much-Dunmore* in the County of *Eſſex*, created Baronet *July* 30. *ut supra.*

169. Sir *John Price* of *Newton* in *Com. Montgom.* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *Aug.* 15. *ut supra.*

Sir *Rich. Beaumont* of *Witley* in *Com. York*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Aug.* 22. *ut supra. Extinct.*

170. Sir *William Wiſeman* of *Canfield-Hall* in the County of *Eſſex*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

171. Sir *Tho. Nightingale* of *Newport-Pond*, in *Com. Eſſex*, created Baronet, *Septemb.* 1. *ut supra.*

Sir *John Jaques* of *Middleſex*, created Bar. *Sept.* 2. *ut supra. Extinct.* who was one of his then Majeſties Gentlemen Penſioners.

172. Sir *Robert Dillington* of *Knighton* in the Iſle of *Wight*, created Baronet *Sept.* 6. *ut supra*, Sir *Robert* his Grand-ſon.

173. Sir *Francis Pile* of *Compton* in the County of *Berks*, (the Eldeſt Son and Heir of Sir *Gabriel Pile* of *Compton* aforeſaid, Knight;) created Baronet *Sept.* 12. *ut supra*, who deceas'd in 1635. in the Eight and fortieth year of his age, Sir *Francis* his eldeſt Son, deceas'd *Febr.* 12. 1648. in the Two and thirtieth year of his age, without Iſſue Male, unto whom ſucceeded in the Baronetal Dignity, Sir *Seymour*, his next Brother.

174. Sir *John Pole* (pronounced *Pool*) of *Shute* in *Com. Devon* created Baronet *ut supra.* Sir *Courtney*, his Son.

Sir *William Lewis* of *Langers* in the County of *Brecknock*, created Baronet *September* 14. *ut supra.* Dyed without Iſſue or Male in 1677.

175. Sir *William Culpepper* of *Wakehurſt*, in *Com. Suſſex*, created Bar. *Sept.* 20. *ut supra.*

176. Sir *John Lawrence* of *Iver* in *Com. Bucks*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Octob.* 9. *ut supra.*

177. Sir *Anthony Slingsby* of *Scriven* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *Octob.* 23. *ut supra.*

178. Sir *Tho. Vavaſor* of *Haſlewood* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *Octob* 24. *ut supra.*

Sir *Peter Vanlor* of *Tylehurſt* in *Com. Berks* created Bar. *Novem* 3. *ut supra. Extinct.*

179. Sir *Robert Wolſely* of *Wolſely* in *Com. Staff.* created Baronet *Novemb.* 24. *ut supra.* Sir. *Charles.*

180 Sir *Rice Rudd* of *Abergavenny* in *Com. Carnarvan* created Bar. *Dec.* 18. *ut supra.*

181 Sir *Richard Wiſeman* of *Thundersly* in *Com. Eſſex*, created Bar. *Dec.* 8. *ut supra.*

182. Sir *Henry Ferrers* of *Skelingthorpe* in *Com. Line.* created Bar. *Dec.* 19. *ut supra.*

183 Sir *John Anderſon* of St. *Ives* in *Com. Hunt.* created Baronet *January* 3. *ut supra.*

184. Sir *William Ruſſel* of *Chippenham* in *Com. Camb.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *January* 19. *ut supra.* From whom Sir. *Francis*, a Gentleman of great worth and Honour.

185. Sir *Richard Everard* of *Much-Waltham* in *Com. Eſſex*, created Baronet *January* 29. *ut supra.*

186. Sir *Thomas Powel* of *Berkenhead* in *Com. Ceſt.* created Baronet *ut supra.*

187. Sir *William Luckin* of *Waltham* in *Com. Eſſex*, created Baronet *March* 2. *ut supra.*

188. Sir *Richard Graham* of *Eske* in *Com. Cumberland*, created Baronet *March* 29. in the fifth year of *Charles* the Firſt, and of our Lord, 1629.

Sir *Geo. Twiſleton* of *Earley* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *April* 2. *ut supra. Extinct.*

Sir *William Acton* of the City of *London*, created Baronet *May* 30. *ut supra. Extinct.*

189. Sir *Nicholas Le-Strange* of *Hunſtanton* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet *June* 1. *ut supra.*

Sir *John Holland* of *Quiddenham* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet *June* 15. *ut supra.*

Sir *Edw. Alyen* of *Hatfield* in *Com. Eſſex*, created Baronet *June* 24. *ut supra. Extinct.*

190 Sir *Richard Earl* of *Crayglethrop* in *Com. Lincoln*, created Baronet *July* 2. *ut supra.*

Sir *Robert Ducy* Alderman of *London*, created Baronet *Nov.* 28. *ut supra.* Sir *Richard.* Sir *William*, a Knight of the *Bath.* Created *Sept.* 21. 1675. Viſcount *Downe*, and Baron of *Cloncy* in *Ireland.*

Sir *Richard Greenvil* of *Kilkhampton* in *Com. Cornwall*, Baronet and Knight, who dyed without Iſſue male; he was created Baronet *April.* 9. 1630. 6 *Car.* 1. Who was formerly Knighted at *Portſmouth*, *June* 20th. 1627. 3 *Car.* 1.

191. Sir *Charles Vavaſor* of *Killingthorp* in *Com. Line.* created Baronet *June* 22 1631. in the ſeventh year of *Charles* the Firſt.

Sir *Edward Moſeley* of *Rowlſton* in *Com. Stafford*, created Baronet *July* 10. *Anno* 1640. *Regis* Caroli *decimo ſexto.* Dyed in 1659 Sir *Edward*, his onely Son, dyed *Oct.* 14. 1665. *Extinct.*

192. Sir *Martin Lumley* of *Great Bradford* in *Com. Eſſex.* created Baronet *Jan.* 8. *ut supra.* who was Knighted the day after. Sir *Martin.*

193. Sir *William Daliſon* of *Daliſon* in *Com. Cumb.* created Baronet *February* 15 *ut supra.* who was Knighted *July* 31. following, in 1641.

194. Sir *Henry Fletcher* of *Hutton* in *Com. Cumber.* created Baronet *Febr.* 19. *ut supra.* who was kill'd in the Cauſe of his King and Countrey; from whom deſcended his Son and Heir Sir *George*, a worthy Gentleman, one of the Deputy Lieutenants of *Cumberland*, and one of the Knights of that Shire to this Parliament.

195. Sir *Nicholas Cole* of *Branſpeth* in *Com. Durham*, created Baronet *March* 4. *ut supra.*

Sir *Edmond Pye* of *Leckhamſtead* in *Com. Bucks*, created Baronet *Apr.* 23. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1. and afterwards Knighted, the 27th. of the ſame month. *Extinct.* Dyed without Iſſue male in or about 1673.

196. Sir *Simon Every* of *Eggington* in *Com. Derby*, created Baronet *May* 26. *ut supra.* Knighted *June* 4. following.

197 Sir *William Langely* of *Higham-Gabion* in *Com. Bedf.* created Baronet *May* 29. *ut supra.*

198. Sir *James Stonehouſe* of *Amerden-Hall*, in *Com. Eſſex*, created Baronet *June* 11. *ut supra.*

199. Sir *John Palagrave* of *Norwood-Braningham* in the County of *Norfolk*, created Baronet *June* 24 *ut supra.* Knighted afterwards, the 28th of that month.

200. Sir *Gerrard Napper* of *Middle-Marſh-hall* in *Com. Dorſet*, created Baronet *June* 25. *ut supra.* Knighted afterwards, the 29th of that month.

201 Sir *Tho. Whitmore* of *Apley* in *Com. Salop.* created Baronet *June* 28th *ut supra.* and Knighted the ſame day. From whom Sir *William*, and likewiſe Sir *Thomas*, a Knight of the antient Order of the Bath.

202. Sir *John Manly* of *Linton* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

203. Sir *Tho. Cave*, *junior*, of *Stamford* in the County of *Northampton*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *June* 30. *ut supra.*

204. Sir *Chriſtopher Yelverton* of *Eaſton-Manduit* in *Com. Northamp.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra.* Sir *Henry.*

205. Sir *William Boteler* of *Teſton* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet *July* 3. *ut supra.* Knighted the next day. Sir *Oliver.*

206. Sir *Tho. Hatton* of *Long Stanton* in *Com. Camb.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 5. *ut supra.*

207. Sir *Thomas Abdy* of *Fex-hall* in the County of *Eſſex*, created Baronet *July* 7. *ut supra*; and Knighted the day after.

208. Sir *John Bampfield* of *Poltmore* in the County of *Devon*, created Baronet *July* 14. *ut supra.* Dyed in 1650. Sir *Copleſton.*

209.

209. Sir *John Cotton* of *Landwade* in the County of *Camb.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

210. Sir *Simon D'Ewes* of *Stow-Hall* in *Com. Suff.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 15. *ut ſupra.* Sir *Willoughby.*

211. Sir *Hen. Frederick Thynne*, alias *Botevile* of *Caufe-Caſtle* in the County of *Salop*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

212. Sir *John Burgoyne* of *Sutton* in *Com. Bedford*, created Baronet *ut ſupra.* Sir *Roger* Dyed in 1677. Sir *John.*

213. Sir *John Northcot* of *Haine* in *Com. Devon.* created Baronet, *July* 16. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *William Drake* of *Sherdelewes* in the County of *Bucks*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 17. *ut ſupra. Extinct.* Dyed a Batchelor in 1669.

214. Sir *Thomas Rous* of *Rouſleneh* in *Com. Wigor.* created Baronet *July* 23. *ut ſupra.*

215. Sir *Ralph Hare* of *Stow-Bardolph* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

216. Sir *John Norwich* of *Brunneton* in the County of *Northampt.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 24. *ut ſupra.*

217. Sir *John Brownlowe* of *Belton* in the County of *Lincoln*, created Baronet *July* 26. *ut ſupra.*

218. Sir *William Brownlow* (Brother to the ſaid Sir *John*) of *Humby* in *Com. Lincoln*, created Baronet *July* 27. *ut ſupra*: who dyed in 1666. his Eldeſt Son Sir *Richard* dyed *July* 3. 1668. leaving his Eldeſt Son Sir *John.*

219. Sir *John Sydenham* of *Brimpton* in the County of *Somerſet*, created Baronet *July* 28. *ut ſupra*: from whom is the preſent Sir *John Sydenham*, Baronet, and one of the Knights of the Shire of the County of *Somerſet* to this preſent Parliament.

Sir *Henry Pratt* of *Colſhal* in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*: to whom Sir *George Pratt*, his eldeſt Son, ſucceeded: upon whoſe late death ſucceeded Sir *Henry*, the third Baronet of his Name: but lately dead. *Extinct.*

220. Sir *Francis Nicholas* of *Hardwick* in *Com. Northampt.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

221. Sir *William Strickland* of *Boynton* in *Com. York*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 30. *ut ſupra.* Dyed *Sept.* 12. 1673. Sir *Thomas*, his onely Son.

222. Sir *Tho. Wolrycbe* (an old *Saxon* Family, antiently *Ulrick*) of *Dudmeſton*, in *Com. Salop.* Baronet and Knight, a Member of many Parliaments, and one of the Deputy Lieutenants of that County; a very memorable Patriot, and ſignally conſpicuous for his Loyalty, Fidelity, and Fortitude; who was Knighted long before, and created Baronet *Aug.* 4. *ut ſupra.* To which Dignity Sir *Francis*, his Eldeſt Son, ſucceeded; His youngeſt Son being *John Wolrycbe* Eſq; a good Proficient in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, Barriſter of the Society of *Grayes-Inne. London*; Doctor of the Civil Laws in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; a Gentleman every way moſt worthily accompliſh'd, generouſly obliging all, and generally belov'd of all that have the honour of his converſation and acquaintance.

223. Sir *Thomas Maleverer* of *Allerton-Maleverer* in *Yorkſhire*, created the ſame day.

224. Sir *William Boughton* of *Lawford*, in *Com. Warwick*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

225. Sir *John Chicheſter* of *Rawleigh*, in *Com. Devon*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

226. Sir *Norton Knatchbull* of *Merſham* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Hugh Wyndham* of *Pilſeden-Court* in *Com. Dorſet*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra*, and Knighted afterwards, the 10th day of the ſame month. *Extinct.* Who dyed without Iſſue male.

227. Sir *Richard Carew* (a Family of which there have been Barons of the Realm) of *Antony* in the County of *Cornwal*, created Baronet *Aug.* 9. *ut ſupra.* Sir *Alexander* dyed *Decemb.* 23. 1644. Sir *John.*

228. Sir *William Caſtleton* of *St. Edmonds-bury in Suffolk*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

229. Sir *Richard Price* of *Gogarthan* in the County of *Cardigan*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

230. Sir *Hugh Cholmely* of *Whitby* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *Aug.* 10. *ut ſupra.* Sir *William*, who dyed in 1663. Sir *Hugh.*

231. Sir *William Spring* of *Pakenham* in *Com. Suff.* created Baronet *Aug.* 11. *ut ſupra.*

232. Sir *Tho. Trevor* of *Enfield* in the County of *Middleſex*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

233. Sir *John Curſon* of *Kedleſton* in *Com. Derby*, Baronet of *England* and *Scotland*, created Baronet of *England*, *ut ſupra.*

234. Sir *Hugh Owen* of *Orleton* in *Com. Pembr.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra*; and Knighted the day before.

235. Sir *Morton Briggs* of *Haughton* in *Com. Salop.* created Baronet *Aug.* 12. *ut ſupra.*

236. Sir *Hen. Hayman* of *Somerfield* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.* Sir *Peter.*

237. Sir *Tho. Sandford* of *Hough-hall-Caſtle* in *Weſtmorland*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

238. Sir *Francis Rhodes* of *Ball-borough* in *Com. Derby*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Aug.* 14. *ut ſupra.*

239. Sir *Rich. Sprignell* of *Coppenthorp*, in *Com. York*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.* Sir *Robert.*

240. Sir *John Potts* of *Mannington* in *Com. Norf.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

241. Sir *John Gooderick* of *Ribſton* in the County of *York*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

242. Sir *Robert Binloes* of *Barwick* in *Com. Lancaſter*, created Baronet *Aug.* 16. *ut ſupra.*

243. Sir *William Walter* of *Sareſden* in *Com. Oxf.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

244 Sir *Thomas Lawley* of *Spoonhill* in *Com. Salop.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra.* Sir *Francis.*

245. Sir *William Farmer* of *Eaſton-Neſton* in *Com. Northampt.* created Baronet *September* 6. *ut ſupra.*

246. Sir *John Davie* of *Creedy* in the County of *Devon.* created Baronet *Sept.* 9, *ut ſupra.*

247. Sir *Tho. Pettus* of *Rockbrath* in *Com. Northamp.* created Baronet *Sept.* 23. *ut ſupra.* Sir *John.*

248. Sir *William Andrew* of *Denton* in the County of *Northampt.* created Baronet *Decemb.* 11. *ut ſupra.*

249. Sir *John Mewx* of the *Iſle* of *Wight*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.* Sir *William.* Sir *John.*

Sir *Richard Gurney* of *London*, Baronet and Knight, and Lord Mayor of *London*, (and a moſt Loyal one, exemplified in his Services and

Sufferings

Sufferings for the late King) created Baronet *Decemb.* 14. *ut supra. Extinct.*

249. Sir *Thomas Willis* of *Fen-Ditton* in *Com. Camb.* created Baronet *Decemb.* 15. *ut supra.*

250. Sir *Francis Armitage* of *Kirkly* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *ut supra.*

251. Sir *Rich. Harford* of *Weston* in *Com. Leicest.* created Baronet *Decemb.* 18. *ut supra.*

252. Sir *Humphry Tufton* of the *Mote* in the County of *Kent*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Decemb.* 24. *ut supra.* Sir *John.*

253. Sir *Edward Coke* of *Langford* in *Com. Derby*, created Baronet *Decemb.* 30. *ut supra.*

Sir *Isaack Astley* of *Melton-Constable* in the County of *Norfolk*, created Baronet *January* 21. *ut supra*, and Knighted the same day at *Windsor. Extinct.*

Sir *David Cunningham* of *London*, Baronet of *England* and *Scotland*, created Baronet of *Scotland Jan.* 22. *ut supra. Extinct.*

254. Sir *John Rayney* of *Wrotham* in *Com. Kent*, Baronet of *England* and *Scotland*, created Baronet of *England*, *ut supra.*

Sir *River Eldred* of *Saxham Magna* in *Suffolk*, created Baronet *Jan.* 28. *ut supra. Extinct.*

255. Sir *John Gell* of *Hopton* in the County of *Derby*, created Baronet, *ut supra.* Deceas'd in 1671. Sir *John.*

256. Sir *Vincent Corbet* of *Morton-Corbet* in the County of *Salop*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

357. Sir *John Wray of Woodsom* in the County of *York*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *Febr.* 4. *ut supra.*

258. Sir *Thomas Trolop* of *Casewick* in *Com. Linc.* created Baronet *February* 5. *ut supra.* Sir *William.* Dyed in or about 1678.

259. Sir *Edward Thomas* of *Michelston* in the County of *Glamorg.* created Baronet *March* 3. *ut supra.*

260. Sir *Will. Cowper* of *Rathing Court* in *Com. Kent*, Baronet of *England* and *Scotland*, created Baronet of *England March* 4. *ut supra.* Dyed in 1664. Sir *William* his Grandson.

Sir *Denner Strut* of *Little Wotly-Hall* in *Com. Essex*, created Baronet *March* 5 *ut supra.*

261. Sir *William St. Quintin* of *Harpam* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *March* 8. *ut supra.*

262. Sir *Robert Kemp* of *Gissing* in the County of *Norfolk*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *March* 14. *ut supra.*

263. Sir *John Read of Brocket-Hall* in *Com. Hertf.* created Baronet *March* 16. *ut supra.* who was Knighted at *New-Market* four dayes before the 12th of that month.

Sir *James Enion* of *Flowre* in *Com. Northampt.* created Baronet *April* 9. *Anno Dom.* 1642. in the 18th year of *Charles* the First.

264. Sir *Edm. Williams* of *Marlbul* in *Com. Dorset*, created Baronet *Apr.* 19. *ut supra.* Sir *John.*

Sir *John Williams* of *Minster-Court* in the *Isle of Thanet*, created Baronet *April* 22. *ut supra.* Dyed in *Febr.* 1668. *Extinct.*

265. Sir *Geo. Wintour* of *Huddington* in the County of *Wigorn*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *April* 29. *ut supra.*

266. Sir *John Borlace* of *Bockner* in *Com. Bucks*, created Baronet *May* 4. *ut supra.*

Sir *Hen. Knowlys* of *Grove-place* in *Com. Hants*, created Baronet *May* 6. *ut supra. Extinct.*

267. Sir *John Hamilton* of *London*, created Baronet *May* 11. *ut supra.*

268. Sir *Edward Morgan* of *Llantarnam* in *Com. Monm.* created Baronet *May* 12. *ut supra.*

269. Sir *Nicholas Kemeys* of *Keven-mable* in *Com. Glamorg.* a Person of great Fidelity and Fortitude, created Baronet *May* 13. *ut supra.*

270. Sir *Trevor Williams* of *Llangibby* in the County of *Monmouth*, created Baronet *May* 14. *ut supra.*

271. Sir *John Reresby* of *Triberge* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *May* 16. *ut supra.*

272. Sir *Poynings Moore* of *Loseley*, in the County of *Surrey*, created Baronet *May* 18. *ut supra.* Sir *William.*

273. Sir *Christopher Dawney* of *Cowick* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *May* 19. *ut supra.*

274. Sir *William Inglesby* of *Ripley* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *May* 27. *ut supra.*

275. Sir *Tho. Hampson* of *Taplow* in the County of *Bucks*, created Baronet *June* 3. *ut supra.* Sir *Thomas.* Sir *Dennis.*

276. Sir *Tho. Williamson* of *East-Markham* in *Com. Notting.* created Baronet, *ut supra.*

277. Sir *William Denny* of *Gillingham* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet, *ut supra.*

278. Sir *Richard Hardres* of *Hardres*, in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

279. Sir *Christopher Lowther* of *Whithaven* in the County of *Cumberland*, created Baronet *June* 11. *ut supra.*

280. Sir *Tho. Alston* of *Odebill* in the County of *Bedford*, created Baronet *June* 13. *ut supra.*

281. Sir *Edw. Corbet* of *Leigton* in *Com. Montgom.* created Baronet *June* 20. *ut supra.*

Sir *George Middleton* of *Leighton* in the County of *Lancaster*, created Baronet *June* 24. *ut supra. Extinct.*

282. Sir *Edward Payler* of *Thoralby* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *June* 28. *ut supra.*

283. Sir *Math. Valckenburgh* of *Middleing* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *July* 20. *ut supra.*

284. Sir *Philip Constable* of *Everingham* in *Com. Eborac.* created Baronet, *ut supra.*

285. Sir *Ralph Blackstone* of *Gibside* in *Com. Durham*, created Baronet *July* 30. *ut supra.*

286. Sir *Edw. Widdrington* of *Carlington* in the County of *Northampton*, Baronet of *England* and *Scotland*, created Baronet of *England August* 8. *ut supra.*

287. Sir *Robert Markeham* of *Sedgebrook* in *Com. Linc.* created Baronet *Aug.* 15. *ut supra.*

288. Sir *Philip Hungat* of *Saxton* in the County of *York*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

289. Sir *Stephen Leonard* of *West-wickham* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

290. Sir *William Thorold* of *Marston* in the County of *Linc.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Aug.* 24. *ut supra.*

291. Sir *Walter Rudston* of *Hayton* in *Com. Eborac.* created Baronet *Aug.* 29. *ut supra.*

292. Sir *Walter Wrotesley* of *Wrotesley* in *Com. Staff.* created Baronet *Aug.* 30. *ut supra.*

293. Sir *Thomas Bland* of *Kippax-Park* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *Aug* 31. *ut supra.*

294. Sir *Robert Throckmorton* of *Loughton* in the County of *Warwick*, created Baronet *Sept.* 1. *ut supra.*

295. Sir *William Halton* of *Sanford* in *Com. Eſſex.* created Baronet *Sept.* 10. *ut ſupra.*

296. Sir *Brocket Spencer* of *Offley* in *Com. Hertf.* created Baronet *Sept.* 26. *ut ſupra.*

297. Sir *Edward Golding* of *Colſton-Baſſet* in *Com. Notting.* created Baronet *Septemb.* 27. *ut ſupra.*

298. Sir *William Smith* of *Crantock* in *Com. Cornwall*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

299. Sir *Henry Heane* of *Wingfield* in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet *Octob.* 1. *ut ſupra.*

300. Sir *Walter Blount* of *Soddington* in *Com. Worceſter*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

301. Sir *Adam Littleton* of *Stoak-Milburg* in the County of *Salop*, created Baronet *Octob.* 24. *ut ſupra.*

302. Sir *Thomas Haggerſton* of *Haggerſton* in *Com. Northumb.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

303. Sir *Tho. Liddle* of *Ravenſtolm-Caſtle* in *Com. Dunham*, created Baronet *Nov.* 2. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Richard Landy* of *Exeter*, created Baronet *Nov.* 9. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

304. Sir *Thomas Chamberlain* of *Wickham* in *Com. Oxon.* created Baronet *Febr.* 14. *ut ſupra.*

305. Sir *Henry Hunlock* of *Wingarworth* in the County of *Derby*, created Baronet *Febr.* 28. *ut ſupra.*

306. Sir *Thomas Badd* of *Camet-Oyſells* in *Com. Hants*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Richard Crane* of *Woodring* in the County of *Norfolk*, created Baronet *March* 20th. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

307 Sir *Samuel Dandvers* of *Culworth* in the County of *Northampton*, created Baronet *March* 21. *ut ſupra.*

308. Sir *Hen. Anderſon* of *Penley* in *Com. Hertf.* created Baronet *July* 3. in the year of our Lord 1643. and in the Nineteenth year of *Charles* the Firſt.

Sir *William Vavaſor* of the County of *York* created Baronet *July* 17. *ut ſupra.*

309. Sir *Henry Jones* of *Albermarles* in the County of *Caermarth.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 26. *ut ſupra.*

310. Sir *Edward Walgrave* of *Hever-Caſtle* in *Com. Kent*, Knight, created Baronet *Auguſt* 1. *ut ſupra.*

311. Sir *John Pate* of *Siſonby* in *Com. Leiceſt.* created Baronet *Octob.* 28. *ut ſupra.*

312. Sir *John Bale* of *Carleton-Curley* in *Com. Leiceſt.* created Baronet *Nov.* 9. *ut ſupra.*

313. Sir *Brian O Neal* of the County of *Dublin*, created Baronet *Nov.* 13. *ut ſupra.*

314. Sir *Willoughby Hickman* of *Gainsborrough* in *Com. Lincoln.* created Baronet *Novemb.* 16. *ut ſupra.*

315. Sir *John Botteler* of *Bramfield* in *Com. Hertf.* created Baronet *Decemb.* 7. *ut ſupra.*

316. Sir *Edward Bathurſt* of *Leach-land* in *Com. Glouceſt.* created Baronet *Decemb.* 9. *ut ſupra.*

317. Sir *Edw. Acton* of *Aldenham* in *Com. Salop.* created Baronet *Jan.* 17. *ut ſupra.*

318. Sir *John Preſton* of *Furneſs* in *Com. Lancaſt.* created Baronet *April* 1. 1644. in the 20th year of the Reign of *Charles* the Firſt.

319. Sir *John Web* of *Odſtock* in *Com. Wilts*, created Baronet *April* 2. *ut ſupra.*

320. Sir *Thomas Preſtwich* of *Holme* in *Com. Lanc.* created Baronet *April* 25. *ut ſupra.*

321. Sir *Hen. Williams* of *Guernevet* in the County of *Brecknock*, created Baronet *May* 4. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Gervas Lucas* of *Fenton* in *Com. Linc.* created Baronet *May* 14. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

322. Sir *Robert Thorold* of *Hawley* in *Com. Linc.* created Baronet *June* 14. *ut ſupra.*

323. Sir *John Scudamore* of *Balington* in *Com. Heref.* created Baronet *July* 23. *ut ſupra.*

324 Sir *Richard Vivian* of *Trelowren* in the County of *Cornwall*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Febr.* 12. *ut ſupra.*

325. Sir *William Vancolſter* of *Amſterdam*, created Baronet *Febr.* 28. *ut ſupra.*

326. Sir *William de Boreel* of *Amſterdam*, created Baronet *March* 21. *ut ſupra.*

327. Sir *George Carteret*, moſt deſervedly created Baronet *May* 9. 1645. 21 *Car.* 1. long time one of the Members of his Majeſties Council, and Vice-Chamberlain of his Houſhold.

328. Sir *Tho. Windebanck* of *Haynes* in *Com. Wilts*, created Baronet *Novemb.* 25. *ut ſupra.*

329. Sir *Benjamin Wright* of *Dennington* in *Com. Suff.* created Baronet *Febr.* 7. *ut ſupra.* This Patent was afterwards ſuperſeded by the Kings Warrant.

330. Sir *Edw. Charleton* of *Heſleſide* in *Com. Northumb.* created Baronet *March* 6. *ut ſupra.*

331. Sir *Richard Willis* Baronet and Knight, (Brother of Sir *Tho. Willis* of *Fen-ditton* in *Com. Cambr.* Baronet) Co'onel of a Regiment of Horſe for his Majeſty; alſo Coll.-General of the Counties of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, and *Rutland*, and Governour of the Town and Caſtle of *Newark*, was created Baronet *June* 11. *Anno Domini* 1646. in the Twenty ſecond year of the Reign of *Charles* the Firſt.

332. Sir *Evan Lloyd* of *Tale* in *Denbigh*, created Baronet.

333. Sir *Richard Browne* of *Depthford* in *Com. Kent*, long time Reſident in *France* for their Majeſties King *Charles* the Firſt, and King *Charles* the Second, with King *Lewis* the 13th, and King *Lewis* the 14th, the moſt Chriſtian Kings of *France*; Firſt Clerk of his Majeſties Privy Council, Maſter of *Trinity-Houſe* in *London*; was moſt deſervedly created Baronet by Letters Patents dated at *St. Germans* in *France*, *Sept.* 1. *Anno Domini* 1649. in the firſt year of the Reign of *Charles* the Second, his and our moſt Gracious Sovereign.

334. Sir *Hen. de Vic* of the *Iſle* of *Guernſey*, Reſident at *Bruſſels* for his Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt, and his Great Succeſſor *Charles* the Second, near Twenty years; late Chancellour of the Garter; was moſt deſervedly created Baronet, by Letters Patents dated at *St. Germans*, *Sept.* 2. *ut ſupra.*

335. Sir *Richard Forſter* of *Stokeſley* in the County of *York*, created Baronet by Patent bearing date at the ſame place, *Sept.* 18. *ut ſupra.*

336. Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, Maſter of the Requeſts, and his Majeſties Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to the King of *Spain*; was moſt deſervedly created Baronet *Sept.* 2. *Anno* 1650. in the ſecond year of *Charles* the Second; Which univerſally Learned, and moſt accompliſh'd Baronet, though he be dead, yet the Lucubrations, and noble Productions of his Brain, will live to after-Ages, to keep freſh his remembrance; Dyed Ambaſſadour in *Spain* in 1666. Sir *Richard.*

337. Sir

337. Sir *William Curtius*, Resident for his Majesty with *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, and the Princes of *Germany*; was most deservedly created Baronet *April* 2. *Anno Dom.* 1651. and in the third year of our Sovereign *Charles* the Second.

Sir *William Scot* of *Kew* in *Com. Surrey* Knight, created Baronet *Aug.* 9. *ut supra.*

338. Sir *Arthur Slingsby* of *Kent*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet by Letters Patents dated at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, the 19th of *October*, 1657.

339. Sir *Thomas Orby* of the County of *Lincoln*, (a worthy Servant to the Queen-Mother) by Letters Patents at *Bruffels* in *Brabant*, bearing date in *Anno* 1658. was created Baronet.

340. Sir *Tho. Bond*, a memorable Servant to the said Queen Mother, was likewise deservedly created Baronet by Letters Patents, *ut supra.*

341. Sir *Arthur Mavigny Carpentier* a *Frenchman*, was likewise created Baronet by Letters Patents dated *ut supra*, in *Aug.* 1658.

Sir *Anthony de Merces*, a *Frenchman*, created Baronet in 1660. in the 12th year of our Sovereign. *Extinct.*

342. Sir *John Evelyn* of *Godstone* in *Surry*, (of a Memorable Antient Family) was by Letters Patents dated at the *Hague* in *Holland*, created Baronet *May* $\frac{22}{32}$. *ut supra.*

343. Sir *Gualter de Raed* of *Holland*, created Baronet *May* $\frac{22}{32}$. *ut supra.*

344. Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* of *Great-Lever* in *Com. Lancast.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *June* 7. *ut supra.* Then Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer; Afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; And afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England.* Dyed in 1674 Sir *John*, his eldest Son.

345. Sir *Geoffrey Palmer* of *Carleton* in *Com. Northampt.* Baronet and Knight, and Attorney General to his Majesty; to whom, with his Martyr'd Father, he was Exemplary Loyal; who for his Sufferings, and signal Services to both their Majesties, was created Baronet *ut supra.* Dyed in 1670. Sir *Lewis.*

346. Sir *John Langham* of *Cottesbrook* in *Com. Northampt.* Baronet and Knight; Alderman, and formerly Sheriff of *London*, created Baronet the same day. Deceased in 1671. in the 88th year of his age. Sir *James.*

347. Sir *Humphry Winch* of *Hanner* in *Com. Bedf.* one of the Knights of the Shire to this present Parliament for the County of *Bedf.* created Baronet *June* 9. *ut supra.*

348. Sir *Robert Abdy* of *Albins* in *Com. Essex.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet, *ut supra.*

349. Sir *Tho. Draper* of *Sunning-Hill-Park* in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet *ut supra.*

350. Sir *Henry Wright* of *Dagen-ham* in *Com. Essex*, created Baronet *ut supra.* Sir *Henry.*

351. Sir *Jonathan Keate* of the *Hoo* in *Com. Hertf.* created Baronet *ut supra.*

352. Sir *Hugh Speke* of *Haselbury* in *Com. Wilts*, created Baronet *June* 12. *ut supra.*

Sir *Nicholas Gould* of *London*, created Baronet *June* 13. *ut supra.* Dyed without Issue male, *Decemb.* 27. 1663.

353. Sir *Thomas Adams* of *London*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra.* Sir *William.*

354. Sir *Richard Atkins* of *Clapham* in *Surrey*, created Baronet *ut supra.*

355. Sir *Thomas Allen*, then Lord Mayor of *London*, created Baronet *June* 14. *ut supra.*

356. Sir *Henry North* of *Mildnall* in *Suffolk*, created Baronet *June* 15. *ut supra.*

357. Sir *William Wiseman* of *Riven-hall* in *Essex*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra.*

358. Sir *Thomas Cullum* of *Hasteam* in *Suffolk*, created Baronet *June* 18. *ut supra.*

359. Sir *Thomas Darcy* of *St. Cleeres-Hall* in *St. Osieth* in *Essex*, created Baronet *June* 20. *ut supra.*

360. Sir *George Grubham How* of *Cole Barwick* in *Wilts*, *ut supra.*

Sir *John Cutts* of *Chidderley* in *Com. Cambr.* created Baronet *ut supra. Extinct.*

361. Sir *Solomon Swale* of *Swale-Hall* in *Com. York*, created Bar. *June* 21. 1660.

362. Sir *William Humble* of *London*, created Baronet *ut supra.*

363. Sir *Gervase Elwayes* of *Stoake* juxta *Clare* in the County of *Suffolk*, created Baronet *June* 22. *ut supra.*

364. Sir *Robert Cordel* of *Melford-Hall* in *Com. Suff.* created Baronet *ut supra.*

365. Sir *John Robinson* Baronet and Knight, Alderman, and sometimes Lord Mayor of *London*, created Baronet *ut supra.*

Sir *John Abdy* of *Moores* in *Com. Essex*, created Baronet *ut supra. Extinct.*

366. Sir *Henry Stapleton* of *Miton* in *Com. Ebor.* (and of an Antient Knightly Family there) created Baronet *June* 23. *ut supra.*

367. Sir *Robert Hilliard* of *Patrington* in *Com. Ebor.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *June* 25. *ut supra.*

368. Sir *Jacob Astley* of *Hill-Morton* in *Com. Warwick*, created Baronet *ut supra.*

369. Sir *William Bowyer* of *Denham* in *Com. Bucks*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *ut supra.*

370. Sir *Tho. Stanley* of *Alderley* in *Com. Warw.* was created Baronet *ut supra.*

371. Sir *John Shuckborough* of *Shuckborough* in *Com. Warwick*, created Baronet *June* 26. *ut supra.*

372. Sir *William Wray* of *Asby* in *Com. Lincoln*, created Baronet *June* 27. *ut supra.* Dyed in 1669. Sir *Christopher.*

373. Sir *Nicholas Stewart* of *Hartley-Mauduit*, in *Com. Hants*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

374. Sir *George Warburton* of *Arcley* in *Com. Cest.* created Baronet *ut supra.*

375. Sir *Francis Holles* (the onely Son and Heir apparent of the Honourable *Denzell Holles* of *Dumerham-South* in the County of *Wilts*, Esq. Privy Councellor unto the King, created Baronet *June* 27. *ut supra.* And afterwards Knighted: which *Denzell Holles* was afterwards created Baron *Holles* of *Ifeild*, on *Saturday*, *April* 20. 1661.

376. Sir *Oliver St. John* of *Woodford* in *Com. Northampt.* and a fair Branch of those flourishing Families of *Liddiard-Tregoze*, and *Bletsoe*, was created Baronet *June* 28. *ut supra.*

 377. Sir

377. Sir *Ralph D*
Seaton in the
Baronet *Jun*
378. Sir *Ar*
fet, cre
379. Sir
ted
380

la Val (contracted *Delaval*) of
County of *Northumb.* created
re 29. *ut supra.*
drew Henley of *Henley* in *Com. Somer-*
ted Baronet *July* 2. *ut supra.*
Tho. Ellis of *Wyham* in *Com. Linc.* crea-
Baronet *ut supra*, Sir *William.*
Sir *John Covert* of *Slaugham* in *Com. Sussex*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

381. Sir *Peter Lear* of *London.* created Baronet, *ut supra.*
382. Sir *Hen. Hudson* of *Melton-Mowbray* in *Com. Leicest.* created Baronet *July* 3. *ut supra.*
383. Sir *Tho. Herbert* of *Tinterne* in *Com. Monmouth*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*
384. Sir *Thomas Middleton* of *Chirk* in *Com. Denb.* created Baronet *July* 4. *ut supra.*
385. Sir *Verney Noel* of *Kirby* in *Com. Leicest.* created Baronet *July* 6. *ut supra.*
386. Sir *George Buswel* of *Clepton* in the County of *Northampt.* created Baronet *July* 7. *ut supra.*
387. Sr *Robert Austin* of *Bexley* in the County of *Kent*, was created Baronet *July* 10. *ut supra.* Sir *John.*
388. Sir *Robert Hales* of *Beakesburne* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet *July* 12. *ut supra.*
389. Sr *William Boothby* of *Bradley Ash* in *Com. Derb.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 13. *ut supra.*
390. Sir *John Clark* of *North-Weston* in *Com. Oxford*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*
391. Sir *William Thomas* of *Fowington* in *Essex*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*
392. Sir *Wolstan Dixey* of *Market-Bosworth* in *Com. Leicest.* created Bar. *July* 14. *ut supra.*
393. Sir *John Bradsworth* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *July* 16. *ut supra.*
394. Sir *John Warner* of *Parham* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *ut supra.*
395. Sr *Job Harby* of *Aldenham* in *Com. Hertf.* Baronet and Knight, one of his late Majesties Farmers of the Cullome-house; From whom succeeded his onely Son Sir *Erasmus Harby* Baronet: The which Sir *Job* was created Baronet *July* 17. *ut supra.* Which Sir *Erasmus* dyed in 1674.
396. Sir *Samuel Moreland* of *Southamstead-Bannister* in the County of *Bucks*, was created Baronet *July* 18. *ut supra.*
397. Sir *Tho. Hewyt* of *Pissobury* in the County of *Hertf.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 29. *ut supra.*
398. Sir *Edward Honiwood* of *Evington* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet *ut supra.* Sir *William.*
399. Sir *Bazil Dixwell* of *Bromehouse* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet *ut supra.*
400. Sir *Richard Brown* of *London*, created Bar. *July* 21. *ut supra.* Dyed in 1668. Sir *Richard.*
401. Sir *Henry Vernon* of *Hodnet* in *Com. Salop.* created Baronet *July* 23. *ut supra.*
402. Sir *John Awbrew* of *Nontresfred* in the County of *Glamorgan*, created Baronet *July* 23. 1660. *ut supra.*
403. Sr *Henry Conway* of *Bethrithan* in the County of *Flint*, created Baronet *July* 25. 1660.
404. Sir *Thomas Slater* of *Cambridge*, created Baronet *ut supra.*
405. Sir *Edward Green* of *Stamford* in *Com. Essex*, created Baronet *July* 26. *ut supra.*
406. Sir *John Stapeley* of *Patcham* in *Com. Sussex*, created Baronet *July* 28. *ut supra.*
407. Sir *Metcalf Robinson* of *Newby* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *July* 30. *ut supra.*
408. Sir *Marmaduke Gresham* of *Limpfield* in *Com. Surry*, created Baronet *July* 31. *ut supra.*
409. Sir *William Dudley* of *Clopton* in the County of *Northampton*, created Baronet, *Aug.* 1. *ut supra.*
410. Sir *Hugh Smithson* of *Stanwick* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *Aug.* 2. *ut supra.*
411. Sir *Roger Mostyn* of *Mostyn* in *Com. Flint*, created Baronet *Aug.* 3. *ut supra.*
Sir *William Willoughby* of *Willoughby* in the County of *Nottingham*, created Baronet *Aug.* 4. *ut supra. Extinct.*
412. Sir *Anthony Oldefield* of *Spalding* in *Com. Linc.* created Baronet *Aug.* 6. *ut supra.* Dyed in *Sept.* 1668. Sir *John*, his eldest Son.
413. Sir *Peter Leicester* of *Tabley* in *Com. Cestr.* created Baronet *Aug.* 10. *ut supra.*
414. Sir *William Wheeler* of the City of *Westminster*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Aug.* 11. *ut supra.* with Remainder to Sir *Charles Wheeler*, and the Heirs males of his Body; which Dignity by the death of the said Sir *William*, is worthily devolved on, and now enjoyed by the said Sir *Charles.*
415. Sir *John Newton* of *Barescourt* in the County of *Gloucester*, of a Knightly Family, and sometimes Standard-Bearer to the late Earl of *Northumberland*, then General in the Northern Expedition, created Baronet *Aug.* 16. *ut supra*, for his Life, with Remainder unto *John Newton* of *Hader* in the County of *Lincoln*, Esq; and the Heirs males of his Body; Which Sir *John Newton* of *Barescourt* being deceased, that Dignity is now enjoyed by Sir *John Newton* of *Hader.*
416. Sir *Thomas Lee* of *Hartwell* in *Com. Bucks*, created Baronet *ut supra.*
417. Sir *Tho. Smith* of *Hatherton* in *Com. Cestr.* with Remainder for default of Issue male, to *Lawrence Smith*, his Brother; and for his want of male Issue, to *Francis Smith*, his Brother: The which Sir *Thomas* was created Baronet, *ut supra.*
418. Sir *Ralph Ashton* of *Middleton* in *Com. Lancaster*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Aug.* 17. *ut supra.*
419. Sir *John Rous* of *Henham* in *Com. Suffolk*, created Baronet *ut supra.*
420. Sr *Henry Massingheard* of *Brotaft-hall* in the County of *Lincoln*, created Baronet *Aug.* 22. *ut supra.*
421. Sir *John Hales* of *Coventry*, in *Com. Warw.* created Baronet *Aug.* 28. *ut supra.*
422. Sir *Ralph Bovey* of *Hilsea* in *Com. Warw.* created Baronet *Aug.* 30. *ut supra.*
423. Sir *John Knightly* of *Osi-Church* in the County of *Warw.* created Baronet *ut supra.*
424. Sir *John Drake* of *Ashe* in *Com. Devon.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Aug* 31. *ut supra.* Dyed in *July* 1669. Sir *John.*
425. Sir *Oliver St. George* of *Carrick Dromrick* in the County of *Trim* in *Ireland*, (a fair Branch of that highly flourishing, and long since Knightly Family of the *St. Georges* in *Cambridge-shire*) The which Sir *Oliver* was created Baronet *Sept.* 5. *ut supra.*

426. Sir

426. Sir *John Bowyer* of *Knipperſly* in *Com. Staffford*, Baronet and Knight, and the firſt Founder of that fairly diffuſive Family of that name in *England*; the which Sir *John* was created Baronet *Sept.* 11. *ut ſupra.*

427. Sir *William Wilde* of *London*, Baronet and Knight, and one of his Majeſties Juſtices of the Court of Kings-Bench; was created Baronet *Sept.* 13. *ut ſupra.*

428. Sir *Joſeph Alſh* of *Tittenham* in the County of *Middleſex*, was created Baronet *Sept.*19. *ut ſupra.*

429. Sir *John How* of *Compton* in *Com. Glouceſt.* created Baronet *Sept.*22. *ut ſupra.*

430. Sir *John Swinbourne* of *Chap-Heton* in *Com. Northumb.* created Bar. *Sept.* 26. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *John Trot* of *Laverſtock* in *Com. Hants*, a Perſon of great Prudence, Piety, Candour and Moderation, created Baronet *Octob.* 11. *ut ſupra. Extinct.* His ſole Daughter ſurviving, married to Sir *Hugh Stenkley* of *Hinton* Baronet, who is lately dead.

431. Sir *Humphrey Miller* of *Oxenheath* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet *Oct.* 13. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *John Lewis* of *Ledſton* in *Com. York*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Oct.* 15. *ut ſupra. Extinct.* Deceaſed in *Aug.* 1671. without Iſſue male.

432. Sir *John Beal* of *Maidſtone* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet *Oct.* 1. *ut ſupra.*

433. Sir *Richard Franklin* of *Moorpark* in *Com. Hertf.* Baronet and Knight, Son and Heir of that Memorable Patriot of his time Sir *John Franklin* Knight, and long time Knight of the Shire for the County of *Middleſex*; which Sir *Richard Franklin* is alſo one of the Knights of the Shire in this Parliament, for the County of *Hertf.* He was created Baronet *Octob.* 26. *ut ſupra.*

434. Sir *William Ruſſell* of *Langhorne* in *Com. Caermarthen*, created Bar. *Nov.* 8. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *William Backhouſe*, Grand-child to the late *Rowland Backhouſe* Alderman of *London*, was created Baronet *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

435. Sir *Thomas Boothby* of *Friday-Hill* in the Pariſh of *Chinkford* in *Eſſex*, created Bar. *Nov.* 9. *ut ſupra.*

436. Sir *John Cutler* (antiently *Cotteler*) of *London*, Baronet and Knight, a memorable Citizen, and worthy Benefactor to his Society; was created Baronet *Nov.* 11 *ut ſupra.*

437. Sir *Giles Mottel* of *Liege*, created Baronet *Nov.* 16. *ut ſupra.*

438. Sir *Henr. Gifford* of *Burſtall* in *Com. Leiceſt.* created Baronet *Nov.* 21. *ut ſupra.*

439. Sir *Thomas Foot* of *London*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut ſupra.* Formerly Lord Mayor of *London.* Which Patent was afterwards ſurrendred, and a new Patent granted, dated *May* 8. 1674. intayling the Title of Baronet on his Son in Law *Arthur Onſlow* of *Weſt-Clandon* in the County of *Surrey*, Eſq; to have precedency from the date of the former Patent.

440. Sir *Thomas Manwaring* of *Over-Rever*, in *Com. Ceſt.* created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

441. Sir *Thomas Bennet* of *Baberham* in the County of *Camb.* created Baronet *Nov.* 22. *ut ſupra.* From whom Sir *Levinus.*

442. Sir *John Wroth* of *Blenden-hall* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet *Nov.* 29. *ut ſupra.*

443. Sir *George Wynne* of *Noſtell-Hall* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *Dec.* 3. *ut ſupra.*

444. Sir *Heneage Fetherſtone* of *Black-ware* in the County of *Hertf.* (a fair Branch of that once highly flouriſhing Family of the *Fetherſtones* in the *North*;) brought up in his Child-hood, and ſometimes a Play-fellow with our Gracious Sovereign, when a Child; by whom he was created Baronet *Dec.* 5. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Humprey Monnox* of *Wotton* in the County of *Bedford*, created Baronet *Dec.* 4. *ut ſupra.*

445. Sir *William Gardiner* of *London*, created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

Sir *John Peyton* of *Doddington* in the Iſle of *Ely*, created Baronet *Dec.*10. *ut ſupra. Extinct.* Dyed in the ſame year without Iſſue male.

Sir *Edmund Anderſon* of *Broughton* in the County of *Line.* created Baronet *Dec.*12. *ut ſupra.*

446. Sir *John Fagge* of *Winton* in the County of *Suſſex*, created Baronet *Dec.* 11. *ut ſupra.*

447. Sir *Matthew Herbert* of *Bromfield* in *Com. Salop.* created Baronet *Dec.* 18. *ut ſupra.*

448. Sir *Edward Ward* of *Boxeley* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

449. Sir *Ralph Aſhton* of *Middleton* in the County of *Northampton*, created Baronet *Decemb.*19. *ut ſupra.*

450. Sir *John Keyt* of *Ebrington* in *Com. Glouceſt.* created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

451. Sir *William Killigrew* of *Arnwinck* in *Com. Cornw.* created Baronet *Dec.*22. *ut ſupra.* with Remainder to *Peter Killigrew* of *Arnwinck* Eſq; Son of the late Sir *Peter*, lineally deſcended from the diffuſive and antient Knightly Family of the *Killigrews* in the ſaid County of *Cornw.*

452. Sir *John Buck* of *Hamly-Grange* in the County of *Line.* created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

453. Sir *William Frankland* of *Thirkleby* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *Dec.* 4. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Rich. Stiddolph* of *Norberry* in *Com. Surry* created Baronet *ut ſupra.* Dyed in *Febr.* 1670. without Iſſue male; ſo *Extinct.*

454. Sir *William Juxon* of *Albourne* in *Com. Suſſex*, created Baronet *Dec.*28. *ut ſupra.*

455. Sir *John Legard* of *Garton* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *Dec.*29. *ut ſupra.*

456. Sir *George Marwood* of *Little Buſby* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *Dec* 31. *ut ſupra.*

457. Sir *John Jackſon* of *Hickleton* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

458. Sir *Henry Pickering* of *Whaddon* in the County of *Cambr.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Jan.* 2. *ut ſupra.*

459. Sir *Henry Beddingfield* of *Oxborrough* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

460. Sir *Walter Plumner* of the *Inner Temple*, *London*, created Baronet *January* the 4th, *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Herbert Springett* of *Broyle* in *Com. Suſſex*, created Baronet *Jan.*8. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

461. Sir *William Powell* (alias *Hinſin*) of *Pengethley* in the County of *Herford*, created Baronet *Jan.* 23. *ut ſupra.*

462. Sir *Robert Newton* of *London*, created Baronet. *ut ſupra.*

463. Sir *William Rokeby* of *Skyers* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *Jan.* 29. *ut ſupra.*

464. Sir *Nicholas Stoughton* of *Stoughton* in *Com. Surry*, created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

465. Sir *Walter Earnly* of *New-Sarum* in *Com. Wilts*, was created Baronet *February* 2. *ut supra*

466. Sir *John Hubands* of *Ipsley* in *Com. Warw.* created Baronet *ut supra.*

467. Sir *Thomas Morgan* of *Llangattock* in the County of *Monm.* created Baronet, *Febr.* 7. *ut supra.*

468. Sir *Rich. Lane* of *Tulske* in the County of *Roscommon* in *Ireland*, and many years Chief Secretary to *James* Duke of *Ormond*, was created Baronet, *Febr.* 9. *ut supra.*

469. Sir *George Wakefield* of *Beckford* in the County of *Glocest.* created Baronet *Febr.* 13. *ut supra.*

470. Sir *Benjamin Wright* of *Cranham-Hall* in the County of *Essex*, created Baronet *Febr.* 15. *ut supra.*

471. Sir *John Colleton* of *London*, created Baronet *Febr.* 18. *ut supra.*

472. Sir *James Modyford* of *London*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra.*

473. Sir *Edward Smith* of *Durham*, created Baronet *Febr.* 23. *ut supra.*

474. Sir *Tho. Beaumont* of *Staughton-Grange* in the County of *Leicester*, created Baronet *Febr.* 21. *ut supra.*

Sir *Tho. Gifford* of *Castle-Jordan* in the County of *Meath* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, created Baronet *March* 4. *ut supra.*

475. Sir *Thomas Clifton* of *Clifton* in *Com. Lanc.* created Baronet, *ut supra.*

476. Sir *William Wilson* of *Eastbourne* in *Com. Sussex*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

477. Sir *Compton Read* of *Burton* in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

478. Sir *Brian Broughton* of *Broughton* in *Com. Staff.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *March* 10. *ut supra.*

479. Sir *Robert Slingsby* of *Newsels* in the County of *Hertford*, created Baronet *March* 16. *ut supra.*

480. Sir *John Crofts* of *Stow*, in *Com. Suff.* created Baronet, *ut supra.*

481. Sir *Ralph Varney* of *Middle-Claydon*, in *Com. Bucks*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

482. Sir *Robert Dicer* of *Up-hall*, in *Com. Hants*, created Baronet *March* 18. *ut supra.*

483. Sir *John Bromfield* of *Southwark*, Son and Heir of the late Sir *John Bromfield* Knight, was created Baronet, *March* 20. *ut supra.*

484. Sir *Thomas Rich* of *Sunning* in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

485. Sir *Edward Smith* of *Edmond-Thorp* in *Com. Leicest.* created Baronet *March* 25. 1661. *ut supra.*

486. Sir *Walter Long* of *Whaddon*, in *Com. Wilts*, created Baronet *March* 26. *ut supra.* Dyed in 1672. Sir *Walter.*

487. Sir *John Fettiplace* of *Chilsey* in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet *March* 30. *ut supra.*

488. Sir *Walter Hendley* of *Conckfield* in the County of *Sussex*, created Baronet *April* 8. *ut supra.*

489. Sir *William Parsons* of *Langley* in the County of *Bucks*, from whom those Knightly Families of *Ireland* are descended: The which Sir *William* was created Baronet *April* 9. *ut supra.*

490. Sir *John Cambell* of *Woodford* in *Com. Essex*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

491. Sir *William Morrice* of *Werrington* in *Com. Devon*, was created Baronet *April* 20. *ut supra.*

492. Sir *Charles Gawdey* of *Crowshall* in *Com. Suffolk*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra.*

493. Sir *William Caley* of *Brompton* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *April* 26. *ut supra.*

494. Sir *Charles Doyley* of *London*, created Baronet *April* 26. *ut supra.*

495. Sir *William Godolphin* of *Godolphin* in the County of *Cornw.* created Baronet *April* 29. *ut supra.*

496. Sir *Thomas Curson* of *Water-Perry* in the County of *Oxford*, created Baronet *April* 30. 1661.

497. Sir *Edmund Fowel* of *Fowel-Combe* in the County of *Devon*, created Baronet *May* 1. *ut supra.*

498. Sir *John Cropley* of *Clarkenwell*, *London*, created Bar. *May* 7. *ut supra.*

499. Sir *William Smith* of *Redcliffe* in *Com. Bucks*, created Baronet, *May* 10. *ut supra.*

500. Sir *George Cook* of *Wheatly* in *Com. York*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

501. Sir *Charles Lloyd* of *Carth* in *Com. Montgom.* created Baronet, *ut supra.*

502. Sir *Nathaniel Powel* of *Ewe-hurst* in the County of *Essex*, created Baronet *May* 14. *ut supra.*

503. Sir *Denny Ashburnham* of *Brimhall* in the County of *Sussex*, (an old *Saxon* Family, and famous in *England* many Centuries before the *Norman* Invasion) was created Baronet *May* 15. *ut supra.*

504. Sir *Hugh Smith* of *Long-Ashton* in *Com. Somers.* created Baronet *May* 16. *ut supra.*

505. Sir *Robert Jenkinson* of *Walcot* in *Com. Oxf.* created Baronet *May* 18. *ut supra.*

506. Sir *William Glynne* of *Bisceter*, alias *Burncester*, in *Com. Oxf.* created Baronet *May* 20. *ut supra.*

507. Sir *John Charnock* of *Halcott* in *Com. Bedf.* created Baronet *May* 21. *ut supra.*

508. Sir *Robert Brook* of *Nacton* in *Com. Suffolk*, created Baronet *ut supra.*

509. Sir *Tho. Nevil* of *Holt* in *Com. Leicest.* created Baronet *May* 25. *ut supra.*

510. Sir *Henry Andrews* of *Lathbury* in *Com. Bucks*, created Baronet *May* 27. *ut supra.*

511. Sir *Anthony Craven* of *Spersholt*, in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet *June* 4. *ut supra.*

512. Sir *James Clavering* of *Axwell* in *Com. Durham*, created Baronet *June* 5. *ut supra.*

513. Sir *Tho. Derham* of *West-Derham* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet *June* 8. *ut supra.* Sir *Henry.*

514. Sir *William Stanley* of *Houghton* in *Com. Cest.* created Baronet *June* 17. *ut supra.*

515. Sir *Abraham Cullen* of *East-Sheen* in *Surry*, created Baronet *ut supra.*

516. Sir *John Rushout* of *Milest Green* in *Com. Essex*, created Baronet *ut supra.*

517. Sir *Godfrey Copley* of *Sprowborrough* in *Com. York*, created Baronet, *ut supra.*

518. Sir *Griffith Williams* of *Penrithin* in *Com. Carnarvan*, created Baronet *ut supra.*

519. Sir *Henry Winchcomb* of *Bucklebury*, in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet *June* 18. *ut supra.*

520.

520. Sir *Clement Clarke* of *Landy Abby* in *Com. Lancaſt.* created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

521. Sir *Thomas Viner* of *London* Baronet and Knight, Alderman of *London*, created Baronet *ut ſupra*: To whom ſucceeded his Son and Heir, Sir *George Viner* Baronet, and lately High Sheriff of *Norfolk*: which Sir *Tho.* dyed in 1665.

522. Sir *John Sidiyard* of *De la Warr* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

523. Sir *Chriſtopher Guiſe* of *Elſmore* in the County of *Glouceſt.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *July* 10. *ut ſupra.* His onely Son Sir *John* ſucceeded him.

524. Sir *Reginald Forſter* of *Eaſt Greenwich* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet *July* 11. *ut ſupra.*

525. Sir *Philip Parker* of *Erwarton* in *Com. Suff.* created Bar. *July* 16. *ut ſupra.*

526. Sir *Edw. Duke* of *Denhall* in *Com. Suffolk*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 17. *ut ſupra.*

527. Sir *Charles Huſſey* of *Kaythorpe* in *Com. Linc.* created Baronet *July* 21. *ut ſupra.* Dyed in 1664.

528. Sir *Edward Barkeham* of *Wamfield* in *Com. Linc.* created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

529. Sir *Thomas Norton* of the City of *Coventry*, created Baronet *July* 23. *ut ſupra.*

530. Sir *John Dormer* of *Le-Grange* in *Com. Bucks*, created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

531. Sir *Tho. Carew* of *Hacomb* in *Com. Devon*, created Baronet *Aug.* 2. *ut ſupra.*

532. Sir *Mark Milbank* of *Halmsby* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *Aug.* 7. *ut ſupra.*

533. Sir *Rich. Rothwell* of *Ewrithby* and *Stapleton* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *Aug.* 16. *ut ſupra.*

534. Sir *John Banks* of *Aleford* in *Kent*, created Baronet *Aug* 22. *ut ſupra.*

535. Sir *John Ingolsby* of *Lethenborrough* in the County of *Bucks*, created Baronet *Sept.* 20. *ut ſupra.*

536. Sir *Francis Bickly* of *Aleborrough* in the County of *Norfolk*, created Baronet *Sept.* 20. *ut ſupra.*

537. Sir *Rob. Jaſon* of *Broad Somerford* in *Com. Wilts*, created Baronet *Sept* 5. *ut ſupra.*

538. Sir *John Yong* of *Cubliton* in *Com. Devon*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *Sept.* 26. *ut ſupra.* Sir *Walter.* Sir *Walter.*

539. Sir *John Frederick van Frieſendorf*, of *Herdick*, Lord of *Kymp*, and of the Privy Council to the King of *Sweden*, and Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to the Majeſty of *Charles* the Second: created Baronet *Oct.* 4. *ut ſupra.*

540. Sir *William Roberts* of *Willeſden* in *Com. Middl.* Son and Heir of the late Sir *William Roberts*, Knight, was created Baronet *Nov.* 28. *ut ſupra.*

541. Sir *William Luckin* of *Waltham* in *Com. Eſſex*, created Bar. *Nov.* 15. *ut ſupra.*

542. Sir *Tho. Smith* of *Hill Hall* in *Com. Eſſex*, created Baronet *Nov.* 28. *ut ſupra.*

543. Sir *Edward Sadler* of *Temple-Donneſly* in *Com. Hertf.* created Baronet, *Decemb.* 3. *ut ſupra.*

544. Sir *William Wyndham* of *Orchard Wyndam* in *Com. Somerſet*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *Dec.* 19. *ut ſupra.*

545. Sir *Geo. Southcote* of *Blibborrough* in *Com. Linc.* created Baronet *Jan.* 17. *ut ſupra.*

546. Sir *George Trevilian* of *Nettlecombe* in *Com. Somerſ.* created Baronet *Jan.* 24. *ut ſupra.*

547. Sir *Francis Duncomb* of *Tangley* in *Com. Surrey*, created Baronet *Febr.* 4. *ut ſupra.*

548. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* of *Gillingham* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet *Febr.* 7. *ut ſupra.*

549. Sir *Richard Cock* of *Dumbleton* in *Com. Glouceſt.* created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

550. Sir *John Coryton* of *Newton* in *Com. Cornwal*; created Baronet *Febr.* 27. *ut ſupra.*

551. Sir *John Lloyd* of *Woking* in *Com. Surrey*, created Baronet *Febr.* 28. *ut ſupra.*

552. Sir *Edward Moore* of *Moore-Hall* in *Com. Lancaſter*, created Baronet *March* 1. 1661.

553. Sir *Thomas Proby* of *Elton-Hall* in *Com. Hunt.* created Baronet *March* 7. *ut ſupra.*

554. Sir *Miles Stapleton* of *Carleton* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *March* 20. *ut ſupra.*

555. Sir *Richard Braham* of *New Windſor* in *Com. Berks*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *April* 16. 1662.

556. Sir *John Wittenwrong* of *Stantonbury* in *Com. Bucks*, Baronet and Knight, deſcended from an Honourable and Antient Family of his name in *Flanders*, was Knighted long ago, and created Baronet *May* 2. *ut ſupra.* The ſaid Sir *John* (though ſtyled from his Seat of *Stantonbury* in *Bucks*) altogether reſides at his Manor of *Hardwick* in the County of *Hertf.*

557. Sir *Philip Matthews* of *Great Gobions* in *Collyer-Roward* in the County of *Eſſex*, was created Baronet *June* 13. *ut ſupra.*

558. Sir *Robert Bernard* of *Huntington*, Serjeant at Law, created Bar. *July* 1. *ut ſupra.*

559. Sir *Roger Loort* of *Stach-pool* in *Com. Pembr.* created Baronet *July* 15. *ut ſupra.* Sir *John.* Sir *Gilbert.*

560. Sir *Edward Gage* of *Hargrave* in *Com. Suff.* created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

561. Sir *Thomas Hook* of *Flanchford* in *Com. Surrey*, created Baronet *July* 22. *ut ſupra.*

562. Sir *John Savile* of *Copley* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *July* 24. *ut ſupra.*

563. Sir *Chriſtopher Wandsford* of *Kirklington* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *Aug* 5. *ut ſupra.*

564. Sir *Richard Aſteley* of *Patſhul* in the County of *Staff.* created Baronet *Aug.* 13. *ut ſupra.*

565. Sir *Jacob Gerrard* of *Langford* in *Com. Norfolk*, Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *Aug.* 16. *ut ſupra.*

656. Sir *Edward Fuſt* of *Hill* in the County of *Glouceſter*, created Baronet *Aug.* 21. *ut ſupra.*

567. Sir *Robert Long* of the City of *Weſtminſter*, created Baronet *Sept.* 1. *ut ſupra*: with the Remainder (for default of male Iſſue) to go to *John Long* of *Draycott-Corne* in *Com. Wilts*, Eſq; and the Heirs male of his body. Dyed unmarried *July* 13. 1673.

568. Sir *Robert Canne* of *Compton Greenfield* in *Com. Glouceſt.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Sept.* 13. *ut ſupra.*

569. Sir *William Middleton* of *Bilſey* Caſtle in *Com. Northumb.* created Baronet *Oct.* 24. *ut ſupra.*

570. Sir *Richard Graham* of *Norton-Conſers* in *Com. York*, created Bar. *Nov.* 17. *ut ſupra.*

571. Sir *Tho. Tankard* of *Burrowbrigs* in *Com. York*, created Bar. *ut ſupra.*

572.

572. Sir *Cuthbert Heron* of *Chipchase* in *Com. Northumb.* created Baronet *Nov.* 20. *ut supra.*

573. Sr *Francis Wenman* of *Caswell* in the County of *Oxf.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *Nov.* 29. *ut supra.*

574. Sir *Henry Purefoy* of *Wodley* in the County of *Bucks*, created Baronet *Dec.* 4. *ut supra.*

575. Sir *Tho. Cobb* of *Adderbury* in the County of *Oxford*, created Baronet *Dec.* 9. *ut supra.*

576. Sir *Henry Brook* of *Norton* in *Com. Ceſt.* created Baronet *Dec.* 12. *ut supra.*

577. Sir *Peter Pindar* of *Edinſhaw* in *Com. Ceſt.* created Baronet *Dec.* 22. *ut supra.*

578. Sir *Nicholas Slanning* of *Mariſton* in *Com. Devon*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Jan.* 19. *ut supra.*

579. Sir *George* Ryve of *Thwait* in the County of *Suffolk*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Jan.* 22. *ut supra.*

580. Sir *Tho. Brograve* of *Hamels*, in the County of *Hertf.* created Baronet *March* 18. *ut supra.*

581. Sir *Tho Barnardiſton* of *Ketton* (alias *Keddington*) in *Com. Suff.* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *April* 7. 1663.

582. Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* of *Brightwell Hall* in *Com. Suffolk* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *May* 11. *ut supra.*

583. Sir *John Dawes* of *Putney* in the County of *Surrey.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *June* 1. *ut supra.*

584. Sir *John Holman* of *Banbury* in the County of *Oxford*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra.*

585. Sir *William Cook* of *Broomehall* in *Com. Norf.* created Bar. *June* 29. *ut supra.*

586. Sir *John Bellet* of *Moreton* in *Com. Ceſt.* created Baronet. *June* 30. *ut supra.*

587. *Sir Geo. Downing* of *East-Hatly* in *Com. Cambr.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 1. *ut supra.*

588. Sir. *William Gawdey* of *Weſterling* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet *July* 13. *ut supra.*

589. Sir *Charles Pymme* of *Brymore* in *Com. Somerſ.* Baronet and Knight created Baronet *July* 14. *ut supra.*

590. Sir *William Doyly* of *Shottiſham* in *Com. Norf.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 29. *ut supra.*

591 Sir *John Marſham* of *Cuxton* in *Com. Kent.* Bar. and Knight, created B. *Aug.* 12. *ut supra.*

592. Sir *Rob. Barneham* of *Boughton-Monchenſey* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet *Aug.* 15. *ut supra.*

593. Sir *Francis Leeke* of *Newarke* upon *Trent* in in the County of *Nottingham*, created Baronet *Decem.* 15. *ut supra.*

594. Sir *John St. Barbe* of *Broadlands* in *Com. Hants*, created Bar. *Dec.* 30. *ut supra.*

595. Sir *James Pennyman* of *Ormesby* in *Cleaveland* in the County of *York*, created Baronet, *Febr.* 22. *ut supra.*

596. Sir *Tho. Muddiford* of *Lincolnes-Inne*, created Baronet, March 1. *ut supra.*

597. Sir *George Selby* of *Whitbouſe* in the County of *Durham* Created Baronet *March* 3. *ut supra.*

598. Sir *Edmund Forteſcue* of *Fallowpit* in the County of *Devon*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the 31th of *March.* 1664. in the 16th year of our Sovereign.

599. Sir *Samuel Tuke* of *Creſſing-Temple* in the County of *Eſſex*, (in which County his Anceſtours have been memorable.) was a Deſcendent from that famous Sir *Brian Tuke*, Treaſurer to the Chamber of *Henry* the Eighth: the which Sir *Samuel* going from *Grayes Inne* to the late King's Army, gradually aſcended to ſeveral degrees, and at laſt commenced Major General, and Brigadeer of Horſe in ſeveral ſervices; he was created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

600. Sir *John Tempeſt* of *Tonge* in *Com. York*, created *Baronet May* 25. *ut ſupra.*

601. Sir *Littleton Oſbolditon* of *Chudlington* in the County of *Oxford*, Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *June* 25. *ut ſupra.*

602. Sir *Giles Tooker* of *Maddington* in the County of *Wilts*, was created Baronet *July* 1. *ut ſupra.*

603. Sir *Stephen Anderſon* of *Edgeworth* in *Com. Bedf.* created Bar. *July* 13. *ut ſupra.*

604. Sir *Thomas Bateman* of *How-hall* in *Com. Norf.* created Bar. *Aug.* 31. *ut ſupra.*

605 Sir *Thomas Lorrain* of *Kirkharle* in *Com. Northumb.* created Baronet *Sept.* 26. *ut ſupra.*

606 Sir *Tho. Wentworth* of *Bretton* in *Com. York*, created Baronet *Sep.* 27. *ut ſupra.*

607. Sir *Theophilus Biddolph* of *Weſtcombe* in *Com. Kent*, Baronet and Knight, was created Baronet *Nov.* 2. *ut ſupra.*

608 Sir *William Green* of *Micham* in *Com. Surrey.* created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

609 Sir *William Cooks* of *Northgrave* in *Com. Worceſter*, created Baronet *Dec.* 24. *ut ſupra.*

610. Sir *John Weſtenholme* of *London*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Jan.* 10. *ut ſupra.* Sir *Thomas.*

611. Sir *John Jacob* of *Bromley* in the County of *Eſſex*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Jan.* 11. *ut ſupra.*

612. Sir *John Toman* of the City of *Briſtol*, created Baronet *Jan* 12. *ut ſupra.*

613. Sir *John Pye* of *Hone* in the County of *Derby* created Bar. *Jan.* 13. *ut ſupra.*

614. Sir *Tho. Taylor* of the *Parkhouſe* in *Maidſtone* in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet *Jan.* 18. *ut ſupra.*

615. Sir *William Leman* of *Northall* in the County of *Hertford*, created Baronet *March* 3. *ut ſupra.*

616. Sir *Robert Smith* of *Upton* in the County of *Eſſex*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *March.* 30. 1665.

617. Sir *Nicholas Criſp* of *Hamerſmith* in the County of *Middleſex*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *April.* 14. *ut ſupra.* Dyed in or about 1666. Sir *Nicholas.*

618. Sir *John Shaw* of *Eltham* in the County of *Kent*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *April.* 16. *ut ſupra.*

619 Sir *John Brown* of *Caſome* in *Com. Oxf.* created Baronet *May.* 10. *ut ſupra.*

620. Sir *George Rawden*, or *Raden*, (an old *Engliſh* Family which came in with the *Normans*) of *Moira* in the County of *Down* in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, created Baronet *May* 20. *ut ſupra.*

621. Sir *Robert Jocelyn* of *Hide-hall* in the County of *Hants*, created Baronet, *June* 8. *ut ſupra.*

622. Sir *Robert Duckenfield* (anciently in old *Saxon Engliſh* **Dochenvelt** and *Dokenfeld*, of *Duckenfield-hall* in the County of *Cheſter*, was Created Baronet *June* 16. *ut ſupra.*

622. Sir

623. Sir *George Lawſon* of *Broughton* in the County of *York*, created Baronet *July* 6. *ut ſupra.*

624. Sir *Peter Tirell* of *Harſlap* in the County of *Bucks*, was created Baronet *July* 24. *ut ſupra.*

625. Sir *Francis Burdet* of *Burchet in York*, created Bar. *July* 25.

626. Sir *George More* or *Moor* of *Maids- Morton* in the County of *Bucks*, created Baronet. *July* 26. *ut ſupra*

627. Sir *Abel Barker* of *Hambleton* in the County of *Rutland*, created Baronet *September* 9. *ut ſupra.*

628. Sir *William Oglander* of *Nunwell* in the *Iſle* of *Wight* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *Dec.* 12. *ut ſupra*: of an ancient Knightly Extraction.

629. Sir *William Temple* of *Sheen* in the County of *Surrey*, and his Majeſties Reſident at *Bruſſels*, created Baronet, *January* 31. *ut ſupra.*

630. Sir *William Swan* of *Southfleet* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet *March* 1. *ut ſupra.*

631. Sir *Anthony Shirley* of *Preſton* in the County of *Suſſex*, created Baronet *March* 6. *ut ſupra.*

Sir *Maurice Diggs* of *Chilham-Caſtle* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

632. Sir *Peter Glean* of *Hardwick* in the County of *Norfolk*, created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

633. Sir *John Nelthorpe* of *Grayes-Inne*, created Baronet *May* 10. 1666. with Remainder to *Goddard Nelthorpe* of *Clerkenwell*, Eſq; on whom, by death of the ſaid Sir *John*, that Dignity is devolved.

634. Sir *Robert Viner* of *London*, Baronet and Knight, and Alderman of *London*, created Baronet, *ut ſupra.*

635. Sir *Thomas Twiſden* of *Bradburn* juxta *Malling* in *Com. Kent*, Baronet and Knight, one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench, created Bar. *June* 13. *ut ſupra.*

636. Sir *Anthony Auger* of *Biſhops-bourn* in *Com. Kent*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *July* 4. *ut ſupra.*

637. Sir *John Doyly* of *Chizzlehampton* in the County of *Oxford*, created Baronet *July* 7. *ut ſupra.*

638. Sir *Edward Hoby* of *Biſham* in *Com. Bucks*, created Baronet *July* 12. *ut ſupra.*

639. Sir *Thomas Putt* of *Combe* in the County of *Devon*, created Baronet *July* 21. *ut ſupra.*

640. Sir *John Tiril* of *Springfield* in the County of *Eſſex*, created Baronet *Octob.* 22. *ut ſupra.*

641. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* of *Fiskerton* in the County of *Lincoln*, created Baronet *Novemb.* 17. *ut ſupra*: entailing the ſame Title upon his Iſſue male by *Mary* his ſecond Wife, Daughter of the late *John Cozens* Biſhop of *Durham.*

642. Sir *Robert Yeomans* of *Redlands* in the County of *Glouceſter*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *December* 31. *ut ſupra.*

643. Sir *Carre Scroop* of *Cockrington* in the County of *Line.* created Baronet *Jan.* 16. *ut ſupra.*

644. Sir *Peter Forteſcue* of *Wood* in the County of *Devon*, created Baronet *Jan.* 29. *ut ſupra.*

645. Sir *Richard Betteſon* of *Wimbleton* in *Com. Surrey*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *Febr.* 7. *ut ſupra.*

646. Sir *Algernoon Peyton* of *Donnington* in the Iſle of *Ely*, created Baronet *March* 21. *ut ſupra.*

647. Sir *Roger Martin* of *Long Melford* in the County of *Suffolk*, created Baronet *March* 28. 1667.

Sir *Richard Haſtings* of *Redlench* in the County of *Somerſ.* created Baronet *May* 7. *ut ſupra. Extinct.*

648. Sir *William Hanham* of *Wymborne* in the County of *Dorſet*, created Baronet *May* 24. *ut ſupra.* Dyed in *May* 1671. Sir *John*, his onely Son.

649. Sir *Francis Top* of *Tormarton* in the County of *Glouceſter*, created Baronet *July* 25. 1668.

650. Sir *Will. Langhorne* of the *Inner Temple*, created Baronet, *Auguſt* 28. *ut ſupra.*

651. Sir *Edward Moſtyn* of *Talacre* in the County of *Flint*, a lineal Deſcendant from the Knightly Family of that name in thoſe parts, was created Baronet, *April* 28. 1670.

Sir *George Stonehouſe*, for life; (having ſurrendred his former Patent, dated *May* 7. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1. by a Fine;) with Remainder to *John Stonehouſe* his ſecond Son, and the Heirs male of his Body; and for lack of ſuch Iſſue, to *James Stonehouſe*, his Third Son, with precedency to himſelf and his ſaid Sons, according to the firſt Patent, created Baronet *May* 5. 1670.

652. Sir *Fulwar Skipwith* of *Newbold-Hall* in *Com. Warwick*, created Baronet *Octob.* 25. *ut ſupra.*

653. Sir *John Sabin* of *Eyne* in the County of *Bedford*, created Baronet *May* 19. 1671.

654. Sir *Philip Carteret* of *St. Owen* in the *Iſle* of *Jerſey*, was created Baronet in *June*, in the year 1671.

655. Sir *William Chaitor* of *Croft-Hall* in *Com. Ebor.* was created Baronet *June* 28. *ut ſupra.*

656. Sir *Herberts Croſt*, Son to *Herbert* Biſhop of *Hereford*, was created Baronet in *September*, 1671.

657. Sir *John Scintawbin* of *Clowence*, in *Com. Cornw.* was created Baronet *March* 11. *ut ſupra.*

658. Sir *Edward Nevil* of *Grove* in *Com. Notting.* was created Baronet *ut ſupra.*

659. Sir *Robert Eden* of *Weſt-ſtuckland*, in *Com. Durham*, was created Baronet in *September*, 1672.

660. Sir *John Werden* of *Cheſter* his Royal Highneſs's Secretary, created Baronet *Novemb.* 28. *ut ſupra.*

661. Sir *Francis Warre* of *Heſtercombe* in the County of *Somerſet*, was created Baronet *June* 2. 1673.

662. Sir

662. Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* of *Ridley* in the County of *Chester*, created Baronet *Novem.* 12. 1673.

663. Sir *Arthur Harris* of *Stamford* in the County of *Devon*, created Baronet *Decemb.* 1. *ut supra.*

664. Sir *Francis Windham* of *Trent*, in the County of *Somerset*, created Baronet *Novemb.* 18. *ut supra.*

665. Sir *William Blacket* of *New-Castle* in *Com. Northumb.* created Baronet *Decemb.* 12. *ut supra.*

666. Sir *John Thomson* of *Haversham* in the County of *Bucks*, was created Baronet, *ut supra.*

667. Sir *Thomas Allen* of *Blundeston* in the County of *Suff.* created Baronet *Febr.* 7. *ut supra.*

668. Sir *Halswell Tynte* of *Halswell* in the County of *Somerset*, created Baronet, *June* 7. 1674.

669. Sir *Robert Parker* of *Ratton* in the County of *Sussex*, created Baronet *May* 22. *ut supra.*

670. Sir *John Sherard* of *Lopthorpe* in the County of *Lincoln*, created Baronet *May* 20. *ut supra.*

671. Sir *Philip Carteret* of *St. Oven* within the Isle of *Jersey*, created Baronet *June* 4. *ut supra.*

672. Sir *John Osborne* of *Chicksands* in the County of *Bucks*, created Baronet *Febr.* 11. *ut supra.*

673. Sir *Walter Clargis* of the Parish of St. *Martins* in the Fields in the County of *Middlesex*, created Baronet *Octob.* 30. *ut supra.*

674. Sir *Thomas Williams* of *Elham* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet *Novemb.* 12. *ut supra.*

675. Sir *Robert Filmer* of *East Sutton* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet *Decemb.* 24. *ut supra.*

676. Sir *Edward Nevil* of *Grove* in the County of *Nottingham*, Knight, created Baronet *Febr.* 24. *ut supra.*

677. Sir *Cornelius Martin Tromp*, created Baronet *March* 25. 1675.

678. Sir *Richard Tulpe* of *Amsterdam* in the Province of *Holland*, created Baronet *April* 23. *ut supra.*

679. Sir *Thomas Samwell* of *Upton* in the County of *Northampt.* created Baronet *Decemb.* 7. *ut supra.*

680. Sir *Charles Rich* of *London*, created Baronet *January* 24. *ut supra.*

681. Sir *Benjamin Maddox* of *Wormeley* in the County of *Hertford*, created Baronet *March* 11. *ut supra.*

682. Sir *William Barker* of *Bokinghall* in the County of *Essex*, created Baronet, *April* 1. 1676.

683. Sir *Richard Head* of the City of *Rochester* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet *Aug.* 19. *ut supra.*

684. Sir *Bennet Haskyns* of *Harwood* in the County of *Hereford*, created Baronet *Decemb.* 18. *ut supra.*

685. Sir *Richard Standish* of the County Palatine of *Lancaster*, created Baronet *Febr.* 8. *Anno* xxix. *Caroli Secundi.*

686. Sir *Alexander Robertson* alias *Collyear*, of the Province of *Holland*, created Baronet at *Westminster*, *Febr.* 3. *ut supra.*

687. Sir *Thomas Dyke* of *Horcham* in the County of *Sussex*, created Baronet *March* 3. *ut supra.*

688. Sir *Robert Cotton* of *Cumbermere* in *Com. Cestr.* Knight, created Baronet, *March* 29. 1677.

689. Sir *Francis Willoughby* of *Wollaton* in *Com. Nottingham*, created Baronet *April* 7. *ut supra.*

690. Sir *Richard Newdegate*, Serjeant at Law, created Baronet *July* 28. *ut supra.*

691. Sir *Richard Cust* of *Stamford* in the County of *Lincoln*, created Baronet *Septemb.* 29. *ut supra.*

692. Sir *Francis Anderton* of *Lostock* in the County of *Lancaster*, created Baronet *Octob.* 8. *ut supra.*

693. Sir *James Symeon* of *Chilworth* in the County of *Oxford*, created Baronet *October* 18. *ut supra.*

694. Sir *James Poole* of *Poole* in *Poole* in *Worrell* in the County of *Chester*, created Baronet *Oct.* 25. *ut supra.*

695. Sir *George Wharton* of *Kirkby Kendal* in the County of *Westmorland*, created Baronet *Decemb.* 31. *ut supra.*

696. Sir *Hugh Ackland* of *Cullum John* in the County of *Devon*, created Baronet *Jan.* 21. *ut supra.* To take place of all Baronets since the Year 1644.

697. Sir *Francis Edwards* of the Town of *Shrewsbury*, created Baronet *April* 22. *ut supra.* Entailing the same upon the Heirs Males of his Body, to take place of all Baronets made before the Year 1644.

698. Sir *Ignatius Vitus* alàs *White*, of the County of *Lymerick* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, created Baronet at *Westminster June* 29. *ut supra.*

699. Sir *Henry Oxinden* of *Deane* in the County of *Kent*, Knight, created Baronet at *Westminster*, *May* 8. *ut supra.*

700. Sir *James Bowyer* of *Leighthorne* in *Com. Sussex*, created Baronet during his Natural life, and then to *Henry Goring* of *Higden* in the said County, *May* 18. *ut supra.*

The

The Degrees and Ranks of all Men and Women.

1. THE KING and QUEEN.
2. The Prince of *Wales*, and Princeſs of *Wales*.
3. Dukes and Princes of the Royal Blood of *England*, who are the Sons, Brothers, Unkles, and Nephews of a King of *England*; as by the Statute of 31 *Hen.* 8. appears. Dutcheſſes and Princeſſes of the ſame Royal Blood.
4. Dukes and Dutcheſſes.
5. The Eldeſt Sons of Dukes of the Royal Blood, and their Ladies.
6. Marquiſſes, and Marchioneſſes.
7. Dukes Eldeſt Sons, and their Ladies.
8. Earls and Counteſſes.
9. Marquiſſes Eldeſt Sons, and their Ladies.
10. Dukes younger Sons of the Royal Blood, and their Ladies.
11. Dukes younger Sons, and their Ladies.
12. Vicounts, and Vicounteſſes.
13. The Eldeſt Sons of Earls, and their Ladies.
14. The younger Sons of Marquiſſes, and their Ladies.
15. Barons and Baroneſſes.
16. The Eldeſt Sons of Vicounts, and their Ladies.
17. The younger Sons of Earls, and their Ladies.
18. The Eldeſt Sons of Barons, and their Ladies.
19. Privy Councellors and Judges.
20. The younger Sons of Vicounts, and their Ladies.
21. The younger Sons of Barons, and their Ladies.
22. Baronets, and Baronetteſſes.
23. Knights of the Bath, and their Ladies.
24. Knights Batchelors, and their Ladies.
25. Serjeants at Law, and Doctors.
26. Eſquires, and their Wives.
27. Gentlemen and Gentlewomen.
28. Citizens, Yeomen, Husbandmen, Labourers, and their Wives.

A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS of ENGLAND:

FROM The Time of the *ROMANS* GOVERNMENT, Unto the Death of King CHARLES I.

Of the first known times of this Island.

ALTHOUGH we begin the *Æra* of our Computation from *William* called the Conquerour, as though he was the first of our Kings of *England*: yet before him, were many other excellent Kings; and their Acts perhaps as worthy to be known, if they could be known. But seeing after-Ages can know nothing of former times, but what is recorded by writing; it hath happened, partly by the devastation of Libraries, and partly by the scarcity of Copies before Printing came up; that of many Authors, scarce so much is left us, as their very names: and besides, it hath followed, that as the first Writers were Poets, so the first Writings have been fictions. And nothing is delivered to Posterity of the most ancient times, but very Fables; such as the Story of *Albina*, of whom they say, this Island was called *Albion*; (though others say, *Ab albis rupibus*, of the white Cliffs) that she should be the eldest of the two and thirty Daughters of *Dioclesian*, King of *Syria*, (such as never was) who being married to two and thirty Kings, in one night killed all their Husbands: for which Fact, they were put in a Ship, themselves alone without a Pilot, so to try their adventure, and by chance arrived in this Island, of whom Gyants were begotten. And if you like not of this, then have you the story of *Albion*, the son of *Neptune*, of whom the Island took its name. But when these are exploded, there follows another with great Attestation, and yet as very a Fable as these; namely the story of the *Trojan Brute*, (of whom the Island they say, was called *Britain*: though many other causes are given of the name:) as likewise the story of *Brutes* Cousin *Corinæus*, of whom they say, the Countrey of *Cornwal* had its name, to whom it was given, for overcoming the Gyant *Gogmagog*: and that *Brute* having three Sons, *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber*, he gave at his death to his eldest Son *Locrine*, all the Land on this side *Humber*, and called it *Loegria*; To his second Son *Albanact*, all the Land beyond *Humber*, of whom it was called *Albania*, (now *Scotland*:) and to his youngest Son *Camber*, all the Land beyond the River of *Severn*, of whom it was called *Cambria* (now *Wales*,) with other such stuff which may please Children, but not riper Judgements; and were first broached by *Geoffery*, Arch-Deacon of *Monmouth*: for which all the Writers of his time cried shame upon him, and yet can scarce keep many at this day from giving credit to his Fictions. This *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* (afterward made, by the favour of King *Stephen*, Bishop of *Asaph*) lights upon a Book written in Welch, and brought out of *Wales* by *Walter* Arch-Deacon of *Exeter* of the *British* Affairs, and translated by *Geoffery*, in which, though there were many notable passages, that might give much light to our History; yet so many commentitious Fables were inserted, that they rendred even what truths he writ suspected.

Albion why England called.

Brutes story fabulous.

Mark. West.

Geoffery of Monmouth a fabulous Writer.

And when we are once gotten out of Fables, and come to some truth; yet that truth is delivered in such slender draughts, and such broken pieces, that very small benefit can be gotten by the knowing of it; and was not till the time of *Julius Cæsar*, a thousand years after

the Fable of *Brute*: at which time, the Island was yet but in manner of a Village, being without Walls, as having no shipping, (which are indeed the true Walls of an Island) but only certain small Vessels, made of Boards and Wicker. And as they had no Ships for defence without, so neither had they any Forts for defence within: scarce any houses but such as were made of stakes and boughs of Trees fastned together. Neither was it yet come to be a Kingdom, but was governed by a number of petty Rulers; so as *Kent* only had in it (as *Cæsar* calleth them) four Kings, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*: which division, as it made the *Britains* the more easie to be conquered, so it made the *Romans* the longer in conquering. For if they had been one united body, one or two Battles might have made a Conquest of the whole; whereas being thus divided, there was need to be as many Battles as there were divisions: So as it was many years, before the *Romans* could conquer the whole Island; even from the time of *Julius Cæsar*, to the time of the Emperour *Domitian*: not much less than two hundred years. It is true, after *Cæsar's* first coming, the Island grew sensible of this defect of their division, and thereupon by consent of a great part made choice of *Cassibelan*, King of the *Trinovants*, who had his Seat at *Verulam*, to be General of their Wars; which made indeed some little stop to the *Romans* proceedings: but after the loss of a Battle or two, they fell again into a relapse of their former defect, and thought it better to secure every one his own, by his own means, than by a general power, to hazard all at once; whereby it came afterward to be true, *Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur*. Yet before the Countrey could be wholly conquered, at first by reason of the Nations valour, seeking to keep themselves free; and afterward by reason of the insolency of the Garrison Souldiers, that sought to make them Slaves, many great oppositions were made, amongst which, the most memorable was that of *Voadicia*, a certain Queen of the Countrey, who having been by the *Roman* Souldiers her self abused, and her daughters ravished, used means to leavy an Army of Sixscore thousand men, whom she led her self into the Field, and set upon the *Romans* in their Chief Towns, which were *London*, *Verulam*, and *Camalodunum* (now *Malden* in *Essex*,) of whom she slew above Seventy thousand: But then in a second Battle, had Fourscore thousand of her own Army slain; after which Defeat, for avoiding of slavery, she poysoned her self.

How long the Romans were in conquering *England*.

Julius Cæsar invading *England*. *Cassibelan* resists him.

Voadicia discomfiteth the *Romans*; and after is discomfited her self.

This Island for a long time was so much esteemed of the *Romans*, that their Emperours sometimes came hither in person; as first the Emperour *Adrian* in the Year 124, who re-edified that great Wall between *England* and *Scotland*, first made by *Agricola*, *Nero's* General in *Britain*, and Father-in-law to *Tacitus* the famous Historian. *Adrian* having set the Countrey in order, returned. The same Wall was again repaired by *Severus* the Emperour, in the year 212. who came over into *Britain* to repress the Incursions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, by whom in a Battel near *York*, he was wounded and thereof died; or as others say, he died of age and sickness. Afterward in the year 305. *Constantius* the Emperour came into *Britain*, and ended his life at *York*, making that City famous for the death and burial of two great Emperours; and yet more famous for the honour done to *Constantine* the *Great*, Son of *Constantius*, who in that City was first saluted Emperour. But notwithstanding the great estimation the *Romans* a long time made of this Island; yet at last, after five hundred years they had kept it in subjection, they voluntarily left it: the charge of keeping it, being greater than the benefit; for to keep it in subjection, they maintained no fewer than Fourscore thousand Souldiers in pay. And when Wars grew amongst themselves at home, they could no longer spare so many abroad, but recalled them home: but then, though they left *Britain*, yet they left not the *Britains*, but carried them, at least, a great part of them away with them; of whom the most were slain in their service, and the rest planted in that part of *France*, which of them was afterward, and is to this day, called *Britain*. And now one would think, the Island should be in good case, being freed from them that kept them in subjection: but it proved to be in worse case being at liberty, than it was before in servitude; for being deprived of their ablest men, and at the same time, their King *Lucius* happening to die without Issue, they were left as a few loose sticks, without the bond of a Governour, which the *Picts* and *Scots* observing, thought now was the time to make the Countrey their own; and thereupon made Invasions upon it with all their Forces. Whereupon the *Britains* having none left of their Native Kings to succeed; and knowing they could ill manage the Body of an Army without a Head, they make choice of *Vortigern* Earl of *Cornwal*, one extracted from the *British* Line, to be their King: and he, whether so advised by his Cabinet Counsellor, the Prophetical *Merlin*, or as finding his own strength too weak to make resistance, implores first Aid of the *Romans*; and they making Answer, They had business enough to do of their own, and leaving them to themselves, he then fled to the *Saxons* for aid, a warlike people of *Germany*, and who had greater swarms than their hives could well hold.

The Emperor *Constantius* comes into *England*.

The Romans leave *England*, and why.

Vortiger is chosen King.

He calls in the *Saxons*.

And here we may plainly see how dangerous a thing it is for a Nation to call in Strangers to their aid, and especially in any great number; for though they come at first but Mercenaries, yet once admitted, and finding their own strength, they soon grow Masters, as here it proved with the *Saxons*.

The Emperor *Adrian* comes into *England*.

The Emperor *Severus* comes into *England*.

These *Saxons* were Infidels, and brought in with them diversity of Idols, after whose names they gave appellations to the several dayes of the Week. Adoring the *Sun*, they named the first day *Sunday*, or *Sunsday*. The second *Moonday*, from an Idol which ridiculously represented the *Moon*. Another god they had called *Tuisco*, and to him they appointed the third day, naming it *Tuesday*. The tradition is, That this *Tuisco* was the Son of *Askis-*

Askenaz, Grandchild to *Japhet*, and that he conducted their fore-fathers out of *Asia* into *Europe* from the unfinished Tower of *Babel*. The next Idol which they adored for a god, was *Woden*, representing an armed man, and they named the fourth day from him *Wodensday*, or *Wednesday*, they honoured him as the god of Battel: He had been a famous and victorious Prince amongst them, and of him lineally descended *Hengistus* and *Horsa* their first leaders into this Island. Not only our *Saxons*, but all the Septentrional Nations adored and sacrificed to *Thor*, a Statue resembling a crowned King, his head encompassed with twelve bright golden *Stars*, of whom they denominated the fifth day *Thursday*. *Friday* took the name of *Friga*, an Idol representing both Sexes, with a Bow in one hand, and a Sword in the other: and though the Statue expresst an *Hermophrodite*, yet she was generally reputed a Goddess. Then they had a god called *Seater*, and to him they consecrated *Saterday*: this Idol was like an old man, with a long beard and hair, bare headed and bare footed. Such was the Religion of the *Saxons*; which giveth us occasion before we treat further of their coming in, to say something of the state of the Christian Church in this Island. First then, it is recorded, that in the year 63. what time *Arviragus* reigned here, *Joseph* of *Arimathea* (who buried the Body of Christ) came into this Island, and laid the foundation of the Christian Faith in the Western parts, at a place called then *Thurdet*, now *Glastenbury*, and that there came with him *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martha*: and more than this, that *Simon Zelotes* one of the Apostles suffered Martyrdom here in *Britain*: and more than this, that both St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul* came into this Island and preached the Gospel; all which, and more to this purpose, is recorded by Authors of good account: though it be hard in believing, *That persons, and specially women of so great age, as these must needs be at this time, should take so long a journey.* But howsoever it was, certain it is, that the Doctrine of Christianity was about this time planted in this Island, though it made afterward but small progress, and that with some persecution; as in which time, St. *Alban* suffered Martyrdom at *Verulam*, and at *Lichfield* shortly after, no fewer than a thousand. After this in the year 180. what time *Lucius* was King of this Island, *Elutherius* then Bishop of *Rome*, sent *Faganus* and *Damianus* to him: upon whose preaching, the Temples of the Heathenish *Flamins* and *Arch-flamins* (one and thirty in number) were converted to so many Bishops Sees; whereof *London*, *York*, and *Caerleyn* (now St. *Davids*) were made the Metropolitans of the Province. And there is a Table remaining at this day, in the Parish Church of St. *Peter*, or *Cornhil*, *London*, which recordeth, that the foundation thereof was laid by this King *Lucius*, and that this Church was the Cathedral to that Archbishops See. In the year 359. a Council was holden at *Ariminum* in *Italy*, where six hundred Western Bishops were assembled, whereof three went out of *Britain*; and though they were Orthodoxal, and with that Synod determined to give their voices against the *Arian* Heresie, yet by reason all these Western Fathers were ignorant in the *Greek* Language, they were circumvented by the *Arian* Bishops, and unanimously they would have Christ, but not *Homoousion*. After this, about the year 420. rose up in this Island, one *Pelagius* a Monk, brought up in the Monastery of *Bangor* in *Wales*, who spread the poyson of his Heresie, first in this his Native Countrey, and afterward all the world over. And these had been the chief passages in matters Ecclesiastical within this Island, when the *Saxons* were called in, about the year 450.

Joseph of *Arimathea* plants the Gospel at *Glastenbury*.

St. *Alban* suffers Martyrdom at *Verulam*.

The Heathenish Temples converted into Bishops Sees at the preaching of *Faganus* and *Damianus*.

Pelagius the Heretick rises up.

And now under the conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist*, and *Horsa*, came over nine thousand *Saxons* with their Wives and Children, to assist the *Britains* against the *Scots*, and were appointed the Ile of *Thanet* to inhabit. With which assistance, the *Britains* gave their enemies Battel, and overcame them: so as they accounted the *Saxons* as Angels sent from Heaven, and then allowed them *Kent* also for their inhabiting. Not long after *Hengist* obtained of King *Vortigern* the property of so much ground, as he could enclose with a Bulls Hide: which cutting into thongs, he there built the Castle, *Filli de nomine*, called *Thong* Castle. And now having built it, he invites *Vortigern* to a Feast, who there fell in love with *Rowena*, the Daughter, or rather the Neece of *Hengist*; for when *Hengist* first arrived in *Britain* he was but 30. years of age: howsoever *Vortigern* marrying this fair Lady, put *Hengist* into such a height of boldness, that he began to aspire, sending for greater Forces to come over to him; as meaning to transplant himself hither, and to make this Island his Inheritance: which the *British* Lords perceiving, and not able to wean the King from his new Wife, and her Father *Hengist*, they depose him; and in his place set up his Son *Vortimer*, a true lover of his Countrey: who presently in a pitcht Battel near unto *Aylesford* in *Kent*, set upon the *Saxons*; where *Catigern* the Brother of *Vortimer*, and *Horsa*, or *Hengist*, in single fight hand to hand slew each other. In which place *Catigern* was buried, and a Monument in memory of him erected, the stones whereof at this day are standing in a great plain in the Parish of *Aylesford*; which instead of *Catigern*, is corruptly called *Kits-Coryhouse*. Another the like Monument was erected for *Horsa*, though now defaced; remembred only by the Town where it stood, called *Horstead*. Three other Battels after this were fought between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*: one upon *Craford*, another at *Weppedsfleete*, the third upon *Colmore*: in which last, the *Britains* got so great a Victory, that the *Saxons* were clean driven out of *Kent*, and *Thanet* also not suffered to rest: so as shortly after, *Hengist* with his *Saxons* departed the Kingdom, as being now out of hope to make his fortune in this Island. But while *Vortimer* was thus intentive for his Countries liberty, *Rowena* the former Kings Wife, being Daughter to *Hengist*, was as intentive to bring it into servitude; which knowing she could not do as long as

Hengist and *Horsa* Saxons come into England.

Thong Castle why so called.

Vortigern marries *Rowena* the daughter of *Hengist*.

Vortigern is deposed, and his Son *Vortimer* set up.

Catigern and *Horsa* fight a single combat.

The Saxons forced to flie England.

Vortimer lived: she used means by poyson, to take away his life, after he had been King the space of four years, and then by the Witchcraft of fair words, so enchanted the *British* Nobility, that her Husband *Vortigern* was again established in the Kingdom; which was no sooner done, but *Hengist* (relying upon his Son *Vortigern's* love) with a mighty Army attempts to return again into the Island; when being resisted, he makes a shew, as if he desired nothing but to fetch away his Daughter *Rowena*, and to have a friendly conference for continuance of amity: which motion seeming reasonable, a place and time of conference was appointed: the time upon the first of *May*; the place upon the Plain of *Ambrii*, now called *Salisbury*; whither the plain-meaning *Britains* came unarmed, according to agreement; but the fraudulent *Saxons* under their long Cassocks had short skeynes hidden, with which upon a watch-word given, they set upon the *Britains*, and of their unarmed Nobility slew three, some say five hundred, and took the King himself Prisoner, whom they would not release, till they were put in possession of these four Countries, *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; Whereupon *Vortigern*, whether fearing a second Deposing, or whether so advised by his Cabinet-Councellor the Prophetical *Merlin*, betook himself into *Wales*, and there built him a strong Castle for his safe-guard; while the *Saxons* coming daily in great swarms into the Land, had at this time over-run all, if *Aurelius Ambrosius* a *Roman* born, but affected to the *British* Nation, had not landed at *Totnes* in *Devonshire*, to whom resorted great Troops of *Britains*. His first expedition was against *Vortigern*, (as the first cause of the *Britains* misery) whose Castle he besieged; and whether by wild-fire, or by fire from Heaven, both he and his Castle, and all that were in it, were burnt to ashes. To this *Ambrosius* is ascribed the admirable Monument in *Wiltshire*, now called *Stonehenge*, in the place where the *Britains* had been treacherously slaughtered and interred; and of whom the Town of *Ambersbury* bears its name. After this he set upon the *Saxons*, and in many Battels discomfited them; till at last falling sick in the City of *Winchester* a *Saxon*, in shew a *Britain*, and in habit a Physician, was sent unto him, who instead of Physick, ministred Poyson, whereof he dyed in the year 497. after he had reigned two and thirty years.

Vortigern is again received.

The *Saxons* return, and at a meeting fraudulently kill divers of the *English* Nobility.

Aurelius Ambrosius burns *Vortigern* and his Castle which he had built by the advice of *Merlin*.

Is poisoned.

After *Ambrosius*, succeeded *Uter* (some say his Brother, or others a *Britain*) called *Pendragon*, of his Royal Banner born ever before him; wherein was pourtrayed a Dragon with a golden Head, as in our *English* Camps it is at this day born for the Imperial Standard. And he also in many Battels discomfited the *Saxons*, till after eighteen years Reign he came to his end by treachery; dying by Poyson put into a Well, whereof he usually drank, in the year 515.

Uter Pendragon, why so called.

Is poisoned.

After him succeeded his Son *Arthur*, begotten of the fair Lady *Igren*, Wife of the Duke of *Cornwal*, to whose bed the art of *Merlin* brought him in the likeness of her Husband; and he in twelve set Battels discomfited the *Saxons*; but in one most memorable, in which girding himself with his Sword called *Callibourn*, he slew upon his Enemies, and with his own hand slew eight hundred of them; which is but one of his Wonderful deeds, whereof there are so many reported, that he might well be reckoned amongst the Fabulous, if there were not enough true to give them credit. Amongst other his Acts, he instituted the Order of Knights of the Round Table, to the end there might be no question about Precedence, and to teach Heroical minds, not to stand upon Place, but Merit. But this great Prince, for all his great valour, was at last in Battel wounded, whereof he dyed, in the year 522. after he had reigned six and twenty years.

Arthur the Son of *Uter Pendragon*, kills eight hundred *Saxons* with his own hands.

He institutes the order of the Round Table.

Is wounded and dies.

After King *Arthur* succeeded his Cousin *Constantine*, and after his three years Reign, *Aurelius Conanus* the Nephew of King *Arthur*; whose Reign is so uncertain, that some say, he reigned only two, some three years, some again thirty, and some three and thirty. After *Conanus* succeeded *Vortiporius*, who after many Victories against the *Saxons*, and four years Reign dyed. After whom succeeded *Malgo Conanus*, and reigned six years. After him *Careticus*, who setting upon the *Saxons*, and beaten, fled into the Town of *Chichester*, whereupon the *Saxons* catching certain Sparrows, and fastening fire to their feet, let them flie into the Town, where lighting upon straw, and other matter apt to take fire, the whole City in short space was burnt; and thereupon *Careticus* flying, secured himself among the Mountains of *Wales*, where he dyed, after he had unprosperously reigned three years: and from that time forth, the *Britains* lost their whole Kingdom in the East part of the Island, and were confined in the West by the Rivers *Severn* and *Dee*. After *Careticus* succeeded *Cadwan*, who reigned two and twenty years. After him his Son *Cadwallo*, who reigned eight and forty years, and then died; whose body was buried in St. *Martins* Church near *Ludgate*, and his Image of Brass placed upon the same gate, for a terrour to the *Saxons*. In his time the Doctrine of *Mahomet* began to spread it self all the Eastern World over. After *Cadwallo*, succeeded his Son *Cadwalladar*; in whose time so great a Famine, and afterward Mortality happened, continuing eleven years, that the Land became in a manner desolate: insomuch, that the King and many of his Lords were driven to forsake their native Countrey, and *Cadwalladar* himself went to his Cousin *Alan*, King of little *Britain* in *France*. At which time the *Saxons* taking advantage of his absence, came over in swarms, and dispossessed the forlorn *Britains* of all they had, and divided the Land amongst themselves. Whereupon *Cadwalladar*, obtaining assistance from his Cousin *Alan*, was coming over to restrain their insolencies; when making prayers to God for good success, an Angel appeared to him, or at the least to his seeming he heard a voice that forbad him the enterprise, declaring that it was not Gods will, the *Britains* should rule this Land any longer; and therefore bad him hie him to *Rome*, and receive of

Chichester burnt by what chance.

Cadwallo's Image placed upon *Ludgate*.

The *Saxons* get possession of the whole Island.

Cadwallader the last King of the *Britains* leaveth his Kingdom: and is shorn a Monk at *Rome*.

Pope

Pope *Sergius* the habit of Religion, wherein he should die and rest in peace; which accordingly he did: and in him ended the blood of the *British* Kings, in the year 689. So as *Britain* now was no longer *Britain*, but a Colony of the *Saxons*.

And now 'tis time to speak of the Heptarchy of the *Saxons*, so much spoken of by all Writers, and to shew by what degrees the *Britains* lost, and the *Saxons* got the whole possession of this Island: for this Heptarchy or division of this Island into seven Kingdoms, came not in all at once, nor yet in an equal partition, but some good distance of time, one after another, and as the Invader had strength to expel the Natives.

The first Kingdom being of KENT.

THE first Kingdom of the *Saxons* began by *Hengist*, in the year 455. containing all *Kent*, and continued 372. years, during the Reigns of Seventeen Kings, of whom as many as performed any memorable Act, shall be remembred; and for the rest it will be no loss to pass them over in silence. Of these seventeen Kings, *Ethelbert* being the fifth, was the first *Saxon* Christian King of this Island, converted by *Austin* the Monk, whom Pope *Gregory* sent hither to that purpose, with forty others, in the year 596. to whom King *Ethelbert* gave his chief City of *Canterbury*, and his own Royal Palace there, made since the Cathedral of that See; withdrawing himself to *Reculver* in the Isle of *Thanet*, where he erected a Palace for himself and his successours. He gave him also an old Temple, standing without the East Wall of the City, which he honoured with the name of St. *Pancras*, and then added a Monastery to it, and dedicated it to St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*, appointing it to be the place of the *Kentish* Kings Sepulchres. But in regard of *Austin* the procurer, both *Pancras*, *Peter*, and *Paul* were soon forgotten, and it was, and is to this day called St. *Austins*, which Abbey, St. *Austin* enriched with divers Reliques, which he brought with him from *Rome*; amongst which was a part of Christs seamless Coat, and of *Aarons* Rod. This King after his own conversion, converted also *Sebert* King of the East *Angles*, and assisted him in the building of the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, *London*; as also the Church of St. *Peter* on the West of *London*, then called *Thorny*: and himself at *Rochester* built the Cathedral Church there, which he dedicated to the Apostle St. *Andrew*; and dying when he had reigned six and fifty years, was buried at *Canterbury*. And thus by this first *Saxon* Kingdom, was all *Kent* lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion; and this was the first impairing, and this happened in the Reign of *Ambrosius* before spoken of. The sixth King of *Kent* was *Ethelbald*, who at first an Apostata, was afterwards converted, and built a Chapel within the Monastery of St. *Peter* and *Paul* at *Canterbury*. The seventh King was *Ercombert*, a virtuous and religious Prince, who first commanded the observing of Lent; and in his dayes, the Archbishop *Honorius* divided *Kent* into Parishes. The eighth King was *Egbert*, who obtained the Kingdom by murthering his Nephews: whose sister the Lady *Domnena*, founded the Abby of *Minster* in *Kent*. The eleventh King was *Withred*, who founded the Church of St. *Martins* in the Town of *Dover* and Stored it with 22 Canons, which he took out of a Church which had been before erected in the Castle by *Edbald* the Son of *Ethelbert* the first Christned King of the *Saxons*. The last was *Baldred*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons*, left *Kent* a Province to that Kingdom, in the year 827.

Ethelbert the first Saxon Christian King.

St. Austins in Canterbury, why so called.

Paul and Westminster builded.

Lent first observed. Kent divided into Parishes.

The second Kingdom being of the South SAXONS.

THE second Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the South *Saxons*, and began by *Ella*, in the year 488. containing *Sussex* and *Surrey*, and continued 113. years, during the Reign of five Kings only, of whom *Cissa* being the second founded the City of *Chichester*, and reigned as some say, threescore and sixteen years. And then *Berthan* being the last King, was overcome by *Ina* King of the West *Saxons*, and his Countrey became a Province of that Kingdom, in the year 601. And thus as *Kent* before, so now *Sussex* and *Surrey* were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion: and this was a second impairing, which also happened in the Reign of the *British* King *Ambrosius*.

Chichester founded.

The third Kingdom being of the West SAXONS.

THE third Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the West *Saxons*, and began by *Cerdic*, in the year 519. containing *Cornwal*, *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, and continued 561. years, during the Reigns of nineteen Kings, of whom this *Cerdic* was the first; in whose time *Porth*, a *Saxon*, landed in the West, at a place from him called afterward *Portsmouth*, and aided *Cerdic* in his Conquest. And this happened in the Reign of King *Arthur*: and as *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surrey* before, so now these seven other Shires were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion: and this was a third impairing. The sixth King of the West *Saxons* was *Kingils*, who was the first Christian King of this Kingdom, converted by *Berinus* an *Italian* Divine, to whom he gave the City of *Dorchester*, near to *Oxford*; who therein erected his Episcopal See. The seventh King was *Kenwald*, who at first an Apostata, was afterward converted, and founded the Cathedral of *Winchester*, and the Abbey of *Malmsbury*; whose Wife *Segburg* also built a house of Devotion in the Isle of *Sheppy*, wherein her self became a Nun, and was afterward elected Abbess of *Ely*. The Eleventh King was *Ina*, who ordained many good Laws, which are yet extant in the *Saxon* tongue, and are translated into Latine, by the learned Master *William Lambert*. This King built a Colledge at *Wells*, bearing the name of St. *Andrews*, which afterward King *Kenulph* made an Episcopal

Portsmouth why so called.

Dorchester an Episcopal See.

Winchester Cathedral builded.

King Ina and his Laws.

Wells an Episcopal See.

Episcopal See. He also, in most stately manner new built the Abby of *Glastenbury*; and out of his devotion to the See of *Rome*, he enjoyned every one of his Subjects, that was possessed in his house of any one kind of goods to the value of nineteen pence, to pay yearly upon *Lammas-day*, one penny to the Pope; which at first was contributed under the name of the Kings Alms, but afterward was paid by the name of *Peter* Pence. At last he went to *Rome*, and there took upon him the habit of Religion, and therein died. His Wife also became a veiled Nun, and afterwards was made Abbess of *Barking*, near *London*. The thirteenth King was *Cuthred*, who first permitted the bodies of the dead to be buried within the Walls of their Cities, which before were used to be buried in the fields. The fourteenth was *Sigebert*, who for his cruelty and exactions, was by his Subjects forced to flee into the Woods to hide himself, where by a Swine-herd he was slain. The fifteenth was *Kenwolph*, who founded the Cathedral Church of St. *Andrews* at *Wells*, and was afterwards slain by *Kynoard*, whom he had banished. The sixteenth King was *Birthrick*, whose Queen *Ethelburg* having prepared a poyson for another, the King chanced to taste it, and thereof died. In fear of which chance the Queen fled into *France*; where *Charles* the then King, for her excellent beauty, offered her the choice of himself or his Son in Marriage: but she out of her lustful humour choosing the Son, was thereupon debarr'd of both, and thrust into a Monastery, where committing Adultery, she was driven from thence, and ended her life in great misery. For her sake the West *Saxons* ordained a Law, that no Kings Wife should hereafter have the title or Majesty of a Queen, which for many years after was severely executed. It is memorable which is recorded of a King in these parts, named *Wazmund*, and was the Founder of *Warwick* Town: that he had a Son named *Offa*, tall of stature, and of a good constitution of body, but blind, till he was seven years old, and then saw; and dumb till he was thirty years old, and then spake.

Peter pence when first ordained.

Burials within Cities when first ordained.

K. *Sigebert* slain by a Swine-herd.

Queen Eth. *burg* thrust into a Monastery, and why.

A Law that no Kings Wife should have the title of a Queen.

Offa blind and dumb till a certain age.

The fourth Kingdom of the East SAXONS.

THe fourth Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the East *Saxons*, and began by *Erchenwyn*, in the year 527. containing *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and continued 281. years, during the Reigns of fourteen Kings; of whom the third was *Sebert*, who first built the Cathedral of St. *Paul*, *London*, which had formerly been the Temple of *Diana*: He likewise founded the Church of St. *Peter* in the West of *London*, at a place called *Thorney*, where sometime stood the Temple of *Apollo*, which being overthrown by an Earthquake, King *Lucius* new built for the service of God; and that again being decayed, this King restored to a greater beauty, and with his Queen *Athelgarda* was there buried. The ninth King was *Sebba*, who after thirty years peaceable Reign relinquished the Crown, and took upon him a Religious Habit, in the Church of St. *Paul*, *London*, where dying, his Body was intombed in a Coffin of gray Marble: the cover coped, and as yet standeth in the North-wall of the Chancel of the same Church. The twelfth was *Offa*, famous for the beauty of his countenance, who both enlarged with Buildings, and enriched with Lands the Church of *Westminster*, and after eight years reign went to *Rome*, and was there shorn a Monk, and in that habit died. The fourteenth was *Suthred*, whom *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons* subdued, and made his Kingdom a Province to his own. And thus besides the former Shires, these two also were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion, and this was a fourth impairing.

Paul's and *Westminster* founded.

K. *Sebba* buried in *Paul's* Church.

The fifth Kingdom being of NORTHUMBERLAND.

THe fifth Kingdom was of *Northumberland* (so called because it lay North from the River *Humber*) and began by *Ella* and *Ida*, in the year 547. Containing *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 370. years, during the Reigns of three and twenty Kings; of whom nothing is recorded of the two first, but that they builded the Castle of *Bamburg*. The seventh King was *Ethelfryd*, who at *Caerlegion* (now *Westchester*) made a slaughter of twelve hundred Christian Monks, and was himself afterward slain by *Redwald* King of the East *Angles*. The thirteenth King was *Osfred*, whose Wife *Cuthburga*, out of a loathing weariness of Wedlock, sued out a Divorce from her Husband, and built a Nunnery at *Winburn* in *Dorsetshire*, where in a Religious Habit she ended her life. The sixteenth King was *Ceadwalph*, who after eight years Reign, left his Royal Robes, and put on the Habit of a Monk, in the Isle of *Lindesfarn*, or *Holy Island*. Unto this King the Venerable *Bede*, a *Saxon* and a Priest in the Monastery of *Peter* and *Paul*, at *Werimouth* near to *Durham*, dedicated his Work of the English History, which he continued from the first entrance of the *Saxons* in this Island, to the year 731. containing after his own account 285. years. The seventeenth King was *Egbert*, who after twenty years Reign forsook the world also, and shore himself a Monk; whose Brother being Archbishop of *York*, erected a notable Library there, and stored it with an infinite number of Learned Books. The last King of *Northumberland*, was *Oswald*, after whose death this Kingdom yielded to the protection of *Egbert*, King of the West *Saxons*, who was now in the year 926. become absolute Monarch of the whole Island. And thus by the erection of the fifth Kingdom, were the six *Northern* Shires lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion, and this was a fifth impairing.

K. *Ethelfryd* kills twelve hundred Christian Monks at *Westchester* anciently called *Caerlegion*.

Queen *Cuthburga* loathing the acts of Marriage becomes a Nun.

Bede dedicateth his History to K. *Ceadwalph*.

A Library erected at *York*.

Egbert becomes absolute Monarch of all England.

The sixth Kingdom being of MERCIA.

THe sixth Kingdom was of *Mercia*, and began in *Crida*, in the year 522. containing *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *War-*

Warwickshire, Leicester, Northampton, Derby, Oxfordshire, Chesshire, Shropshire, Gloucestershire, Staffordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and *Hartfordshire*, and continued 220. years, during the Reigns of Twenty Kings, eight of whom in a continued succession kept the Imperial Crown of the Heptarchy; for though others Reigned as Kings in their own Territories: yet among them ever one was the supreme head of the rest, and was called King of *England*, till *Egbert* the West *Saxon* brought them all into one. The fifth of these Kings of *Mercia* was *Penda*, who was the first Christian King of the *Mercians*, and laid the Foundation of the Fair Church at *Medeshamstead*, now called *Peterborough*. The seventh King was *Ethelred*, who reigned Thirty years, and then gave over the Crown, and became a Monk in the Monastery of *Bradney* in *Lincolnshire*, where in the year 716. he died. The eighth King was *Kenred*, who after four years Reign went to *Rome*, where he took upon him the Habit of a Monk, and after other four years died. The tenth King *Ethelbald*, who at first was given to much lasciviousness of life; but being reprehended for it by *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, was so far converted, that he founded the Monastery of *Crowland*, driving in mighty piles of Oak into the Marish ground, where he laid a great and goodly Building of Stone; and after two and forty years Reign, was slain in a Battel by *Cuthred* King of the West *Saxons*. The eleventh King was *Offa*, who greatly enlarged his Dominions, reigned nine and thirty years, and founded the Monastery of St. *Albans*. The thirteenth King was *Kenwolph*, who reigned two and twenty years, and founded the Monastery of *Winchcomb*, in the County of *Glocester*, where his body was interred. The eighteenth King was *Withlafe*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons*, held his Countrey afterward as his Substitute and Tributary, acknowledging *Egbert* as now the sole Monarch of this Island. And by erection of this *Mercian* Kingdom, were seventeen Shires more lopped off from the *Britains* Dominions, and was a sixth, and a great impairing, so as now they were driven into a narrow room.

Peterborough anciently called Medeshamstead.

The Monastery of Crowland founded.

The Monastery of St. Albans founded.

The Monastery of Winchcomb founded.

The Seventh Kingdom being of the East SAXONS.

THe Seventh Kingdom was of the East *Angles*, and began by *Uffa* in the year 575. containing *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*, and continued 353. years during the Reign of Fifteen Kings, of whom the fifth was *Sigebert*, who first brought the light of the Gospel into his Dominions, and built a School for Education of Youth, whether at *Oxford*, or *Cambridge*, is left a *Quare*; and after three years Reign shore himself a Monk in the Abbey of *Cumbreburg*, which himself had built: but being afterward violently drawn from thence by his Subjects the East *Angles*, to resist the *Mercian* King *Penda*, and refusing to use any other weapon but only a white wand, was in a Battel by him slain. The seventh King was *Anna*, who after Thirteen years Reign, was also slain by *Penda* the *Mercian* King. This King *Anna* was memorable chiefly for the holiness of his Children, of whom his Son *Erkenwald* was Bishop of *London*, and built the Abbey of *Barking*, near *London*. His Eldest Daughter, *Etheldred*, was twice married, and yet continued a Virgin still, and at last became a Nun, and is remembred to posterity by the name of St. *Audrie*. His second Daughter named *Sexburg*, his third named *Ethelburg*, his fourth (a natural daughter) named *Withburg*, all entred into Monasteries, and are Canonized all for Saints. The fourteenth King was *Ethelbert*, a Learned and Religious Prince, who being invited by *Offa* the *Mercian* King, to marry *Elfred* his daughter, came for that purpose to *Offa*'s Court, then seated at *Sutton Walleys*, in the County of *Hereford*, and there by him was cruelly murthered: In whose memorial notwithstanding, he afterward built a fair Church at *Hereford*, the Cathedral of that See, as though he could expiate a Murther of the Living, by a Monument to the dead, and were not rather a monument of his own Impiety. The fifteenth King was *Edmund*, who assaulted by the *Danes* for his possessions, was more assaulted for his profession; for continuing constant in his Christian Faith, those Pagans first beat him with bats, then scourged him with whips, and lastly bound him to a stake, and with their arrows shot him to death: whose body was buried at the Town where *Sigebert* the East *Anglian* King, one of his Predecessors had built a Church, and where afterward (in honour of him) was built another most spacious, of a wonderful frame of Timber, and the name of the Town upon the occasion of his burial there, called to this day St. *Edmundsbury*. This Church and place, *Suenus* the *Danish* King burnt to ashes: but when his Son *Canutus* had gotten possession of the *English* Crown, terrified with a Vision of the seeming St. *Edmund*, in a religious devotion to expiate his Fathers Sacriledge, he built it anew most sumptuously, and offered his own Crown upon the Martyrs Tomb. After the death of this *Edmund*, the East *Angles* Countrey was possest by the *Danes*, and so continued the space of fifty years, until that *Edmund* surnamed the Elder, expelled those *Danes*, and made that Kingdom a Province to the West *Saxons*.

Oxford or Cambridge founded.

The Abbey of Barking built.

Ethelred twice married, and yet a Virgin still.

Ethelbert treacherously murthered by King Offa.

The Cathedral of Hereford built.

St. Edmundsbury first founded.

By that which hath been said, it plainly appears, by what degrees the *Britains* lost, and the *Saxons* got the whole possession of this Island. For after that *Vortigern*, in the year 455. had called in the *Saxons*, every *Britain* King that succeeded him, lost some part or other of it to the *Saxons*, till at last in the year 689. *Cadwallader* the last *Britain* King lost all; and then the *Saxon* Kings striving amongst themselves for Soveraignty, they still gained one upon another, till at last in the year 818. *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons* reduced them all under his Subjection, and then caused all the South of the Island to be called *England*, according to the *Angles* of whom himself came: after whom they were no longer properly called *Saxon* Kings, but Kings of *England*,

When first called England.

land, and so continued till the *Danes* in the year 1017. made an interruption; of whose succession now comes the time to speak.

Of the Saxons *that Reigned sole Kings of this Island, and may properly be called* English *Kings.*

EGbert the Eighteenth King of the West *Saxons*, is now become the first of the Kings of *England*, in whose time the *Danes* began first to infest the Land; as thinking they might do as much against the *Saxons*, as the *Saxons* had done against the *Britains*; but though they made divers Invasions, and did great spoil, yet they were still repelled. This King reigned six and thirty years, and dying in the year 836. was buried at *Winchester*. Of his Issue, his Daughter *Edith* was made Governess of a Monastery of Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her Brother had given her, called *Polesworth*, situate in *Arden*, in the North part of the County of *Warwick*, where she died and was buried, and the place in memory of her called St. *Ediths* of *Polesworth*.

The *Danes* begin to infest *England*.

St. Edith of Polesworth, why so called.

To *Egbert* succeeded his Son *Ethelwolph*, who in his youth was so addicted to a Religious life, that he was first made Deacon; and after Bishop of *Winchester*; but his Father dying, he was intreated by his people to take upon him the Crown, and by Pope *Gregory* the fourth, was to that end absolved of his Vow. His Reign was infested with many and great Invasions of the *Danes*, to whom notwithstanding he gave incredible overthrows. In the time of his Reign, remembring his former Religious Profession, he ordained, That Riches and Lands due to the Holy Church, should be free from all Tribute or Regal Services, and in great devotion went himself to *Rome*, where he lived a year: confirmed the grant of *Peter*-pence, and agreed besides to pay yearly to *Rome* three hundred marks. Returning home through *France*, and being a Widower, he there married *Judith*, the beautiful daughter of *Charles* the Bald, then Emperour; in honour of whom in his own Court, he ever placed her in a Chair of Estate, with all other Majestical complements of a Queen, contrary to the Law of the West *Saxons* formerly made; which so much displeased his Lords, that for it they were ready to depose him: but howsoever he lived not long after, having reigned one and twenty years. His youngest Son *Neote* was much addicted to Learning, and was one of the Divinity Readers in the University of *Oxford*, and founded a Monastery in *Cornwal*, which of him was called *Neotestock*; and being dead, his body was interred in the County of *Huntington*, at a place then called *Arnulphsbury*, and afterward, in regard of his Interment, St. *Neotes*, and now St. *Nedes*. This King was famous for having four Sons, all of them were Kings of this Land successively.

Church-lands free from Tribute.

Peter-pence confirmed.

St. Nedes in Huntingtonshire, why so called.

First after him Reigned his eldest Son *Ethelbald*, in the year 857. who to his eternal shame, took to wife *Judith* his Fathers Widow, reigned about two years, and dying, was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorsetshire*, at that time the Episcopal See. From this *Judith*, married afterward to the Earl of *Flanders*, after divers descents, came *Maude* the Wife of *William* the Conquerour, from whom are descended all our Kings ever since.

K. *Ethelbald* marries his Fathers widow.

Next to the eldest reigned his second Son *Ethelbert*, all whose Reign, which was only five years, was perpetually disquieted with Invasions of the *Danes*, which yet were at last repelled. He died in the year 866. and was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorsetshire*.

The *Danes* invade *England* again.

Next to the second reigned his third Son *Ethelred*, whose Reign was more disquieted with the *Danes*, than any other before: for they invading the Land, under the leading of *Hungar*, and *Hubba*, spoiled all the Countrey as they went, not sparing Religious places; amongst other, the goodly Monasteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, and *Huntington*, they laid level with the ground: the Monks and Nuns they murthered or ravished: at which time a Rare example of Chastity and Fortitude was seen in the Nuns of *Coldingham*: For to avoid the barbarous pollutions of these Pagans, they deformed themselves by cutting off their upper Lips and Noses: Nine Battels in one year, this King fought with the *Danes*, in most of them victorious; but at last received a wound whereof he died, and was buried in the Church at *Winborn* in *Dorsetshire*.

Monasteries demolished by the *Danes*.

The Nuns of *Coldingham* their Chastity.

Next to the third reigned his fourth Son *Alfred*, in whose time came over greater swarms of *Danes* than ever before, and had now got footing in the North, the West, and South parts of this Island, leaving this King nothing of all his great Monarchy, but only *Somerset*, *Hampton*, and *Wiltshire*; and not these neither altogether free, so that he was forced sometimes to flie into the Fens and Marish grounds to secure himself, where he lived by Fishing and Fowling, and hunting of wilde Beasts, till at last learning policy from adversity, and gathering courage from misery, he ventured in the habit of a common Minstrel, to enter the *Danes* Camp; where having viewed the manner of their encamping, and observed their security, he returned back, shewing his Lords in what condition he found them. Whereupon setting upon them at unawares, he not only made of them a great slaughter, but brought upon them a greater terrour; for presently upon this the *Danes* sue for peace, and deliver Hostages for performance of these conditions: that their King should receive Baptism, and their great Army depart quietly out of the Land. But though upon this agreement they departed for the present into *France*, yet the year following they returned with greater Forces, forraging all parts of the Countrey in most cruel manner, though still encountred by this Valorous Prince, till he ended his life in the year 901. after he had reigned nine and twenty years. The Virtues of this King, if they were not incredible, they were at least admirable, whereof these may be instances. The day and night containing four and twenty hours,

K. *Alfreds* Policy against the *Danes*.

K. *Alfreds* Vertues.

hours, he designed equally to three special uses, observing them by the burning of a Taper set in his Chappel; (there being at that time, no other way of distinguishing them.) Eight hours he spent in Contemplation, Reading, and Prayers: eight in provision for himself, his health and recreation, and the other eight in the affairs of the Common-wealth and State. His Kingdom likewise he divided into Shires, Hundreds, and Tythings: ordaining that no man might remove out of his Hundred without security: by which course he so suppressed Thieves and Robbers, which had formerly encreased by the long Wars, that it is said a boy or girl might openly carry a bag of Gold or Silver, and carry it safely all the Countrey over: Besides his great piety, he was also learned, and as far as it might be a commendation in a Prince, a skilful Musician and excellent Poet. All former Laws he caused to be surveyed, and made choice of the best, which he translated into the *English* tongue; as also the Pastoral of St. *Gregory*, the History of *Bede*, and *Boetius* his Consolation of Philosophy; the *Psalms* of *David* likewise he began to translate, but died before he could finish it. And so great a love he had to learning, that he made a Law, that all Freemen of the Kingdom, possessing two Hides of Land, should bring up their Sons in Learning, till they were fifteen years of age at least, that so they might be trained to know God, to be men of understanding, and to live happily. His Buildings were many, both for God's service, and other publick use: as at *Edlensey* a Monastery, at *Winchester* a new Minster, and at *Shaftesbury* a house of Nuns; whereof he made his Daughter *Ethelgeda* the Abbess; but his foundation of the University of *Oxford*, exceeded all the rest: which he began in the year 895. and to furnish it with able Scholars, drew thither out of *France*, *Grimbaldus* and *Scotus*, and out of *Wales*, *Asser*, (who wrote his life) whose Lectures he honoured often with his own presence: And for a stock of Frugality, he made a Survey of the Kingdom; and had all the particulars of his Estate Registred in a Book, which he kept in his Treasury at *Winchester*. He reigned seven and twenty years, and dying was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Peter* at *Winchester*, though removed afterwards into the Church of the new Monastery, without the North-gate of the City called *Hyde*. His wife *Elsewith* founded a Monastery of Nuns at *Winchester*, and was there buried. Their second daughter *Ethelgeda*, took upon her the Vow of Virginity; and by her Fathers appointment was made a Nun of *Shaftesbury*, in the County of *Dorset*, in the Monastery founded there by him, who is also accounted the founder of the Town it self.

He divides the Kingdom into Shires.

His love to learning.

Oxford founded.

Shaftesbury by whom founded.

King *Alfred* being deceased, his Son *Edward* (called *Edward* the Elder) succeeded: not so Learned as his Father; but in Valour his equal, and superiour in Fortune; For first he overcame his Cousin *Ethelwald*, who aspir'd to the Crown; then the *Danes*, whose chief Leader he slew in Battel; lastly the *Welch*, but these last more by humility shewed to their Prince *Leolyn*, than by force of Arms. But yet he must not have all the glory of his time: some must be imparted to his Sister *Elfleda*; who being married to *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, had by him a Daughter, but with so grievous pains in her Travel, that ever after she refused the Nuptial bed of her Husband, saying, it was a foolish pleasure that brought with it so excessive pains: and thereupon after her Husbands death, made choice to follow the Wars; assisting her Brother both against the *Welch*, and against the *Danes*, whom she brought to be at her disposing. Dying she was buried at *Gloucester*, in the Monastery of St. *Peter*, which her Husband and her self had built. King *Edward* himself, after four and twenty years Reign, deceased at *Faringdon* in *Barkshire*, in the year 924. and was buried in the new Monastery of *Winchester*, which his Father and himself wholly finished: having had by his three Wives, six Sons and nine Daughters, of whom his eldest Son *Athelstan* succeeded him in the Kingdom, whom his Grandfather King *Alfred* had with his own hands Knighted, in an extraordinary manner; putting upon him a purple Robe, and girding him with a Girdle wrought with Pearl. His second Son *Elfred*, he so loved, that he caused him to be Crowned King with himself, which yet he enjoyed but a short time, being taken away by death. His third Son *Elseward*, presently upon his Fathers death died himself also. His fourth Son *Edwyn*, was by his Brother *Athelstan*, out of jealousie of State, put into a little Pinnace, without either Tackle or Oars, accompanied only with one Page; with grief whereof, the young Prince leaped into the Sea, and drowned himself. His fifth and his sixth Sons, *Edmund*, and *Edred*, came in succession to be Kings of *England*. Of his Daughters, the eldest *Editha*, was married to *Sithricke* the *Danish* King of *Northumberland*, and he deceasing, she entred into a Monastery, which she began at *Tamworth* in *Warwickshire*, and there died. His second Daughter *Elfleda*, took upon her the Vow of Virginity, in the Monastery of *Ramsey*, in the County of *Southampton*, where she died and was interred. His third Daughter *Eguina*, was first married to *Charles* the Simple, King of *France*; and after his decease, to *Herbert* Earl of *Vermandois*. His fourth Daughter *Ethelheld*, became a Nun in the Monastery of *Wilton*, which was sometime the head Town, giving name to the whole County of *Wiltshire*, and anciently called *Elandon*. That we may see in those first times of Religion, when there was least knowledge, there was most devotion. His fifth Daughter *Edhold*, was married to *Hugh*, surnamed the Great Earl of *Paris*, and Constable of *France*. And *Edgith* his sixth Daughter to *Otho*, the Emperour of the West, surnamed the Great. His seventh Daughter *Elgina*, was married to a Duke of *Italy*. His eighth *Edigna* to *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitain* in *France*.

After the death of King *Edward*, his eldest Son *Athelstan* succeeded, and was Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, in the County of *Surrey*, by *Athelmus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 924. The beginning of whose Reign, was molested with the Treason of one *Elfred* a Nobleman; who being apprehended and sent to *Rome* to purge himself, and there denying the act upon his Oath, fell suddenly down, and within three dayes died, to the eternal terrour of all perjured persons. Presently upon this, another

Elfleda follows the Nuptial bed to follow the Wars.

Knighting in an extraordinary manner.

When the head Town of Wiltshire.

Perjury punished by the Divine hand.

other disaster befel King *Athelstan*, for having caused his Brother *Edwyn*'s death (as before is shewed) chiefly procured by his Cup-bearers suggestions; it happened not long after, that his Cup-bearer, in his Service at a Festival, stumbling with one foot, and recovering himself with the other, and saying merrily, *See how one Brother helps another*; his words put the King in remembrance of his Brother, whose death he had caused, and with remorse thereof not only caused his Cup-bearer to be put to death, but did also seven years penance; and built the two Monasteries of *Middleton*, and *Michelnes*, in the County of *Dorset*, in expiation of his offence. This King ordained many good Laws, and those to bind as well the Clergy as the Laity; amongst which, one was the attachment of Felons, that stole above twelve pence, and were above twelve years old. Of this King there is one Act related, that may seem ridiculous; another that may seem miraculous: For what more ridiculous than that going to visit the Tomb of St. *John* of *Beverly*, and having nothing else of worth to offer, he offered his Knife in devotion to the Saint? Yet the miraculous is more apparent; For going to encounter the *Danes*, and praying to God for good success, he prayed withal, that God would shew some sign of his rightful cause, and thereupon striking with his Sword, he struck it an ell deep into a hard stone, which stood so cloven a long time after: But whether this be true or no, this certainly is true, that he obtained many great victories against the *Danes*, against the *Scots*, against the *Irish*, and against the *Welch*, whose Princes he brought to be his tributaries, entring Covenant at *Hereford*, to pay him yearly twenty pound weight of Gold, three hundred of Silver, and five and twenty hundred head of Cattel; besides a certain number of Hawks and Hounds. Lastly, he joyned *Northumberland* to the rest of his Monarchy, and enlarged his Dominions beyond any of his Predecessors: which made all neighbouring Princes to seek his friendship, and to gratifie him with rare presents, as *Hugh* King of *France* sent him the Sword of *Constantine* the Great, in the Hilt whereof was one of the Nails which fastened Christ to his Cross: he sent him also the Spear of *Charles* the Great, reputed to be the same that pierced Christ's side; as also part of the Cross whereon Christ suffered, and a piece of the Thorny Crown put upon his head. Likewise *Otho* the Emperour, who had married his Sister, sent him a vessel of precious Stones, artificially made, wherein were seen Landskips with Vines, Corn, and Men, all of them seeming so artificially to move, as if they were growing and alive. Likewise the King of *Norway* sent him a goodly Ship, with a gilt Stern, purple Sails, and the Deck garnished all with Gold. Of these accounted holy Reliques, K. *Athelstan* gave part to the Abby of Saint *Swithin* in *Winchester*, and the rest to the Monastery of *Malmesbury*, whereof *Adelm* was the Founder, and his Tutelar Saint. He new built the Monasteries of *Wilton*, *Michelnes*, and *Middleton*; Founded Saint *Germans* in *Cornwal*, Saint *Petrocus* at *Bodmyn*, and the Priory of *Pilton*; new walled and beautified the City of *Exeter*, and enriched either with Jewels or Lands, every special Abbey of the Land. But the chiefest of his works for the service of God, and good of his Subjects, was the translation of the Bible into the *Saxon* Tongue, which was then the Mother Tongue of the Land. He reigned fifteen years, died at *Gloucester*, and was buried at *Malmesbury*, in the year 940. having never been marryed.

Felons punished.

A miracle of King *Athelstan*.

K. *Athelstan* makes *Wales* tributary.

Holy Reliques sent to King *Athelstan*.

The Bible translated into the *Saxon* Tongue.

After the death of *Athelstan*, his brother *Edmund*, the fifth Son of his Father, succeeded; and was Crowned at *Kingston* upon *Thames*: but no sooner was the Crown set upon his head, but the *Danes* were upon his back; and in *Northumberland* made insurrections; whom yet he not only repressed in that part, but took from them the Towns of *Lincoln*, *Leicester*, *Darby*, *Stafford*, and *Nottingham*; compelling them withal to receive Baptism, and to become his Subjects, so as the Countrey was wholly his as far as *Humber*. *Cumberland* also, which had been an entire Kingdom of it self, and was now aided by *Leolyn* King of *Southwales*, he utterly wasted and gave it *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, to hold of him by Fealty. After his returning home, he set himself to ordain Laws for the good of his people, which Master *Lambert* hath since translated into Latin. But after all his noble Acts both in War and Peace, he came at last to a lamentable end; for at his Mannor of *Pucklekerke*, in the County of *Gloucester*, interposing himself to part a Fray between two of his Servants, he was thrust through the body, and so wounded, that he died, or as the *Saxon* Annals relate, was slain by one *Leof* a noted Thief whom meeting at a feast among his Nobles after he had banisht him the Court he fell upon in a great rage, and was buried at *Glastenbury*, after he had reigned five years, and seven months, leaving behind him two young Sons, *Edwyn*, and *Edgar*.

K. *Edmund* compels the *Danes* to receive Baptism.

His good Laws.

His unfortunate end.

King *Edmund* dying, his brother *Edred* in the minority of his Nephews, was Crowned at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 946. Not as Protector, (it seems that kind of Authority was not yet come in use) but as King himself, though with purpose to resign, when the right Heir should come of age; which at this time needed not, for while the right Heir was scarce yet fourteen years old, he resigned to him the Kingdom, by resigning his life to Nature, after he had twice repressed the rebelling *Northumbrians*, and twice forgiven their Rebelling, which yet was not a simple Rebellion; for they had sent for *Anlafe* the *Dane* out of *Ireland*, and made him their King: which place for four years he held; and then weary of his Government, they thrust him out, and take one *Hericus* to be their King, whom not long after they put down also; and then partly allured by the lenity of King *Edred*, and partly forced by his Arms, they submit themselves to him, and ask forgiveness, to whom he as a merciful Prince, grants an Act of Oblivion, and received them again into protection. This Prince was so devout and humble, that he submitted his body to be chastised at the will of *Dunstan*, Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and committed all his Treasure and Jewels to his custody. The stately Abbey of *Mich* at *Abington* near *Oxford*, built by King *Inas*, but destroyed by the *Danes*, he newly re-edified, endowing it with Revenues

King *Edred*'s devotion.

Revenues and Lands, the Charters whereof he confirmed with Seals of Gold. He ordained Saint *Germans* in *Cornwal*, to be a Biſhops See, which there continued, till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Epiſcopal See of *Kyrton* in *Devonſhire*; both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward* the Confeſſor, tranſlated to the City of *Exeter*. He left behind him two Sons, *Elfred*, and *Bertfred*, and was buried in the old Minſter, without the City of *Wincheſter*, whoſe bones with other Kings, are to this day preſerved in a gilt Coffer, fixed upon the Wall, in the South ſide of the Quire.

Exeter made the Epiſcopal See.

After *Edred*, not any of his Sons, but his Nephew *Edwyn*, the eldeſt Son of King *Edmund* ſucceeded, and was anointed and Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 955. This Prince, though ſcarce fourteen years old, and in age but a child, yet was able to commit ſin as a man; for upon the very day of his Coronation, and in ſight of his Lords, as they ſate in Council, he ſhamefully abuſed a Lady of great Eſtate, and his near Kinſwoman; and to mend the matter, ſhortly after ſlew her Husband; the more freely to enjoy his inceſtuous pleaſure. And whether for this infamous fact, or for thruſting the Monks out of the Monaſteries of *Malmesbury*, and *Glaſtenbury*, and placing married Prieſts in their rooms, as alſo for baniſhing *Dunſtan* the holy Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* out of the Realm, a great part of his Subjects hearts was ſo turned againſt him, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted, and ſwore Fealty to his younger brother *Edgar*; with grief whereof, after four years reign, *he* ended his life, and was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Hide*, at *Wincheſter*.

K. Edwins ſhameful fact at his Coronation.

After *Edwyn*, ſucceeded his younger Brother *Edgar*, at the age of ſixteen years; but his Coronation, when and where, and by whom, is ſo uncertain, that ſome ſay he was Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames* by *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the firſt year of his Reign; others ſay not till the twelfth, and *William* of *Malmesbury* not till the thirtieth: Another Chronicle ſaith, in his eleventh year; and that in the City of *Bathe*, by the hands of *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This King, by reaſon of the tranquillity of his Reign, was ſurnamed the *Peaceable*; for as he was ſomething inclined to the *Danes*, ſo the *Danes* never offered to ſtir in all his time; and as for the *Saxons*, they acknowledged him their ſole Soveraign, without diviſion of Provinces or Titles. His Acts were ſome Virtuous, ſome Politick, ſome Juſt, ſome Pious; and yet all theſe not without ſome mixture of Vice. To repreſs drunkenneſs, which the *Danes* had brought in, he made a Law, ordaining a ſize, by certain pins in the pot; with penalty to any that ſhould preſume to drink deeper than the mark. It was a politick device which he uſed for the deſtruction of Wolves that in his dayes did great annoyance to the Land: For the tribute impoſed on the *Princes* of *Wales*, by King *Athelſtan*, he wholly remitted, appointing in lieu thereof, a certain number of Wolves, yearly to be paid; whereof the Prince of *North-Wales*, for his part was to pay three hundred; which continued for three years ſpace: and in the fourth year, there was not a Wolf to be found; and ſo the tribute ceaſed. He had in his Navy Royal, three thouſand and ſix hundred Ships, which he divided into three parts, appointing every one of them to a ſeveral Quarter, to ſcowre the Seas, and to ſecure the Coaſts from Pirates: and leſt his Officers might be careleſs, or corrupted, he would himſelf in perſon ſail about all the Coaſts of his Kingdom every Summer. It was a notable Act of Juſtice, that in his Circuits and Progreſſes through the Countrey, he would take ſpecial account of the demeanour of his Lords, and ſpecially of his Judges; whom he ſeverely puniſhed, if he found them Delinquents. Wars he had none in all his Reign, only towards his end the *Welchmen* moved ſome Rebellion; againſt whom he went with a mighty Army, and chaſtiſed the Authors: but when his Souldiers had gotten great ſpoils, and made prey upon the innocent Countrey people, he commanded them to reſtore it all back again; which, if it made ſome few *Engliſh* angry, it made the whole Countrey of the *Welch* well pleaſed, and ſound forth his praiſes. His pious Acts were, that he built and prepared ſeven and forty Monaſteries, and meant to have made them up fifty, but was prevented by death. But now his mixture of Vice marred all; eſpecially being a Vice oppoſite to all thoſe Virtues, which was Laſciviouſneſs. For firſt, he deflowred a Sacred Nun, called *Wolfchild*; on whom yet he begot a Saint, the chaſte *Edyth*. After her another Virgin, called *Ethelfleda*, for her excellent beauty ſurnamed the White, on whom he begot his Eldeſt Son *Edward*; for which fact he did ſeven years penance enjoyned him by the Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*. After this he chanced to hear of a Virgin, Daughter to a Weſtern Duke, exceedingly praiſed for her beauty, and coming to *Andover*, commanded her to his Bed. But the Mother, tender of her Daughters honour, brought in the dark her Maid to him; who in the morning making haſte to riſe, and the King not ſuffering her to depart, ſhe told him what great work ſhe had to do, and how ſhe ſhould incur her Ladies diſpleaſure, if it were not done; by which words the King perceiving the deceit, turned it to a jeſt: but ſo well liked her company, that he kept himſelf true to her ever after, till he married. But now his marriage it ſelf happened by a greater vice than any of theſe; for hearing of the admirable beauty of *Elfrida*, the only Daughter of *Ordganus*, Duke of *Devonſhire*, Founder of *Taveſtock* Abbey in that Countrey, he ſent his great Favourite Earl *Ethelwold*, (who could well judge of beauty) to try the truth thereof; with Commiſſion, that if he found her ſuch as fame reported, he ſhould ſeize her for him, and he would make her his Queen. The young Earl, upon ſight of the Lady, was ſo ſurprized with her love, that he began to wooe for himſelf, and got her Fathers good will, ſo as the King would give his conſent. Hereupon the Earl poſted to the King, relating to him that the Maid was fair indeed, but nothing anſwerable to the Fame that went of her; yet deſired the King that he might marry her, as being her Fathers Heir, thereby to raiſe his Fortunes. The King conſented, and

King Edgar called the Peaceable.

A Law to repreſs drunkenneſs.

How wolves came to be deſtroyed in England.

King Edgars Navy Royal of 3600 Ships.

Souldiers made to reſtore their Goods.

King Edgar built 47 Monaſteries.

King Edgar laſciviouſneſs.

A treacherous Embaſſage.

the marriage was solemnized. Soon after, the fame of her beauty began to spread more than before; so as the King much doubting that he had been abused, meant to try the truth himself, and thereupon taking occasion of hunting in the Dukes Park, came to his house; whose coming *Ethelwold* suspecting, acquainted his Wife with the wrong he had done both her, and the King; and therefore to prevent the Kings displeasure, intreated her by all the perswasions he could use, to cloath her self in such attire, as might be least fit to set her forth: but she considering that now was the time to make the most of her beauty, and longing to be a Queen, would not be accessary to her own wrong, but decked her self in her richest Ornaments, which so improved her beauty, that the King at the first sight was struck with admiration, and meant to be revenged of his perfidious Favourite; yet dissembling his passion, till he could take him at advantage, he then with a Javelin ran him through; and having thereby made fair *Elfrid* a Widow, took her to be his Wife. This King founded the Monastery of *Ramsey* in *Hampshire*, reigned sixteen years, lived seven and thirty, and with great Funeral pomp was buried in the Abby of *Glastenbury*. He had Children by his first Wife *Ethelsleda*, one Son named *Edward*, and by his second Wife *Elfrid*, two Sons, one named *Edmund*, who died young, the other *Ethelred*. He had also one natural Daughter, named *Edgyth*, by a Lady named *Wolfchilde*, the Daughter of *Wolholme*, the Son of *Birding*, the Son of *Nesting*; which two later, bear in their names the memory of their Fortunes; the last of them being found in an Eagles nest, by King *Alfred* as he was a hunting. This *Edgyth* built the Monastery and Church of Saint *Dennis* at *Wilton*, and was there buried.

Ramsey Monastery in *Hampshire* founded.

A child found in an Eagles nest: and thereof called *Nesting*.

After the death of King *Edgar* succeeds his Son *Edward*, but not without some opposition, for Queen *Elfrid* combined with divers of the Lords, to make her Son *Ethelred* King, saying, that Prince *Edward* was illegitimate; on the other side, the Archbishop *Dunstan*, and the Monks stood for *Edward*, abetting his Title as being lawfully born; but while the Council was assembled to argue their Rights, the Archbishop came in with his Banner and Cross, and not staying for debating *de Jure*, *de facto* presented Prince *Edward* for their lawful King, and the Assembly consisting most of Clergy men, drew the approbation of the rest; and thereupon Prince *Edward* was admitted, being but twelve years of age, and was Crowned King at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, by Archbishop *Dunstan*, in the year 975. In the beginning of his Reign, it fell into debate whether married Priests were to be allowed to live in Monasteries upon the Revenues of the Church. The *Mercian* Duke *Alfersus*, favouring the cause of the married Priests, destroyed the Monasteries in his Province, cast out the Monks, and restored again the ancient Revenues to the Priests and their Wives. On the other side, *Edelwyn* Duke of the East *Angles*, and *Brynoth* Earl of *Sussex*, who stood for the Monks, cast married Priests out of their Provinces. The matter being debated in a Council at *Westminster*, the Monks cause was like to have the foil, till it was referred to the Rood, placed on the Refectory Wall where the Council sate: For to this great Oracle Saint *Dunstan* desired them devoutly to pray, and to give diligent ear for an answer, when suddenly a voice was heard to say, *God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so.* This was thought Authority sufficient, to suppress the Priests, till they perswaded the people, that this was but a cunning practice of the Monks, in placing behind the Wall, a man of their own, who through a Trunk uttered these words in the mouth of the Rood. Whereupon another Assembly was appointed at *Cleve* in *Wiltshire*, whither repaired the Prelates, with most of all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom. The Synod being set, and the matter at the height of discussing, it happened that the Joysts of the Room, where the Synod was held, suddenly brake, and the floor with all the people thereon, fell down, whereof many were hurt, and some slain; only the Arch-bishop *Dunstan*, then President, and mouth for the Monks, remained unhurt; which whether it were done by practice, or were miraculous, it served the Monks turn for justifying their cause, and married Priests were thereupon discarded. It were infinite, and indeed ridiculous, to speak of all the Miracles, reported to be done by this Saint *Dunstan*, which may be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle.

Married Priests excluded from living in Monasteries, by what verdict.

But now a most lamentable disaster comes to be remembred: For King *Edward*, hunting one time in the Iland of *Purbeck*, not far from *Corfe Castle*; where his Mother-in-Law, Queen *Elfrid*, with his Brother Prince *Ethelred*, were then residing, he out of his love to both, would needs himself alone go visit them; where the cruel woman, out of ambition to bring her own Son to the Crown, caused one to run him into the back with a Knife, as he was drinking a Cup of Wine on Horseback at his departing, who feeling himself hurt, set Spurs to his Horse, thinking thereby to get to his company, but the wound being mortal, and he fainting through loss of much blood, fell from his Horse; but one foot being intangled in the Stirrup, he was thereby rufully dragged up and down, through Woods and Lands; and lastly left dead at *Corfes* Gate; for which untimely death, he was ever after called by the name of *Edward* the Martyr. He reigned only three years and six months, and was buried first at *Winchester*, without all Funeral pomp, but after three years, by Duke *Alfersus* removed, and with great solemnity interred in the Minster of *Shaftsbury*. Queen *Elfrid*, to expiate this her bloody fact, built the two Monasteries of *Almesbury*, and *Werwel*, in the Counties of *Wiltshire*, and *Southampton*, in which later with great repentance, she lived till her death.

K. *Edwards* lamentable end by the wickedness of his Mother-in-law: and called the Martyr.

After the death of *Edward* the Martyr, dying at the age of sixteen years, his half Brother *Ethelred*, at the age of twelve years, in the year 979. was Crowned King at *Kingstone* upon *Thames* by *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though much against his will; which King by reason of his backwardness in Action, was commonly called the Unready. At the Coronation of this Prince St. *Dunstan* in a Prophetick spirit

K. *Ethelred* called the Unready.

spirit denounced on him and the Kingdom, the wrath and indignation of Almighty God in these words following; Because (saith he) thou hast aspired to the Crown by the death of thy Brother whom thy mother hath murthered; therefore hear the word of the Lord: *The Sword shall not depart from thy house, but shall furiously rage all the dayes of thy life, killing of thy seed, till such time as thy Kingdom shall be given to a people whose customes and language the Nation thou now governest, know not. Neither shall thy sin, the sin of thy Mother, and the sin of those men, who were partakers of her Counsels, and Executors of her wicked designs, be expiated but by a long, and most severe vengeance.* Which prediction of the Holy Archbishop was seconded by Prodigies, and by the disasterous calamities which fell on him and his house, and the whole confirmed for truth. Besides this, most remarkable are the prophecies of a holy man in the time of this King *Ethelred*. Before whose time, for two and twenty years past the *Danes* had lived as quiet inmates with the *English*: but whether weary of so long doing nothing, or finding now opportunity of doing something, in the second year of this King, they begin to stir, and inviting from home, Forces, who in seven Ships arrived upon the Coast of *Kent*; they spoiled all the Countrey, specially the Isle of *Thanet*, and continued this course of forraging the Kingdom, sometimes in one part, and sometimes in another, for eleven years together: till at last, in the year 991. the King by advice of his Lords, of whom *Siricius* the now Archbishop of *Canterbury* was chief, was contented to pay them ten thousand pounds, upon condition they should quietly depart the Realm. This served the turn for the present, but was so far from satisfying them, that it did but give them the greater appetite; for the year following they came again, and that with a greater fleet than before, against whom the King prepared a competent Navy, and committed it to *Elfrick*, Earl of *Mercia*, but he proving treacherous (as indeed all other for the most part did, whom the King imployed against the *Danes*, as with whom they were allianced in blood) the *Danes* so prevailed, that for the next composition, they had sixteen thousand pounds given them, and a year after, twenty thousand; and so every year more and more, till it came at last to forty thousand: by which means, the Land was emptied of all coin, and the *English* were brought so low, that they were fain to Till, and Ear the Ground, whilst the *Danes* sate idle, and eat the fruit of their labours, abusing the Wives and Daughters of their Hosts, where they lay, and yet in every place, for very fear, were called *Lord Danes*; (which afterward became a word of derision when one would signifie a lazy Lubber.) In this distressed state, the King at last bethought himself of a course: he sent forth a secret Commission into every City within his Dominions; that at an appointed time, they should massacre all the *Danes* that were amongst them: the day was the thirteenth of *November*, being the Festival of St. *Bricius*, in the year 1002. His command was accordingly performed, and with such rigour, that in *Oxford* the *Danes* for refuge took into the Church of St. *Frideswide*, as into a Sanctuary, when the *English*, neither regarding place nor person, set the Church on fire, wherein many of the *Danes* were burnt, and the Library thereof utterly defaced. And who would not now think, but that *England* by this Fact had clean shaken off the *Danish* yoke for ever? yet it proved clean otherwise: For the news of this massacre, adding a new edge of revenge, to the old edge of ambition, made the *Danes* sharper set against the *English*, than ever they had been before; so as the year following, their King *Sweyne*, with a mighty Navy entred the Countrey, razed and levelled with the ground the City of *Exeter*, all along from the East Gate to the West: against whom the King levied an Army, and made General over it the Earl *Edrick*, his great Favourite, whom he had created Duke of *Mercia*, and given him his Daughter *Edgith* in marriage; yet all this great favour could not keep him from being treacherous, for being sent Ambassadour to the *Danes*, to mediate for peace, he revealed to them the weakness of the Land, and treacherously dissuaded them from consenting to any Truce. Upon this King *Ethelred* gave order, that every three hundred and ten Hides of Land should build a Ship, and every eight Hides find a compleat Armour furnished; yet all this great preparation came to nothing, but only to make a show. After this, the King seeing no end of their Invasions, nor promise kept upon any composition; (for three *Danish* Princes, with a great Fleet were now newly arrived) he intended to adventure once for all, and to commit his cause to God, by the fortune of a Battel. To which end he secretly gathered a mighty power, and coming unlooked for, when the Enemy was unprepared, he had certainly given an end to the Quarrel, if the wicked *Edrick* had not dissuaded him from fighting, and put him into a causless fear, by forged tales. After this the *Danes* forraged many Countries, burnt *Oxford*, *Thetford*, and *Cambridge*; and lastly, entred *Wiltshire*, which was the seventh shire in number, they had laid waste like a Wilderness. The year after they make a new Expedition, and besiege *Canterbury*; which by treason of a Church-man they won, took *Alphegus* the Archbishop, and slew nine hundred Monks, and men of Religion, besides many Citizens, without all mercy; for they Tythed the people, slaying all by nines, and reserving only the tenth to live; so that of all the Monks in the Town there were but four saved, and of the Lay-people, four thousand eight hundred; by which account Master *Lambert* collecteth, that there dyed in this Massacre three and forty thousand, and two hundred persons. The Archbishop *Alphegus*, for that he refused to charge his Tenants with three thousand pounds to pay for his Ransome, they most cruelly stoned to death at *Greenwich*. *Turkillus* the leader of these Murtherers, took into his possession all *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, over whom he tyrannized in most savage manner; the rest compounding with the *English* for eight thousand pounds, quietly for a while sojourned among them. The year following came King *Sweyne* again, and with a great Navy arrived in the mouth of *Humber*, and landed at *Gainsborough*, to whom the *Northum-*

The Danes having been long quiet, begin now to stir.

The Danes prevail, and are called Lord-Danes.

The Danes massacred.

In revenge whereof King Sweyne the next year invades the Kingdom, and prevails by the treachery of Edrick.

thumbrians, and the people of *Lindſey* yielded themſelves; ſo that now over all the North, from *Watlingſtreet*, he reigned ſole King, and exacted pledges of them for their further obedience. From the North he paſſed into the South, ſubduing all before him till he came to *London*, where he was ſo valiantly encountred by the *Londoners*, that he was glad to retire, in which retiring notwithſtanding he entred *Bathe*, where *Ethelmore* Earl of *Devonſhire*, with his Weſtern people, ſubmitted himſelf to him. Yet after this, between him and the *Engliſh* was ſtruck a fierce Battel, which had been with good ſucceſs, if the treachery of ſome in turning to the *Danes*, had not hindred it. After this the *Danes* proceeded on victoriouſly, and had gotten moſt part of the Land, and even *London* alſo by ſubmiſſion: whereupon the unfortunate King *Ethelred*, ſending his Wife *Emma* with her two Sons, *Edward* and *Alfred*, to her Brother Duke of *Normandy*, himſelf alſo the Winter following paſſed thither, leaving the *Danes* Lording it in his Realm. *Sweyne* now as an abſolute King extorted from the *Engliſh* both Victuals and Pay for his Souldiers; and demanding ſuch a Compoſition for preſerving of St. *Edmunds* Monaſtery in *Suffolk*, as the Inhabitants were not able, and therefore refuſed to pay: he thereupon threatned ſpoil, both to the Place, and to the Martyrs bones that were there interred, when ſuddenly in the midſt of his jollity (ſaith *Hoveden*) he cried out, that he was ſtruck by Saint *Edmund* with a Sword, being then in the midſt of his Lords, and no man ſeeing from whoſe hand it came; and ſo with great horrour and torment, three dayes after, upon the third of *February*, he ended his life at *Thetford*, or (as others ſay) at *Gainsborough*. And now who would not think but this was a fair opportunity offered to the *Engliſh*, to free themſelves wholly from the *Daniſh* yoke? but when all was done, either croſſed by treachery, or fruſtrated by misfortune, nothing proſpered. It is true, upon this occaſion of *Sweyne's* death, King *Ethelred* returned out of *Normandy*, but at his coming *Canutus* the Son of *Sweyne*, had gotten the people of *Lindſey* to be at his devotion, and to find him both Horſe and Men againſt their own King; ſo as *Ethelred* was now which he did ſo valiantly, that he made *Canutus* glad to return into *Denmark*, as utterly hopeleſs of any good to be done in *England*. And now one would certainly think the *Danes* had been removed Root and Branch, out of *England*, and never like to trouble the Land any more; and indeed there was all the appearance of probability for it that could be. But it is a true ſaying, *That which will be, ſhall be, let all be done that can be*. For now *Turkil* the *Dane*, who had before revolted to King *Ethelred*, growing ſenſible of his fault, which was this, or no way to be redeemed; and tender of his Countrey-mens caſe, which was now or never to be helpt, with nine of his Ships ſailed into *Denmark*; and firſt excuſing himſelf to *Canutus* for his former defection, as though he had done it of purpoſe, to learn all advantages againſt the *Engliſh*, which now he could diſcover to him: he ſo prevailed with *Canutus* once again to try his fortune, that with a Navy of two hundred Ships he ſet ſail for *England*, and landed at *Sandwich*, where he gave the *Engliſh* a great overthrow, and paſſed victoriouſly through the Counties of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, and *Wilts*. When (*Ethelred* lying dangerouſly ſick at *Coſſam*) the managing of the War was committed to Prince *Edmund* his Son, who preparing to give the *Danes* Battel, had ſuddenly notice given him, that his Brother-in-Law *Edrick* meant to betray him into his Enemies hands, which made him ſuſpend his proceeding: and *Edrick* perceiving his deſign to be diſcovered, caſt off the Maſque, and with forty of the Kings Ships fled openly to the Enemy; and thereupon, all the Weſt Countries ſubmitted themſelves unto *Canutus*. By this time King *Ethelred* having recovered his ſickneſs, prepared to go on with the Battel, which his Son *Edmund* had intended; but his Forces being aſſembled, he likewiſe had ſuddenly notice given him, that his Subjects meant to betray him to the *Danes*. Hereupon he withdrew himſelf to *London*, as the place in which he moſt confided; where falling into a relapſe of his former ſickneſs, he ended his unfortunate dayes in the year 1016. when he had reigned 37. years, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, whoſe bones as yet remain in the North Wall of the chancel, in a Cheſt of grey Marble, adjoyning to that of *Sebba*, King of the Eaſt *Saxons*. He had by his two Wives, eight Sons, and four Daughters; of whom his youngeſt named *Goda*, was married to one *Walter de Maigne*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, by whom ſhe had a Son named *Rodolph*, which *Rodolph* had a Son named *Harold*, created afterward by King *William* the Conquerour Baron of *Sudely* in the County of *Gloceſter*, and Anceſtor to the Barons, of that place ſucceeding, and of the Lord *Chandois* of *Sudely*, now being.

Ethelred being dead, his third Son *Edmund* called *Ironſide* (of his ability in enduring labour) but the eldeſt living at his Fathers death, ſucceeded, and was crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, by *Levingus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1016. A great part of the *Engliſh* both feared and favoured, and indeed out of fear favoured *Canutus*; eſpecially the Clergy, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, and ſware Fealty to him: but the *Londoners* ſtood firm to Prince *Edmund*, and were the principal authors of his Election. *Canutus* before the death of King *Ethelred*, had beſieged the City, and now with a large Trench encompaſſed it: but the new King *Edmund* coming on, raiſed the ſiege, and made *Canutus* fly to the Iſle of *Sheppey*; where having ſtaid the Winter, the Spring following, he aſſailed the Weſt of *England*, and at *Penham* in *Dorſetſhire*, a Battel was fought, and the *Danes* diſcomfited. After this, in *Woreeſterſhire* at a place called *Sheroſtan*, another Battel was fought, where the *Danes* were like again to be diſcomfited: but the traiterous *Edrick* perceiving it, he cut off the head of a Souldier like unto King *Edmund* both in hair and countenance, and ſhaking his bloody Sword, with the gaſping head crying to the Army of the *Engliſh*, *Fly ye wretches, fly, and get away for your King is ſlain*; *behold*,

King *Sweyne* is ſtricken by the Divine Hand for offering violence to St. *Edmund* the Martyrs bones.

Canutus in deſpair returns into *Denmark*.

Is perſwaded by *Turkil* the *Dane* to return into *England*.

Edrick continues traicherous ſtill.

The Lord *Chandois* of *Sudely* from whom deſcended.

Edmund Ironſide crowned King.

Drives *Canutus* from the ſiege of *London*.

Edrick traicherous ſtill.

behold, here is his head; but King *Edward* having notice of this treacherous stratagem, hasted to shew himself where he might best be seen; whose sight so encouraged his men, that they had gotten that day a final victory, if night had not prevented them. Duke *Edrick* excuses his Fact, as being mistaken in the countenance of the Man, and desirous to save the blood of the *English*; upon which false colour he was received into favour again. After this, *Canutus* secretly in the night brake up his Camp, and marched towards *London*, which in a sort was still besieged by the *Danish* Ships: but King *Edmund* hearing of his departure, followed him, and with small ado removed the Siege, and in triumphant manner entred the City. After this near unto *Otford* in *Kent*, was another great Battel fought, in which *Canutus* lost four thousand five hundred men, and King *Edmund* only six hundred; the rest of the *Danes* saving themselves by flight: whom if King *Edmund* had pursued, it is thought that day had ended the Wars between these two Nations for ever. But the ever traiterous *Edrick*, kept King *Edmund* from pursuing them, by telling him of Ambushes and other dangers: so as *Canutus* had leisure to pass over into *Essex*, but thither also King *Edmund* followed him; where at *Assdon* three miles from *Saffron Walden*, another Battel was fought, in which the *Danes* being at the point to be overthrown, the traiterous *Edrick* with all his Forces revolted to their side; by which treachery the *English* lost the day. There died of King *Edmund*'s Nobility, Duke *Alfred*, Duke *Godwyn*, Duke *Athelwald*, Duke *Athelwyn*, Earl *Urchil*, *Codroth* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Wolsey* Abbot of *Ramsey*, with many others. The remembrance of which Battel is retained to this day, by certain small hills there remaining, whence have been digged the bones of men, armour, and horse-bridles. After this at *Dertherst*, near to the River *Severn*, another Battel was ready to be fought; when suddenly, a certain Captain steps forth, and for saving of blood, used great perswasions, that either they should try the Battel by single Combat, or else divide the Kingdom betwixt them: Upon this the Combat is agreed on, and the two Princes entring into a small Island called *Alney* adjoyning to the City of *Gloucester*, in compleat Armour assailed each other; at first on Horseback, and after on foot: when *Canutus* having received a dangerous wound, and finding himself overmatched in strength, desired a Compromise, and with a loud voice used these words. What necessity should move us, most valiant Prince, for obtaining of a Title to endanger our lives? were it not better to lay malice aside, and condescend to a loving agreement? let us therefore become sworn Brothers, and divide the Kingdom between us. This motion was by King *Edmund* accepted, and thus was the Kingdom divided between these two Princes; *Edmund* enjoying that part which lies upon the Coast of *France*, and *Canutus* the rest. But now Duke *Edrick* hath his last and greatest act of treachery to play; for King *Edmund* being retired to a place for natures necessity, he thrust from under the draught a sharp Spear into his Body, and then cutting off his head presented it to *Canutus*, with these fawning words, *All hail, thou sole Monarch now of* England, *for here behold the head of thy Co-partner, which for thy sake I have adventured to cut off.* *Canutus* though ambitious enough of soveraignty, yet abashed at so disloyal a fact, replyed and vowed, that in reward of that service, his own head should be advanced above all the Peers of his Kingdom: which soon after he performed; for by his command the false *Edricks* head was cut off, and placed upon the highest Gate of *London*. *Matthew* of *Westminster* and *Huntingdon* relate this murther to have been acted by *Edrick*'s own Son at the commandment of his Father: *William Malmesbury* writes that the King was killed by two Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber hired by the same disloyal *Edrick*, notwithstanding *Roger Hoveden* reports that he died a natural death at *London*. The death of this King in this manner, some say, was acted at *Oxford*; others, that he died of a natural sickness in *London*; but howsoever he came to his death, his reign was but only seven months, and his body was buried at *Glastenbury*, near to his Grandfather King *Edgar*. This King *Edmund* had by his Wife *Algyth*, two Sons; the eldest named *Edward*, surnamed the Out-law, because he lived out of *England*, in *Hungary*, as a banished man, for fear of King *Canutus*: but when his Uncle King *Edward* the Confessour had obtained the Crown, he was recalled, and honourably entertained till he died. He married *Agatha*, Sister to Queen *Sophia*, Wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, and Daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the Second; by whom he had *Edgar* surnamed *Atheling*, the right Heir of the *English* Crown, though he never enjoyed it. The second Son of *Ironside* was called after his Fathers name *Edmund*. King *Edmund* had also two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Christian*, of whom the younger became a Veiled Nun at *Ramsey* in *Hampshire*; the elder *Margaret*, after sole Heir to the *Saxon* Monarchy, married *Malcolme* the third King of *Scotland*, from which Princely bed in a lineal Descent, our High and Mighty Monarch King *James* the first, doth in his most Royal Person, unite the *Britains*, *Saxons*, *Norman*, and *Scotish* Imperial Crowns in one.

King *Edmund* and *Canutus* try the matter by a single combat.

They divide the Kingdom between them.

Edrick treacherous still, murthers K. *Edmund*.

Edmund Ironside his Father.

King *James* descended from the daughter of King *Edmund Ironside*.

Of the first DANISH *King in* England.

Canutus being possest of half the Kingdom by composition with King *Edward*, now after his death seised upon the whole, and to prevent all further question, he called a Council of the *English* Nobility, wherein it was propounded, whether in the agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any claim of Title to the Crown had been reserved for King *Edmunds* Brethren or Sons; to which (not daring to say otherwise) they absolutely answered no, and thereupon took all of them the Oath of Allegiance to *Canutus*. Being thus cleared of all opposites, he prepared with great solemnity for his Coronation, which was performed at *London*, by the hands of *Levingus* surnamed *Elstane*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1017. being the first *Dane* that reigned Monarch of *England*. But *Canutus* not thinking himself sufficiently

Canutus possest of the whole Kingdom.

ficiently ſafe, as long as any that might pretend, were in the peoples eye, cauſed firſt *Edwin* the Son of King *Ethelred*, and brother of *Edmund*, to abjure the Realm, who was yet afterward recalled, and treacherouſly murthered by his own men, and his body buried at *Taveſtock* in *Devonſhire*. Next were the two ſons of *Edmund Ironſide*, *Edward*, and *Edmund*, whom to the end the people might not ſee him ſhed the blood of Innocents, he ſent to his half Brother King of *Sweden*, to be made away, but the King of *Sweden* more compaſſionate and noble than this jealous and cruel *Dane*, ſent the young *Princes* into *Hungary*, to *Salomon* (the King thereof) in whoſe Court they were brought up and preferred, as we have before mentioned. Then remained *Edward* and *Alfred*, the Sons of King *Ethelred*, and them their Mother Queen *Emma* had ſent away before to her Brother the Duke of *Normandy*, there to be in ſafety, ſo as none of the Royal Blood was now left in the Land, to give *Canutus* any fear of competition. After this he took to Wife the virtuous Lady *Emma*, the Relict of King *Ethelred*, by which match he procured to himſelf three great benefits: one that he won the love of the people by marrying a Lady whom they ſo intirely loved, another, that he got the Alliance of the Duke of *Normandy*, a neighbouring Prince of great power; the third, that by marrying the Mother, he ſecured himſelf againſt the Sons: as likewiſe Queen *Emma* was not unwillingly perſwaded to the match, upon agreement to make her Iſſue, if he had any by her, to inherit the Crown of *England*. And to win the love of the people more, he cauſed great numbers of his *Danes*, who peſtered the Countrey, to return home, beſtowing amongſt them for their ſatisfaction, fourſcore and two thouſand pounds. And to win the love of the people yet more, he now ſet himſelf to the making of good Laws, in a Grand Convention of his Nobles which he held at *Oxford*; whereof, for a Pattern of thoſe times, ſome that concern Religion, may not unfitly be here related. Firſt, for the celebration of Divine Service, it was ordained, that all Ceremonies tending to the encreaſe of Reverence and Devotion ſhould be uſed as need required. Secondly, that upon the Sabbath day, all Publick Fairs, Markets, Synods, Huntings, and all ſecular actions ſhould be forborn, unleſs ſome urgent neceſſity ſhould require it. Thirdly, that every Chriſtian ſhould thrice in the year receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Lords Supper. Fourthly, that if a Miniſter of an Altar killed a man, or committed any notorious crime, he ſhould be deprived both of his Order and Dignity. Fifthly, that a married woman convict of Adultery ſhould have her noſe and ears cut off. Sixthly, That a widow marrying within a twelfth month after her Husbands deceaſe ſhould loſe her Joynture. Theſe and many other good Laws were made, whereby the Kingdom remained during all his time, in a moſt peaceable ſtate and government. In the third year of his Reign he heard how the *Vandals* taking advantage of his abſence, had entred *Denmark*, and annoyed his Subjects; whereupon with a great Army of *Engliſh* he paſſed over the Seas, and gave them Battel, but with ill ſucceſs the firſt day; when preparing for the next dayes Battel, the Earl *Godwin* who was the General of the *Engliſh*, ſecretly in the dead of the night, ſet upon the *Vandals* Camp, and with a great ſlaughter of their Souldiers, made their two Princes, *Ulfus* and *Anlave*, to flie the Field. In the morning it was told *Canutus* that the *Engliſh* were fled, for that their ſtation was left, and not a man of them to be found, which did not a little trouble his Patience: but he going in perſon to ſee the truth, found the great overthrow the *Engliſh* had given, for which ſervice ever after he held the *Engliſh*, and eſpecially the Earl *Godwyn*, in great eſtimation. After this, returning home, he made a proſperous expedition againſt *Malcolme*, King of *Scots*, and at laſt, in the fifteenth year of his Reign, wearied with the honourable troubles of the world, and out of devotion, he took a Journey to *Rome*, to viſit the Sepulchre of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, from whence he writ to the Biſhops, and Nobility of *England*, that they ſhould carefully adminiſter Juſtice, and never ſeek to advance his profit by any undue wayes, or with the detriment of any man. At his return from *Rome*, he built in *Eſſex* the Church of *Aſſadon*, where he got the Victory againſt King *Edmund*; in *Norfolk*, the Abby of St. *Benets*, which Saint he greatly reverenced; and in *Suffolk* the Monaſtery of Saint *Edmund*, which Saint he deadly feared. To the Church of *Wincheſter* he gave many rich Jewels, whereof one was a Croſs, valued to be worth as much as the whole revenue of *England* amounted to in one year. To *Coventry* he gave the arm of the great St. *Auſtin*, which he bought at *Pavia* in his return from *Rome*, for which he paid an hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold. One ſtrange act is recorded, which he did for convincing his fawning flatterers, who uſed to tell him that his powers were more than humane; For being one time at *Southampton*, he commanded that his Chair of State ſhould be ſet on the ſhoar when the Sea began to flow, and then ſitting down there in the preſence of his many attendants, he ſpake thus to that Element: I charge thee that thou preſume not to enter my Land, nor wet theſe Robes of thy Lord that are about me. But the Sea giving no heed to his command, but keeping on his uſual courſe of Tyde, firſt wet his skirts, and after his thighs, whereupon ſuddenly ariſing, he thus ſpake in the hearing of them all: Let all the worlds Inhabitants know, that vain and weak is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy of the name of King, but he that keeps both Heaven and Earth and Sea in obedience. After which time he would never ſuffer the Crown to be ſet upon his head: but preſently Crowned therewith the Picture of Chriſt on the Croſs at *Wincheſter*; from which example aroſe perhaps the Cuſtom, to hang up the Armour of worthy men in Churches, as Offerings conſecrated to him who is the Lord of Battel. When he had reigned nineteen years, he deceaſed at *Shaftsbury* in the County of *Dorſet*, the twelfth of *November*, in the year 1035. and was buried in the Church of the old Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*; which being after new built, his bones with many other *Engliſh Saxon* Kings were taken up, and are preſerved in

He marries Queen Emma.

He makes good Laws.

The Sabbath to be ſtrictly obſerved.

The Communion to be received thrice a year.

A married woman convict of adultery, to have her noſe and ears cut off.

He takes a journey to Rome.

He builds divers Monaſteries.

A Jew as much worth as the revenues of England.

His Act for convincing his flatterers.

Hanging up the armour of worthy men in Churches, from whence it began.

in gilt Coffers, fixed upon the Walls of the Quire in that Cathedral Church. He had by his two Wives, three Sons, *Sweyne* and *Harold* by his first Wife *Alfgive*, and *Hardiknute* by his second Wife Queen *Emma*; and two Daughters, of whom the eldest, called *Guinhilda*, was married to the *Roman* Emperour *Henry* the Third, who being accused of Adultery, and none found to defend her cause, at last an *English* Page, a very Boy and Dwarf, who for the littleness of his Stature, was generally, and jeastingly surnamed *Mimecan*, adventured to maintain her Innocency against a mighty Giant-like Combatant; who in fight, at one blow, cutting the sinews of his adversaries Leg, with another he felled him to the ground, and then with his Sword, taking his head from his shoulders, redeemed both the Empereſſes life and honour. But the Empereſs after this hard usage forsook her Husbands Bed, and took upon her the Veil of a Nun, in the Town of *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where she devoutly spent the rest of her life.

Guinhilda's Innocency defended by a Page.

Of the Second Danish *King in* England.

KING *Canutus* dying, left his Kingdom of *Norway* to his eldest Son *Sweyne*, and his Kingdom of *England* to his youngest Son *Hardiknute*, whom he had by his Wife *Emma*; but he being at the time of his Fathers death in *Denmark*, *Harold* his elder Brother by a former Wife, taking advantage of his absence, layes claim to the Crown. For determining of which Right, the Lords assembled at *Oxford*, where Queen *Emma* pleaded for her Son *Hardiknute*, urging the Covenant of *Canutus* at their Marriage, and his last will at his death; as also Earl *Godwyn* of *Kent* did the like, being left Guardian of her Children, and keeper of his last Wil. But *Harold's* presence, together with the favour of the *Londoners*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, so wrought with the Lords, that the absent *Hardiknute* was neglected, and *Harold* was proclaimed and crowned King at *Oxford*, by *Elnothus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1036.

Harold having now attained the Crown, was not so jealous of his Brother *Hardiknute*, as of his Mother-in-law Queen *Emma*, and her Sons by King *Ethelred*, who were beyond Sea; and therefore how to secure himself against these was his first care: For effecting whereof he framed a Letter, as written by Queen *Emma*, to her two Sons *Edward* and *Alfred*; instigating them to attempt the Crown usurped by *Harold*, against their Right: To which Letter coming first to the hands of *Alfred*, he suspecting no fraud, returned answer, That he would shortly come over and follow her counsel. And thereupon with a small Fleet, and some few Souldiers lent him by *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, he took the Sea for *England*, where coming to shore, Earl *Godwyn* met him, and bound himself by Oath to be his Guide to his Mother Queen *Emma*; but being wrought firm for *Harold*, he led him and his Company a contrary way, and lodged them at *Guildford*, making known to King *Harold* what he had done, who presently commitied them all to slaughter, sparing only ever Tenth man, for service of sale. Prince *Alfred* himself he sent Prisoner to the Isle of *Ely*, where having his Eyes inhumanely put out, in grief and torment he ended his life. Some add a more horrible kind of cruelty, as that his Belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawn out, and fastned to a stake, his body pricked with Needles, or Poignards, and forced about till all his entrails were extracted. This done, then he set upon Queen *Emma*, confiscating her Goods, and banished her the Realm. And now further to secure himself, he kept the Seas with Sixteen *Danish* Ships, to the maintenance whereof, he charged the *English* with great payments; by which, if he procured the safety of his person, he certainly procured the hatred of his Subjects. This King for his Swiftness in Running was called *Harefoot*; but though by his Swiftness he out-run his Brother for the Kingdome, yet could not he run so fast, but that death quickly overtook him: For having reigned only four years and some moneths, he dyed at *Oxford*, and was buried at *Westminster*, having never had Wife or Children.

Harold succeedeth his Father Canutus.

His Plot to intercept Competitors

His cruelty against his Brother-in-law Alfred.

Called Harefoot for his Swift Running.

Of the Third and last DANISH *King in* England.

KIng *Harold* being dead, the Lords to make amends for their former neglect, sent now for *Hardiknute*, and offer him their Allegiance; who accepteth their offer, and thereupon taking Sea, arrived upon the Coast of *Kent*, the sixth day after he had set sail out of *Denmark*; and with great pomp conveyed to *London*, was there crowned King by *Elnothus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1040. His first act was to be revenged of his deceased Brother *Harold*, whose Body he caused to be digged up, and thrown into the *Thames*, where it remained till a Fisherman found it, and buried it in the Church-yard of St. *Clement* without *Temple-Barr*; commonly called St. *Clement Danes*, because it was the burying place of the *Danes*, as some write. But towards his Mother and half Brother Prince *Edward*, he shewed true natural affection, inviting them both to return into *England*, where he received them with all the Honour, that from a Son or Brother could be expected.

But now as the King *Harold*, for his Swiftness in Running, was surnamed *Harefoot*; so this King for his intemperance in dyet, might have been surnamed Swinesmouth, or *Bocca di Porco*; for his Tables were spread every day four times, and furnished with all kinds of curious dishes, as delighting in nothing but gormandizing and swilling; and as for managing the State he committed it wholly to his Mother Queen *Emma*, and to the politick Earl of *Kent Godwyn*; who finding this weakness in the King, began to think himself of aspiring; and to make the better way for it, he sought by all means to alien the Subjects hearts from the Prince; amongst other courses he caused to lay heavy Taxes upon them, only for Ship-money to pay his *Danes*, amounting to two and

Hardiknute succeedeth Harold.

St. Clements Danes why so called.

His intemperance in Diet.

He imposeth Ship-money upon his Subjects.

thirty thouſand pounds: which was ſo offenſive to the people, that the Citizens of *Worceſter* ſlew two of his Officers, *Thurſtan* and *Feudax*, that came to collect it. But this King had ſoon the reward of his intemperance; for in a ſolemn Aſſembly and Banquet at *Lambeth*, revelling and carowſing, he ſuddenly fell down without ſpeech, or breath, after he had reigned only two years, and was buried at *Wincheſter*. His death was ſo welcome to his Subjects, that the day of his death is to this day commonly celebrated with open paſtimes in the ſtreet, and is called *Hocks-tide*, ſignifying ſcorn or contempt which fell upon the *Danes* by his death; For with him ended the Reign of the *Danes* in *England*, after they had miſerably afflicted the Kingdom for the ſpace of Two hundred and forty years; though in regal Government, but only ſix and twenty.

He dies ſuddenly.

A day called Hocks-tide, and why.

Of ENGLISH *Kings again, and firſt of* EDWARD *the Confeſſour.*

Edward the Confeſſour ſucceeds Harthacnut.

KIng *Hardiknute* dying without Iſſue, as having never been married, and the *Daniſh* line clean extinguiſhed, *Edward* for his Piety called the *Confeſſour*, half Brother to the deceaſed *Hardiknute*, and Son to King *Ethelred* by his wife Queen *Emma*, was by a general conſent admitted King of *England*, and was Crowned at *Wincheſter* by *Edſyne* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, on *Eaſter-Day*, in the year 1042. being then of the age of forty years. He was born at *Iſlip* near to *Oxford*; and after his Fathers death, for ſafety ſent into *France*, to the Duke of *Normandy*, his Mothers Brother, from whence he now came to take upon him the Crown of *England*. His Acts for gaining the peoples love, were firſt, the remitting the yearly Tribute of Forty thouſand pounds, gathered by the name of *Dane-gilt*, which had been impoſed by his Father, and for forty years together paid out of all mens Lands, but only the Clergy; and then from the divers Laws of the *Mercians*, *Weſt-Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, he ſelected the beſt, and made of them one body certain, and written in *Latin*, being in a ſort the Fountain of thoſe which at this day we term the Common Laws, though the forms of pleading and proceſs therein, were afterward brought in by the Conquerour. The Reign of this King was very peaceable, only in his ſixth year the *Daniſh* Pirates entred the Port of *Sandwich*, which with all the Sea-coaſts of *Eſſex* they ſpoiled, and then in *Flanders* made merchandize of their prey. As likewiſe the *Iriſh*, with Thirty Ships entered *Severn*, and with the aſſiſtance of *Griffyth* King of *Southwales*, burnt or ſlew all in their way, till at laſt *Reeſe* the Brother of *Griffyth* was ſlain at *Bulenden*, and his head preſented to King *Edward* at *Gloceſter*. His Domeſtical troubles were only by Earl *Godwin* and his Sons; who yet after many conteſtations and affronts were reconciled, and *Godwin* received again into as great favour as before. But although King *Edward* forgave his Treaſons, yet the Divine Providence did not; for ſoon after as he ſate at Table with the King on *Eaſter-Monday*, he was ſuddenly ſtrucken with death, and on *Thurſday* following dyed, and was buried at *Wincheſter*. Some make his death, more exemplar, as that juſtifying himſelf for Prince *Alfred*'s death, he ſhould pray to God, That if he were any way guilty of it, he might never ſwallow down one morſel of Bread; and thereupon by the juſt Judgement of God was choaked by the firſt morſel he offered to eat.

He rem'ts Dane-gilt.

He ordains the Common Laws.

Earl *Godwin* puniſhed by the Divine hand.

In this Kings time ſuch abundance of Snow fell in *January*, continuing till the middle of *March* following, that almoſt all Cattel and Fowl periſhed, and therewith an exceſſive dearth followed.

Extremity of Snow.

Two Acts are related of this King, that ſeem nothing correſpondent to the general opinion had of his Vertue, one concerning his Mother, the other touching his Wife; That concerning his Mother Queen *Emma*, was this, That becauſe after King *Ethelred*'s death, ſhe married the *Daniſh* King *Canutus*, and ſeemed to favour her Iſſue by him, more than her Iſſue by King *Ethelred*, therefore he diſpoſſeſt her of all her Goods, and committed her to cuſtody in the Abbey of *Worwel*; and more than this, ſo far hearkened to an aſperſion caſt upon her, of unchaſte familiarity with *Alwyne* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that for her Purgation, ſhe was fain to paſs the tryal of Fire Ordeal, which was in this manner; Nine Plow-ſhares red hot were laid in unequal diſtance, which ſhe muſt paſs barefoot and blind-fold; and if ſhe paſſed them unhurt, then ſhe was judged Innocent; if otherwiſe, Guilty. And this tryal ſhe paſſed, and came off fairly, to the great aſtoniſhment of all beholders. The other touching his Wife, was this; He had married *Editha* the Beautiful, and indeed Vertuous Daughter of Earl *Godwin*, and becauſe he had taken diſpleaſure againſt the Father, he would ſhew no kindneſs to the Daughter; he had made her his Wife, but converſed not with her as a Wife, only at board, but not at bed; or if at bed, no otherwiſe than *David* with *Abiſhag*, and yet was content to hear her accuſed of Incontinency, whereof if ſhe were guilty, he could not be innocent. So as, what the Virtues were, for which after his death he ſhould be reputed a Saint, doth not eaſily appear. It ſeems he was chaſte, but not without injury to his Wife: Pious, but not without ungratefulneſs to his Mother: Juſt in his preſent Government, but not without neglect of Poſterity; for through his want of Providence in that Point he left the Crown to ſo doubtful Succeſſion, that ſoon after his deceaſe it was tranſlated out of *Engliſh* into *French*, and the Kingdom made ſervile to a fourth Foreign Nation. One ability he had which raiſed him above the pitch of Ordinary Kings, and yet at this day is ordinary with Kings, That by his only touching and laying his hand upon it, he cured a Diſeaſe, which from his curing is called, *The Kings-Evil*. His Mother Queen *Emma*, in memory of the nine Plow-ſhares ſhe had paſſed in her Tryal, gave nine mannors to the Minſter of *Wincheſter*, and himſelf remembring the wrong he had done her, beſtowed on the ſame place, the Iſland of *Portland* in *Dorſetſhire*, being about ſeven miles in compaſs. He made

Queen Emma paſſeth the Tryal of Fire Ordeal. *Mat. Weſt.*

The firſt King that cured the *Kings Evil.*

made also of a little Monastery in the West of *London*, by the River of *Thames*, a most beautiful Church, (called of the place *Westminster*) where he provided for his own Sepulchre; and another dedicated to St. *Margaret*, standing without the Abbey. This of *Westminster* he endowed with many rich Revenues, and confirmed his Charters under his Broad Seal, being the first of the Kings of *England*, who used that large and stately impression in their Charters and Patents. He founded also the Colledge of St. *Mary Ottery* in *Devonshire*, and gave unto it the Village of *Ottery*, and removed the Bishops See from *Gridington* to *Exeter*, as a place of far more dignity: and when he had reigned the space of three and twenty years and six months, he ended his life the fourth of *January*, in that room of his Palace at *Westminster*, which is now called the *Painted Chamber*, in the year 1066. and was buried in the Church at *Westminster*, which he had builded.

He built *Westminster.*

He first used the Broad Seal.

He dyed in the *Painted Chamber* at *Westminster.*

Of HAROLD *the second* English *King after the* Danes.

KING *Edward* the *Confessour*, being himself without Issue, had in his life-time sent into *Hungary* for his Nephew *Edward* called the *Out-law*, the Son of *Edmund Ironside*, with a purpose to design him his Successour in the Crown, but he dying soon after his coming into *England*, King *Edward* then gave his Son *Edgar* the name of *Atheling*; as to say, Prince *Edgar*, meaning to design him for his Successour, but being prevented by death, before the Successour was fully established, and *Edgar Atheling*, though he had right, yet being young, and not of power to make good his right, *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwin* steps into the Throne, and never standing upon Ceremonies, set himself the Crown upon his own head, wherein, though as a violater of Holy Rites, he offended the Clergy, yet not any either of Clergy or Laity, durst oppose him, as being at that time the most Martial man in the Kingdom; and such a one, as the state of the Realm stood at that time in need of, and besides his own worthiness had the assistance of *Edwyn*, and *Morcar*, the two great Earls of *Yorkshire* and *Chester*, whose Sister *Algyth* he had married. It is true withall, That King *Edward* had appointed the Crown after his own decease, sometime to *William* Duke of *Normandy*, sometimes to *Edgar Atheling*, and sometimes to this *Harold*, so as he was Crowned by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, as not coming in by intrusion or wrong, but by the appointment of King *Edward*, though that appointment of King *Edward*, was rather to make him Regent, during the minority of *Edgar*, than to make him absolute King: but howsoever being once in the Throne, he was then able to make his own Title, and to make Prince *Edgar* some amends, he created him Earl of *Oxford*, which was indeed to use him like a Child, take away a Jewel, and please him with an Apple. Yet *Harold* having once gotten into the Throne, he carried himself with great Valour and Justice, for the time he sate in it, which was but very short (only nine moneths) as being indeed but tottering from the very beginning, and that chiefly by means of his own Brother *Tostayne*, who by diverting his Forces to suppress a Rebellion, made him of less force to resist an Invasion. But now that we have shewed how *Harold* entred the Throne, we must forbear to shew how he was cast out, till we come to him that cast him out; who because he was not only of another Family, but of another Nation, we must necessarily take the beginning from a deeper root; and indeed, seeing in him we shall joyn our Island to the Continent, which is a larger world, our Kings hereafter will afford a larger Extent for matter of Discourse, than heretofore they have done.

Edgar Atheling made Earl of *Oxford.*

Harold succeeds *Edward the Confessour*: setting the Crown upon his own head.

The LIFE of KING WILLIAM THE FIRST, Called the CONQUEROUR.

His Parentage and Deſcent.

The Race of the Dukes of *Normandy*.

THere were Six Dukes of *Normandy* in *France*, in a direct line ſucceeding from Father to Son. The firſt was *Rollo*, who of a private man in *Denmark*, coming forth with the exuberancy of his Nation, wreſted by force of Arms from *Charles* the *Simple*, King of *France*, to be made Duke of *Normandy*. The ſecond was *William* his Son, called *Lang-Eſpee*, or *Long-Sword*. The third was *Richard* his Son, called the *Hardy*, who had *Richard*, and a Daughter called *Emma*, married to *Ethelred* King of *England*, Father of *Edward* the Confeſſour. The fourth was *Richard* the ſecond, his Son, called the *Good*. The fifth was *Richard* the third, his Son, who by a firſt Wife had three Sons, *Richard*, *Robert*, and *William*; and by a ſecond two other Sons, *William* Earl of *Arguos*, and *Manger* Archbiſhop of *Roan*. So as *Richard* his eldeſt Son by his firſt Wife, ſucceeded him by the name of *Richard* the fourth, and dying without Iſſue, the Dukedom deſcended to *Robert* his ſecond Son by his firſt Wife: which *Robert* was Father to our *William* the Conq. of whom it is thus recorded; That riding one time abroad, he happen'd to paſs by a company of Country Maids that were a dancing, where ſtaying a while to look upon them, he was ſo taken with the handſomeneſs and graceful carriage of one of them whoſe name was *Arlotte*, a Skinners Daughter (from whence as ſome think our word Harlot comes) that affection commanding him, and authority her, he cauſed her that night to be brought to his Bed, where being together, what was done or ſaid between them, is no matter for Hiſtory to record, though ſome Hiſtorians have recorded both; making her not ſo modeſt as was fit for a Maid: only ten months after it appeared, that at this time our Duke *William* was begotten; who proving a man of extraordinary ſpirit, we may attribute it to the heat of affection in which he was begotten. Neither did there want before, and at his birth fore-running tokens which preſaged his future greatneſs; for his Mother *Arlotte* being great with him, had a Dream like that of *Mandane*, the Mother of *Cyrus* the firſt *Perſian* Monarch; namely, That her Bowels were extended and dilated over all *Normandy* and *England*. Alſo as ſoon as he was born, being laid on the Chamber floor, with both his hands he took up ruſhes, and ſhutting his little fiſts, held them very faſt; which gave occaſion to the Goſſiping Wives to congratulate *Arlotte* in the birth of ſuch a boy, and the Midwife cry'd out, the child would prove a King.

His ſucceeding in the Dukedom, notwithſtanding his Baſtardy.

Baſtardy no bar to ſucceſſion.

IT appears by many Examples, that Baſtardy in thoſe dayes was no bar to ſucceſſion, till a Law was afterward made to make it a bar. It brought ſome diſgrace, where the Mother was mean, but no impediment where the Father was Noble; and even his Baſtardy ſeemed to have ſome allay, if it be true (as ſome write) that his Father took the ſaid *Arlotte* afterward to be his Wife: and yet perhaps he had not the Dukedom ſo much by ſucceſſion, as by gift. For when he was about nine years old, his Father calling his Nobility together, cauſed them to ſwear Allegiance to this baſe Son of his, and to take him for their Liege Lord after his deceaſe. Neither was this in thoſe dayes unfrequent, for Princes to conſer their Principalities after their own deceaſes upon whom they pleaſed, counting it as lawful to appoint Succeſſors after them, as Subſtitutes under them; even in our time and Kingdom the Duke of *Northumberland* prevailed with King *Edward* the ſixth, to exclude his two Siſters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and to appoint the Lady *Jane Grey*, daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, to ſucceed him.

Princes to appoint their ſucceſſors.

His Education and Tuition in his Minority.

HIs Father having declared and appointed him to be his Succeſſor, went ſoon after (whether out of devotion, or to do Pennance for procuring his Brothers death, whereof he was ſuſpected) into the Holy Land, in which Journey he dyed, having left the Tuition of his young Son to his two Brothers, and the Guardianſhip to the King of *France*, in whoſe Court for a time he was brought up. A ſtrange confidence, to commit the tuition of a Son that was baſe, to pretenders that were legitimate, and to a King of *France*, who aimed at nothing more

more, than to re-annex this Dukedom to his Crown. But it seems his confidence was grounded upon the proximity of blood in his Brothers, and upon the merits of his own service formerly done to the King of *France*; which though it proved well enough with him, yet is not to be taken into example to follow.

His troubles in his Minority.

FIrst, *Roger de Tresney*, who derived his Pedigree from *Rollo*, and had won much Honour by his valour in the Wars, (notwithstanding the Oath of Allegiance he had formerly taken) takes exception to his Bastardy, and invites Complices to assist him in recovering the Dukedom to a legitimate Race: a fair pretext, if the Fate of Duke *William* had not been against it; who though he were himself but young, and could not do much in his own person, yet the Divine Providence raised him up Friends that supplyed him with Assistance, and particularly *Roger de Beaumont*, by whose valour this *Roger de Tresney*, with his two Brothers, was defeated and slain. After *Roger de Tresney*, *William de Arques* his Uncle layes claim to the Duchy, and assisted by the King of *France* comes to a Battel, but by the valour of Count *Gifford*, the Dukes General, was likewise defeated; and these were troubles before he arrived to seventeen years of age. After this, one *Guy*, Earl of *Burgoigne*, Grandchild to *Richard* the second, Duke of *Normandy*, grew sensible of his right to the Dukedom, and joyning with Viscount *Neele*, and the Earl of *Bessin*, two powerful *Normans*, conspired Duke *William*'s death, and had effected it, if a certain Fool about him had not stoln away in the night, to the place where the Duke was, and never left knocking and crying at the Gate, till he was admitted to his presence, willing him to flye for his life instantly, or he would be murthered. The Duke considering, that being related by a Fool, it was like to be the more palpable, and that there might be danger in staying, none in going, rode instantly away, all alone, toward *Falaise*, his principal Castle, but missing his way, he happened to pass, where a Gentleman was standing at his door, of whom he asked the way, and was by him, as knowing him, directed; which he had no sooner done, but the Conspirators came presently, inquiring if such a one had not passed that way; which the Gentleman affirmed, and undertook to be their Guide to overtake him; but leading them of purpose a contrary way, the Duke by this means came safely to *Falaise*, and from thence journeys to the King of *France*, complaining of his injuries, and imploring his aid, as one that was his homager, and committed to his care by his servant his Father. The King of *France* moved with his distress, and remembrance of his Fathers merits, though he wished he was less than he was: yet he so aided him, that he made him greater than he was; for himself in person, suffered much in the Battel, procured him the Victory. By which we may see, that Folly, and Fortune, and even Enemies themselves, are all assistants to the Destinies; or to say better, indeed to the Divine Providence. Many other affronts were offered him, some by meaner Princes, some afterwards by the King of *France* himself, who was now grown jealous of his Greatness; all which he encountred with such dexterity, that made his Bastardy, as it were, become Legitimate, and Virtue her self grow proud of his person.

A Fool saves Duke *William*'s life.

His Carriage afterwards in Peace.

BY this time he was come to the age of two and twenty years; and whereas all this while he had shewed himself a valiant General in War, he now began to shew himself a provident Governour in Peace, composing and ordering his state: wherein he so carried himself, that as his Subjects did both fear and love him, so his neighbouring Princes did both fear and hate him; or if not hate him, at least emulate him.

His Incitements for Invading of England.

DUke *William* had Incitements to Invade *England*, and some shew of a Title. To understand this more fully, we will reflect upon some passages transacted betwixt the two former Kings, *Edward* the Confessour, and *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwin*. And this recapitulation will give some light, and is very pertinent to our intended purpose.

Earl *Godwin* falling out with King *Edward*, the business was carried with such heat on both sides, that the Earl and all his Allies were in a manner banished the Realm. *Godwin* makes his refuge to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, *Harold* his Son into *Ireland*. *Emma* the Kings Mother deceasing, they both return with a great Navy, and strong Army. The Nobility fearing a Civil War, labour for a Reconciliation betwixt the King and the Exiles; but *Edward* jealous of *Godwins* arts and treachery, would by no means hearken unto it. At last upon conditions they are restored to the Kings favour and their Countrey: Hostages are delivered, *Walnoth* the Son of *Godwin*, and *Haran* his Grandchild, whom the King for more security sends into *Normandy*, there to be detained by Duke *William* his Kinsman. After the death of *Godwin*, *Harold* succeeds him, Earl of *Kent*, who craves leave of the King to go to *Normandy*, and bring back his Brother and Kinsman: The King in this manner answers him, *Harold* you may do your pleasure, and I may permit, though I will not consent; for I do foresee, that if you undertake this Journey, it will prove to the ruine of the Kingdom, and your own confusion. *Harold* notwithstanding, obstinate in his resolution, after a Tempestuous Voyage, arrives in *France*, where he is taken prisoner by the Lord of *Pontive*, and at the command and threats of Duke *William* dismist; and though first rob'd of his Treasures, and choicest things he transported, at last sent into *Normandy*; where relating the cause of his Journey, he was honourably entertained, and fairly promised, unless himself were the obstacle, all things should succeed as he wished. After some time the Duke taking his opportunity entred into private discourse with him, and told him, That King

Edward

Edward being brought up in his youth together with him, had faithfully promised him, that if ever he came to be King of *England*, he would make him his Heir, and settle the Kingdom on him. Wherefore *Harold* (quoth the Duke) if you will assist me in gaining that Crown, when I come over into *England*, you shall have your Brother and Nephew; and to make our tye of Friendship the stronger, you shall promise to take one of my Daughters for Wife, and send your Sister hither, whom I will bestow on one of my chief Lords: you shall also promise me to secure the Castle of *Dover* for my service: and I promise you that when I am King of *England*, I will deny you nothing, which in reason you shall demand. *Harold* having heard the Duke, was much perplexed: but seeing himself in such straits, That he must either venture on a promise, or hazard an imprisonment, condescends to all the Duke demanded; and for more security, with a solemn Oath confirms his agreement: and returning into *England*, acquaints *Edward* with all these passages, who replyed, Did not I know *William*'s disposition, and foretell thee how much mischief this Journey would bring upon *England*? Duke *William* having the Word of *Edward*, and the Oath of *Harold*, had sufficient obligations to expect the Kingdom: but hearing of the death of *Edward*, and that *Harold* was Crowned King, he thought himself not more forgotten by *Edward* than wronged by *Harold*; and therefore sent a Messenger to put him in mind of King *Edward*'s Promise; and his own Oath. *Harold* returns answer, That he could not send his Sister over, because she was dead; but if *William* would have her Carkass he should. Secondly, That he could neither promise, nor dispose of a Kingdom, which was none of his own. Lastly, he should be injurious to his own Nobility, if he should without their consent and advice take a stranger for Wife. *William* having heard his answer, was as yet patient, and again sending to *Harold* mildly, demands of him at last to take his Daughter for his Wife and Queen; otherwise by force of Arms he would recover that Kingdom, which was his own by the promise of King *Edward*. To this *Harold* peremptorily replies, that as he feared not the one, so by no means would he do the other. Duke *William* thus slighted by *Harold*, endeavours to make him honest by force, and assured himself he should find him a weak Enemy, who had proved so perjured a Friend. These were the Incitements, which caused *William* in his declining age to undertake this Expedition; But who can think himself too old for a Kingdom, when *Galba*, above 73. years of age buckled on an Armour on his unwieldy limbs for the attaining of a *Roman* Empire?

The Reasons that facilitated his Conquest of England.

DUke *William* incensed with *Harolds* answers, acquaints the Nobility with his purpose, who with some ado consented to aid him, as likewise many other great Lords of *France*, but specially *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, whose Daughter he had married; and who being at that time Guardian of the young King of *France*, procured aid from him also; and to make the Enterprise the more successful, Pope *Alexander* the second sent him a Banner, with an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the hairs of St. *Peter*. So as the preparation of the Duke, both by Sea and Land, was very great, having three hundred Sail of Ships, and as some write, 890. and as one *Norman* above a thousand, and as *Gemeticensis*, three thousand; and though *Harold* had likewise provided a Warlike Fleet to encounter him, yet it was at that time unfortunately diverted another way. For *Tonstayne* his Brother being then in Rebellion in the North, and *Harold Harfager* King of *Norway*, at the same time invading those parts, and perhaps upon a bruit, That the Dukes Fleet was not yet ready to come forth, removed both his Fleet and Army thither; where though he got the Victory at *Stamford*, with the death both of his Brother *Tonstayne*, and of the King of *Norway*: yet it made way for the Duke to land quietly, and he entred the Kingdom as easily as one may enter a house, when the doors are all left open. By this means King *Harold*'s Shipping (the best Wall of defence to an Island) was utterly frustrate; and as for his Land Forces, they were by his Battel at *Stamford*, exceedingly both weakened and impaired: yet hearing that Duke *William* was landed at *Pemsey*, not far from *Hastings* in *Sussex*, he repaired thither with all speed, and gathering together his broken Forces, and increasing them by all the means he could, made himself ready to give the Duke Battel. Duke *William* in the mean time, as soon as he had landed his men, sent his Ships presently away, that there might be no thinking of any thing, but either Death or Victory: And then going himself on Land, it is said, his foot slipped, and he fell down; which some that stood by, taking it for an evil sign, No (saith he) I have by this taken possession of this Land. And indeed presages are but as *Animus ejus qui præsagit*, as in this Duke's fall it afterwards fell out. The like confidence of spirit shewed he not long after, when the Armies were ready to joyn; for he that put on the Dukes Armour, whether out of haste, or out of perturbation of mind, putting the fore-part behind, and the back-part before, the Duke seeing it, merrily said, I see now by this inversion of my Armour, that my Dukedom will be turned into a Kingdom: taking that for a good *Omen*, which some other of weaker spirits would have taken for a bad. Many wayes of composition between Duke *William* and King *Harold* were propounded, yet *Harold* would hearken to none, as nothing doubting of success, and perhaps thinking it a disgrace to capitulate for that, which was now his own: and when one of his Brothers called *Gyrth*, being less interessed, and therefore clearer sighted, intreated him to consider what a fearful thing it was to break an Oath, which he so solemnly had sworn, *Harold* seemed to conceive, that nothing which he did being a private man, could be of force to bind him, now being a Prince: and so on the Fourteenth day of *October*, being Saturday, in the year 1066. (which day he liked the better, because it was his Birth-day, hoping that the day of his Birth

Duke *William*'s number of Ships to Invade *England*.

King *Harold* prepares to resist Duke *William*.

Duke *William* at his landing takes a fall.

An. Dom. 1066.

Birth, would not so much degenerate, to prove the day of his Death, though this also even bred no good blood to the action; for the Souldiers of *Harold*, thinking thereby to honour their Kings Birth-day, spent the night before in revelling and drinking, where the Souldiers of the Duke out of consideration of their next dayes work, spent the night in quietness and devotion) they joyned Battel, (the *Kentish-men* being placed in the fore-front, as by an ancient custom is their due, and King *Harold* with his *Londoners*, leading the main Battel) where though their Armies were not much unequal in number, (for they were each of them near about Threescore thousand men) yet there was great odds in the expertness of their Souldiers, and more in the advantage of their weapons; for, the Duke had with him all the Flower of *France* and *Flanders*, where King *Harold* had lost his best men, in his late Battel: And for advantage of Weapons, the *Normans* had long Bows and Arrows, which among the *English* at that time were not at all in use. What marvail that the *Normans* got the Victory, though King *Harold* losing his life, yet lost no reputation; and though the *English* Souldiers shewed no less valour, in being conquered, than the *Normans* did in conquering? One circumstance may not be omitted, That King *Harold* as an expert General, had ordered his men in so firm a Body, that no force of the *Normans* could disorder their Ranks, till Duke *Willian* used a Strategem, commanding his men to retire, and to counterfeit flight; by which he drew the *English* on, upon a hollow ground covered with earth: whereinto many of them fell and perished, and besides into an ambush of his Horsemen, which unexpectedly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. Withal, there seems one great error to have been committed (at least, if it were an errour, and not rather a necessity) that there was not a supplemental Army provided, (as his Brother *Gyrth* would have had it) which might have come on if the first had failed; and would have been of great advantage against a wearied Army. But when *Sic visum est superis*, all humane force is weak and cannot withstand, all humane Providence is unprovided, and cannot prevent. It is true, Duke *William* that day fought so valiantly, that he had three Horses killed under him; but King *Harold* shewed no less valour in killing many *Normans* with his own hands: so as the fight continued doubtful a long time; till at last, King *Harold* being struck into the Brains with an Arrow, fell down dead: upon whose falling, a base *Norman* Souldier cut off one of his Thighes, while he was yet breathing: which Duke *William* hearing, was so much offended, that he caused the Souldier to be disarmed, and with shame cashiered. The body of King *Harold*, his Mother *Thyra* offered a great summe to have it delivered to her; but the Duke out of the nobleness of his mind, would take no money; but delivered it freely, and then it was buried in *Waltham* Abby; which himself had begun to build, at least, to repair. But hear *Gyraldus Cambrensis* tells a strange story, That *Harold* was not slain in the Battel, but only wounded and lost his left eye, and then escaped by flight to *Chester*, where he afterwards led a holy Anchorets life, in the Cell of St. *James*, fast be St. *John*'s Church.

Kentish-men are to be placed in the forefront of the Battel

Duke William useth a Strategem.

King Harold is slain.

How Duke William *proceeded after his Victory at* Hastings.

AS his Valour won him the Victory, so his Victory won him a Crown; that now of an old Duke, he was suddenly become a young King: and indeed, nothing so much renews life, and makes the years in a manner young again, as addition of honour, especially when it is the fruit of merit. First therefore, having given publick Thanks to God for his happy success, he led his Army towards *London*, not the direct way (perhaps doubting of some new Encounter) but coasting about through part of *Kent*, through *Sussex*, *Surry*, *Hamshire*, and *Barkshire*, where at *Wallingford* he passed over the *Thames*; and then through *Oxfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, and *Hartfordshire*, until he came to *Barkhamstead*, where there came unto him *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, *Wolston* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Wilfere* Bishop of *Hereford*, and many other Prelates, accompanied with *Edgar Atheling*, with Earl *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, Brothers, and men of the greatest sway in the Kingdom, and many others of the Nobility. It is true, upon the defeat at *Hastings*, Earl *Edwyn* and *Marchar* had a purpose to set up *Edgar Atheling*, as next Heir of the Royal Blood, and Grandchild to *Edmund Ironside*, and so beloved of the people, that he was called their Darling: but considering his young years, and other inabilities, but especially finding the minds of the Bishops, (who at that time bare all the sway) to be otherwise inclined, they desisted from that course; and thus the Duke without any opposition, coming to *London*, was received by Bishops and Lords and all, with great joy, though small gladness: and if he had not their hearts, yet he had their knees, for in most humble manner they submitted themselves to him, acknowledging him for their Sovereign Lord; and upon *Christmass* day after, he was Crowned at *Westminster* by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Stigand*, not being admitted to do that office, for some defect in his Investiture; and perhaps for some aspersion in his manners.

1067.

Duke William is Crowned King of England.

How he rewarded his Followers.

THough he hath had the name of Conquerour, yet he used not the Kingdom as gotten by Conquest; for he took no mans living from him, nor dispossessed any of their goods, but such only, whose demerit made them unworthy to hold them; as appears by his Act to one *Warren* a *Norman*, to whom he had given the Castle of *Sharnborne* in *Norfolk*. For when *Sharnborne*, who was owner of it, acquainted the King, That the Castle was his, and that he had never born Arms against him, he presently commanded *Warren*, to deliver it quietly up unto him. Only vacancies of offices, and filling up the places of those who were slain or fled, were the present means he made use of, for preferring his Followers. One special preferment we cannot omit. That where one *Herlewyn* a Noble-man in *Normandy*, had married

He useth His Conquest moderately

married his Mother *Arlotte*, and had by her a Son named *Hugh Lupus*, he gave to the said *Hugh* the Earldom o *Chester*, to hold of him as freely by his Sword, as himself held *England* by his Crown; by vertue of which Grant the said *Hugh* ordained under him four Barons, *Nigel*, he made Baron of *Halton*; *Malbank*, Baron of *Nantwich*; *Eustace*, Baron of *Mawpase*; and *Vernon*, Baron of *Shipbrook*: Such an Honour, as no Subject before or since ever enjoyed the like. Also he gave to his Nephew *Alane* Earl of *Britain*, all the Lands which sometimes belonged to Earl *Edwyn*. And this Earl of *Britain*, the better to secure the Kings gift, built him a Strong Castle near to his Mannor of *Gillingham*, and named it *Richmont*: from which Castle the Earls of *Richmont* bear their Titles of Honour.

What means he used for securing himself in the Kingdom.

BEsides the Oath of Fealty, which he took of all his Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, at his Coronation; in Lent following going into *Normandy*, he took along with him the greatest part of the great men of the Kingdom, of whom *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, the two Earls of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Edgar Atheling*, *Waltheeff* Son to *Syward* formerly Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Agelnothus* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, were the chief; leaving the care of the Kingdom in his absence to *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Brother by the Mother: and to *William Fitz Osborne*, whom he had made Earl of *Hereford*: and to abate the greatness of the Prelates, which at that time was grown in a manner unlimited, he ordained that from thenceforth they should not command with any Temporal Authority whatsoever. And because the common people are no less to be feared for their number, than the Nobility for their greatness, he first took from them all their Armour, to the end, that leaving them without stings, they might afterward be but Droans. And because there is seldom any danger from singular numbers, but all the danger ariseth from plurality, therefore to prevent Conspiracies and Combinations, which are commonly contrived in the night, he commanded that in all Towns and Villages a Bell should be rung at Eight a clock in the Evening, and that in every house they should then put out their Fire and Lights, (which was called *Couure feu*) and go to bed. And for more security, he erected Castles in the most doubtful places of the Kingdom, one at *York*, another at *Lincoln*, a third at *Nottingham*, (at that time called *Snottingham*) and a fourth at *Hastings*, where he first landed. By these means the Kingdom was quiet all the time of his being away at *Normandy*, saving only that *Edrick* the Forester in the County of *Hereford*, calling in to his aid the Kings of *Wales*, made some small disturbance. And indeed all the States of the Kingdom might in his very person finde something to make them apt to tolerate his Government. For first, the people might think themselves in a sort advanced, being now made members of a greater body; when the Dukedom of *Normandy* should come to be annexed to the Kingdom of *England*; and by experience of his good Government being a Duke, they might well hope, he would not govern worse being made a King. And the Nobility might be well content, as having a King of their former King's choosing; and though a stranger, yet no Alien, as having in him many veins of the same blood, and therefore likely also to have some veins of the same goodness of their good King *Edward*. But specially the Clergy could not chuse but be content, as having a King who came commended to them, by a commending as strong as a commanding, the Popes Benediction.

He takes from the Clergy all Temporal Authority.

He takes from the people all their Armour.

He ordains *Couure feu* at eight a Clock.

What Troubles or Insurrections were during his Reign.

BUT the body of a State being more obnoxious to crudities and ill humours, than the state of a Natural Boby, it is impossible to continue long without distempers; notwithstanding any preservatives that can be applied. And therefore in the second year of his Reign, brake forth the discontentment of *Edgar Atheling*, justly the first, as having most cause, being the next of the late *Royal Blood*, and therefore the most apt to be sensible of servitude; who taking along with him his Mother *Agatha*, and his two Sisters, *Margaret*, and *Christine*, stole secretly away to Sea, with intention to pass into *Hungary*, the Countrey where he was born: but by contrary Winds was cast upon the Coasts of *Scotland*, where the King *Malcolme*, not only most kindly entertained him, but for a stricter bond of kindness took his Sister *Margaret* to Wife, by whom he had many Children, out of which, in the second Generation after, a Match was found, by which in the Person of King *Henry* the Second, the *Saxon* and *Norman* Blood were conjoyned, the Union whereof continues in the Race of our Kings of *England* to this day. Not long after to *Edgar* in *Scotland*, came the Two great Earls, *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, Brothers to *Agatha* the late King *Harold*'s Wife; also *Hereward*, *Gospatrick*, and *Syward*, with many other Lords; and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred* Archbishops, with divers of the Clergy. And these Lords being together in *Scotland*, did but watch opportunity to recover that, which for want of taking opportunity they had lost: And assisted by the *Scots*, they invade the North parts spoiling the Country, and killing many for the fault they had themselves committed, but all they could do, was but to forrage the Countrey, and so return.

An. Reg. 2. 1068.

Edgar Atheling is cast upon the shore of *Scotland*.

Whose sister *Margaret* King *Malcolme* marries.

After this, in the Third Year of his Reign, the Two Sons of *Sweyne* King of *Denmark*, *Harold* and *Canutus*, with a Fleet of 240 Ships, entred *Humber*, and invaded the North parts, with whom the *English* Lords in *Scotland* joyned, and forraged all the Countrey, till they came near to *York*. When the *Normans* that were in the Town, to save the City, set fire on the Suburbs; but the fire not so contented, by assistance of a violent Wind, took hold of the City it self, burning a great part of it, and which perhaps was more worth than the City, a Library of excellent Books; and the *Normans* that were left in defence of the City, to the number of Three thousand, were all slain. King *William* hear-

An. Reg. 3. 1069.

The *Danes* invaded *England*; and at *York* slay 3000. *Normans*.

hearing hereof was so much incensed, that with all speed he raised an Army, and entred *Northumberland*, wasting the Countrey that already lay waste; and yet for all this great rage, was contented with a great summe of money, to purchase the *Danes* departure. By these devastations in many Shires of the Kingdom, especially in *Northumberland*, so great a Dearth and Famine followed, that men were glad to eat horses and dogs, cats and rats, and what else is most abhorrent to nature, and between *York* and *Durham*, the space of 60 miles, for nine years together, there was so utter desolation, as that neither any house was left standing, nor any ground tilled.

King William purchaseth their departure with a great sum of money.

Northumberland left desolate 60 miles together.

1076

Many other Insurrections there were in his Reign, as at *Exeter*, at *Oxford*, in the Isle of *Ely*, and many times by the *Scots* in the Northern parts. The most dangerous of all the Conspiracies, and most distasted of him, was that of *Roger Fitz Aubre* Earl of *Hereford*, *Ralph Waher* Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; *Waltheoff* Earl of *Northumberland*, with *Eustace* Earl of *Boloigne*, (sent purposely, as it was thought, by the King of *France* into *England*, to incite and joyn with the Conspirators.) *Ralph Waher* married the Sister of *Roger* the young Earl of *Hereford*, contrary to the expres commandment of King *William*: at the solemnization of the marriage, these Lords conspire to keep the King now in *Normandy*, and dispossess him of his Sovereignty, which to perform, they agreed to joyn theirs with the *Danish* Forces, whom they intended to call in. This was the most dangerous combination of all, it happening when he was out of *England*, at the siege of *Dole*, a Castle in *Britain* belonging to *Ralph Waher*, and defended against him by the King of *France*; and at such a time as almost all Christendom had declared their jealousies of him, and ill affections towards him. The King of *Scotland*, and Princes of *Wales* ready to assist the Rebels at home; *Swaine* King of *Denmark* invading *England* with a Navy of 200. Sail, to which *Drone* King of *Ireland* added 65. Ships. How much such an action did distaste and offend him, may be conjectured, by that most of these great Noblemen were either his Kinsmen, or in affinity nearly allyed to him: But *William*'s fortune secures him as well at home against Traitors, as in the field against his Enemies. This grand Conspiracy is discovered by *Waltheoff* to *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who perswades the Earl to go over to King *William*, and inform him in what danger he was. Notwithstanding this discovery, *Roger* and *Ralph* persist in their intentions, raise Forces to prosecute their designs: but by the diligence of *Odo* the Kings Brother, Bishop of *Bayeux*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, and the Abbot of *Evesham*, were so prevented, that they could never unite their Forces. *Ralph* flies into *France*, *Roger* Earl of *Hereford* is taken, put in prison, and as some report, to death; *Waltheoff*, of all lamented, beheaded. But all these were easily suppresst, for they were but scattered Forces, *Et dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur*; whereas if they had united themselves into an Army, they might perhaps have made it a War, which now were little more then Routs and Riots. Yet some write,

Malmesbury

That King *William* granted *Cumberland* to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, to hold from him conditionally, that the *Scots* should not attempt any thing prejudicial to the Crown of *England*, for which grant King *Malcolme* did him homage.

The greatest and last was an Insurrection raised in *Normandy*, by his Son *Robert*, the more dangerous because unnatural; for by the instigation and assistance of *Philip* King of *France*, (emulous now of King *William*'s greatness) he entred *Normandy*, and claimed it in his own right. His Father indeed had made him a promise of it long before, but *Robert* impatient of delay, as counting so long staying to be little better then dis-inheriting, endeavoured by strong hand to wrest it from his Father. But his Father King *William* hearing hereof, with a strong Army passeth over into *Normandy*, where in a Battel meeting hand to hand with his Son; he was by him unhorsed, and hurt in the Arm: but his Son perceiving him by his voice to be his Father, suddenly leaps off his horse, takes up his Father, cast himself down at his feet, and humbly intreats his pardon; which as a Father he easily grants, embraceth his Son: and ever after, the Son from the Father had fatherly love, and the Father from the Son a filial obedience. But though his Father did thus pardon him, yet it seems there is a *Nemesis*, or to say better, a Divine Providence, that did not pardon him; for after this, it is observed he never prospered in any thing he undertook. It cannot perhaps be discovered, whether the Kings severity begat his Subjects Insurrections; or his Subjects Insurrections the Kings Severity: but which of them soever was the mother, it is certain they were Nurses each of them to other. Yet after this, King *William* so far trusted his Son *Robert*, that he sent him with an Army against *Malcolme* King of *Scotland*, who had invaded *Northumberland*: but at the coming of Duke *Robert* retired. At which time Duke *Robert* begun the foundation of a Castle upon the River of *Tyne*; whereof the Town of *New-Castle* did after take both beginning and name, which before this time was called *Moncaster*. In his twentieth year in Whitsun-week, he honoured his Son *Henry* with the order of Knighthood, wherein what Ceremony he used is not certainly known: but it is worth observing, that before his time, the custom among the *Saxons* was; first, he who should receive the order of Knighthood, confessed himself in the evening to a Priest; then he continued all that night in the Church, watching and applying himself to his private devotion: the next morning he heard Mass, and offered his Sword upon the Altar. After the Gospel was read, the Sword was hallowed, and with a Benediction put about his neck. Lastly, He communicated the Mysteries of the blessed Body of Christ; and from that time, remained a perfect Knight. But this custom of consecrating Knights, the *Normans* abhorred.

His son Robert riseth in Arms against his Father.

He unhorseth his Father.

His aptness to forget Injuries.

CErtainly there is no such goodness of Nature, as aptness to be reconciled; of which vertue it seems King *William* had a large

proportion, for he seldom remembred injuries after submission. *Edrick* the first that rebelled against him, he placed in office near about him. *Gospatrick*, who had been a factious man, and a plotter of Conspiracies against him, he made Earl of *Gloceſter*, and trusted him with managing a War against *Malcolme* King of *Scots*. *Eustace* Earl of *Boloigne*, who in the Kings absence in *Normandy* attempted to seize upon *Dover* Castle, he received afterward into great favour and respect. The Earls *Marchar* and *Syward*, with *Wolnoth* the Brother of *Harold*, a little before his death, he released out of Prison. *Edgar*, who as next heir to the *Saxon* Kings, had often attempted by Arms to recover his right, he not only after twice defection pardoned, but gave him also allowance as a Prince: It is said twenty shillings a day, or rather a pound weight of Silver, and other large Livings besides; so as *Edgar* finding the sweetness of safety, and the pleasures of a Country life, spent the rest of his dayes (which were many) retired from Court, neither envying nor being envied. Only *Waltheoff* Earl of *Northumberland* the only Nobleman put to death in all this Kings time. *Waltheoff*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Northampton*, of all the *English* Nobility, was put to death in all the time of this Kings Reign; and not he neither, till he had twice falsified his Oath of Allegiance.

Of new Acquests to this Kingdom, by this Kings means.

An. Reg. 13. 1079. IN the Thirteenth year of his Reign, he subdued *Wales*, and made it Tributary to him, as before in the Seventh year of his Reign, he brought *Malcolme* King of *Scots* to do him Homage, and thereupon to give him Hostages; that if *England* made him greater than he was before, a King of a Duke; he no less made *England* greater than it was before, three Kingdoms in one.

Of his Exactions and Courses for raising of Money.

AS his Taxations were many in number, so they were various in kind, not always bringing in money directly, but sometimes obliquely saving it: The first Tax he laid upon his Subjects was in the first year of his Reign, after his return out of *Normandy*; a grievous Tax all Writers say, but none what it was. In the third year of his Reign he ransacked all Monasteries, and all the Gold and Silver of either Chalices or Shrines, he took to his own use. Moreover, whereas many of the more principal, and richer persons of the Realm, fearing King *William's* cruelty, and insatiable desire of moneys, deposited their Treasures, Jewels, and chiefest Commodities in the Monasteries and Abbeys, as in sure Sanctuaries to be safely kept for their own uses; the King violently seised on all for himself, neither regarding the Sanctity of the places, nor what injustice he did to his own Subjects, but as a Conquering Tyrant made their poverty his own security. Likewise he sessed all Bishops and Abbots what number of Souldiers they should find to serve him in his Wars: also the strangers which he maintained in Pay, he dispersed into Religious houses, and some also among the Nobility to be maintained at their charge. Many other Taxations he made, but last of all in the eighteenth year of his Reign, by the advice of *Roger* Earl of *Hertford*, he caused the whole Realm to be described in a Censual Roll (whereof he took a Precedent from King *Alfred*) so as there was not one Hyde of Land, but both the yearly Rent, and the owner thereof was therein set down: How many Ploughlands, what Pastures, Fens or Marishes, what Woods, Farms and Tenements were in every Shire, and what every one was worth: Also how many Villains every man had; what Beasts, what Cattel, what Fees, what other goods, what rent or commodity his Possessions did yield. This Book was called the Roll of *Winton*, because it was kept in the City of *Winchester*. By the *English* it was called Doomsday Book, either by the reason of the generality thereof, or else corruptly, instead of *Domus Dei* Book, for that it was laid in the Church of *Winchester*, in a place called *Domus Dei*. According to this Roll Taxations were imposed, sometimes two shillings, and at this time six shillings upon every Hyde of Land, (a Hyde containing, as Master *Lambert* proveth, a hundred Acres.) In all those lands which he gave to any man, he reserved Dominion in chief to himself, as also a yearly Rent, and likewise a Fine whensoever the Tenant did alien or die. These were bound to him by Oath of Fealty and Homage, and if any died, his heir being within age, the King received the profits of his Lands, and had the custody and disposing of the heirs body, untill his age of one and twenty years. To be short, his greedines of money was so great, that he spared not his own Brother *Odo*, but found accusations against him, to the end he might seise upon his Treasure, which was infinite great, and which he had gathered in hope to buy the Papacy. Only one kind of profit he forbare to meddle with, that is Vacancies of Abbeys and Bishopricks; which he always reserved for the successours: but then he took another course of far greater profit, for he compelled all men to make new Fines at his pleasure, for confirmation of any Grant or priviledges formerly granted by any Prince of the Realm; by which device he got into his possession the greatest part of all the riches of the Land, as well of the Clergy, as of the Laity. And one particular may not be omitted that is reported of him, which was this: The Monks of *Ely*, to purchase their peace, agreed to give him seven hundred Marks, when coming to pay it, there wanted a Groat in the weight, (for in those dayes greater Sums were not paid by taile, but by weight) which the King understanding, denyed them all composition for Peace, untill with much suit he was intreated to accept of a thousand Marks more.

The Roll of *Winton* or Doomsday Book.

A Hyde of Land, how much it contains.

Wardships ordained by K. *William*.

For a groat in weight wanting, a thousand marks exacted.

Of his Laws and Ordinances, and Courts of Justice erected by him.

ALthough at his Coronation he had taken an Oath to observe the Laws of King *Edward* then in use, yet afterwards (perhaps counting his Coronation Oath but a matter of course) he abrogated many, and in their stead brought in the Laws of *Normandy*; commanding them to be

He brings in the Laws of *Normandy*, and causeth them to be written in *French*.

be written in *French*; and also that all Causes should be pleaded, and all matters of Forms dispatched in *French*; upon a pretence to dignifie the *French* tongue, but with a purpose to intrap men through ignorance of the Language, as indeed it did: or perhaps to make the *Normans* Language predominant in the Kingdom as he had made their persons: which yet was so far from effecting, that there is not so much as any footsteps remaining of the *Norman* Language in the *English* tongue. Forms of Judgement, and trials by Fire and Water, called *Ordeal*, formerly used, were in short time after the Conquest disused, and in the end utterly abrogated by the Pope, as derived from Paganism. That of Combat continued longer, but of no ordinary use: and all actions both criminal and real, began now to be wholly adjudged by the Verdict of twelve men, according to the custome of *Normandy*, where the like form is used, and called by the name of Enquest, with the same cautions for the Jurors, as it is here continued to this day; Though by the Laws of *Ethelred* it appears, that the trial by twelve men was in use long before his time. And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Judges to determine all business in every Shire, and the Bishop, in many Cases shared in the benefit of the Mulcts with the King, now he confined the Clergie within the Province of their own Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to deal only in business concerning rule of Souls, according to the Canons and Laws Episcopal. And where the Causes of the Kingdom were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of King *Edward*, all matters in question were upon special penalty decided in their Gemote, which was a little Court held monthly in every Hundred: now he ordained that four times in the year, for certain dayes, the same businesses should be determined in such places as he would appoint, where he constituted Judges to attend for that purpose. Also he decreed there should be Sheriffs in every Shire, and Justices of Peace for punishment of Malefactors. Finally, he ordained his Council of State, his Chancery, his Exchequer, (*Scaccarium*, corruptly called so, of the word *Statarium*, or rather of the Board or Table, where the Officers sate;) also his Courts of Justice, which alwayes removed with his Court. These places he furnished with Officers, and assigned four Terms in the year for determining Controversies among the people. The place of these Courts was *Westminster*, where King *William Rufus* afterwards built a stately Palace. Now for his provisionary Revenues, the Kings Tenants, who held Lands of the Crown, paid him no money at all, but only Corn and other Victuals; and a just note of the quality and quantity of every mans ratement, was taken throughout all the Shires of the Kingdom, and levied ever certain, for maintenance of the Kings House. Only the *Kentish* men procured the continuance of their antient Lawes by a trick; for King *William* riding towards *Dover*, at *Swanscombe*, two miles from *Gravesend*, the *Kentish* men met him, but in the form of a moving Wood, by reason of the great boughs they had cut, and carried in their hands, and compassing the King about, they only made suit for the continuance of their Laws and Customes; of which one special was, That the Tenure of their Lands was *Gavelkind*; by which they descended not to the eldest alone, as in other Countreys, but were partable between all the Sons: and the Priviledges which the owners of such Lands enjoyed were chiefly these: Not to forfeit them for Felony: Not to be subject to services before the Justices: Not to be challenged for Villains. So the Conquerour considering, that he might as well allow them, as other Kings had done before him, easily condescended to their request. But see the levity of these *Kentish* men, to hazard themselves more for the preserving a simple Custome, than for preserving the Liberty of themselves, and their Countrey: But such is the violence of conceit, till it be mastered by time, or rather so very a Changeling is Humane Reason, that what they then cut down great Woods to defend, they have since been content to see abolished, without cutting down so much as a twig. But one Law especially he made, extreamly distasteful to all the Gentry of the Land; for where before they might at their pleasure hunt, and take Deer which they found abroad in the Woods; now it was ordained under a great penalty, no less than putting out their eyes, that none should presume to kill, or take any of them, as reserving them only for his own delight. And indeed so great delight he took in that kind of sport, that he depopulated a great part of *Hampshire*, the space of thirty miles, where there had been (saith *Caxton*) six an[illegible]enty Towns, and fourscore Religious He[illegible], and made it a habitation for such kind of [illegible]asts; which was then, and to this day is called the new Forest. But the lamentable disasters that have happened to this Kings issue, do plainly shew, that there is a Power that observes all our Actions, and which we may know to be *Memorem Fandi atque Nefandi*. But in the first year of this Kings Reign, he granted to the City of *London*, their first Charter and Liberties, in as large form, as they enjoyed them in the time of King *Edward* the Confessor, which he granted at the suit of *William* a *Norman*, Bishop of *London*, in grateful remembrance whereof, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, upon the solemn daies of their resort to *Pauls*, do still use to walk to the Gravestone where this Bishop lies interred. Also this King was the first, that brought the Jews to inhabite here in *England*: as likewise he made a Law that whosoever forced a woman should lose his Genitals: and in his time, long Bows came first into use in *England*: which as they where the weapons with which *France* under this King conquered *England*: so they were the weapons with which *England* under after-Kings, conquered *France*; as if it were not enough for us to beat them, if we did not beat them with their own weapons. This King also appointed a Constable of *Dover*-Castle, and a Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, with Immunities as they are at this day. And to be short, this King ordained so good Laws, and had them so well executed; that it is said a Girl might carry a bag of Money all the Country over without danger of robbing; and in his time, the setting Seals to Bonds and Writings was first used,

He brought in the trial by Verdict of twelve men.

He ordained the Four Terms of Law.

He ordained Sheriffs and Justices of Peace.

He ordained the Court of Chancery and Exchequer.

His Tenants pay their Rents in Corn and other Victuals.

The *Kentish* men procure the continuance of their ancient Laws. Lambert.

He restrains hunting.

He depopulates 26 Towns to make the New Forest in *Hampshire*.

He grants to the City of *London* their first Charter of Liberties.

He first brought Jews into *England*:

Also long Bowes.

used, where before there were only witnesses to Deeds.

Affairs of the Church in his Reign.

IN his time, *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was for divers causes deprived of his dignity, and kept private all his life after in the Castle of *Winchester*: after whom succeeded *Lanfrank* an *Italian*, in that See: who in the twelfth year of this Kings Reign, held a Synod at *London*, where amongst other things he removed the Bishops Sees from small Towns to great Cities, as from *Sidney* to *Chicester*; from *Kyrton* to *Exeter*; from *Wells* to *Bathe*; from *Shirborn* to *Salisbury*; from *Dorchester*, to *Lincoln*; and from *Lichfield* to *Chester*, and from thence again to *Coventry*: and not long before, the Bishoprick of *Lindisfern*, otherwise called Holy Land, upon the River *Tweede*, had been translated to *Durham*. In the fifth year of his Reign, a Controversie arising between the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, they appealed to *Rome*, and the Pope remitted it to the King and bishops of *England*. Hereupon a Synod is holden at *Windsor*, where Sentence was given on *Lanfrank*'s, then Archbishop of *Canterburies*, side; That in matters of Religion, the Archbishop of *York*, should ever be subject to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: Only at *Rome* it was decreed, for matter of Title, That the See of *York* should be styled *Primas Angliæ*; and the See of *Canterbury*, *Primas totius Angliæ*, as it is at this day. And as the Archbishop of *York* oweth obedience to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, so all the Bishops of *Scotland* owe obedience to the Archbishop of *York*, as to the Primate of *Scotland*. It shall not be amiss here to write the Journey of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to *Rome*; who in the fifth year of King *William*'s Reign made Bishop of *Canterbury* went to *Rome* to obtain the Pall, due to Archbishops, taking for his Companions *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, and *Remigius* Bishop of *Lincoln*; arrived at *Rome*, and admitted to the Popes presence, Pope *Alexander* rose from his Seat, and gently saluting him, saith withall, This honour I do not give, as due to your Archbishoprick, but as due to my Master; to whose labour I must acknowledge to be due what Learning I have. The next day having audience he accused the two Companions of his Journey.

But as this King took down the Prelates in Temporalties, for he ordained they should exercise no Temporal Authority at all: so in Spiritualties, he rather raised them, as may be seen by a passage between *Aldred* Archbishop of *York* and the King; for at a time, upon the repulse of a certain Suite the Archbishop in great discontentment offered to depart, when the King in awe of his displeasure, stayed him, fell down at his feet, desired pardon, and promis'd to grant his Suit. The King all this while being down at the Archbishops feet, the Noblemen that were present, put him in minde that he should cause the King to rise: Nay (saith the Archbishop) let him alone, let him find what it is to anger Saint *Peter*. And as by this story we see the insulting pride of a Prelate in those dayes: so by another, we may see the equivocating falsehood of a Prelate at that time; For *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury* would often swear, He had not one penny upon the Earth, when under the Earth it was afterwards found he had hidden great Treasure. Also it is memorable, but scarce credible of another Bishop, who being accused of Simony, and denying it, the Cardinal before whom he was to answer, told him that a Bishoprick was the gift of the Holy Ghost; and therefore to buy a Bishoprick, was against the Holy Ghost, and thereupon bid him say, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, which the Bishop beginning, and oft assaying, could never say [*and to the Holy Ghost*] but said it plainly when he was put out of his Bishoprick. And yet was not the Church in that age so barren of vertue, but that it afforded some good Bishops, as *William* Bishop of *Durham*, Founder of University-Colledge in *Oxford*, but especially Bishop *Wolston*, whom, upon *Lanfrank*'s reporting to be insufficient for the place, for want of Learning, the King commanded to put off his Pontifical Robes, and to leave his Bishoprick: when suddenly out of a Divine Inspiration, *Wolston* answered, A better than you, O King, bestowed these Robes upon me, and to him I will restore them. And therewithal going to St. *Edward*'s shrine, who had made him a Bishop, and putting off his Robes, he struck his Staff upon St. *Edward*'s Monument, which stuck so fast in the stone of it, that by no strength it could be drawn forth, till he drew it forth himself: which so terrified both *Lanfrank* and the King, that they intreated him to take his Robes again, and keep his Bishoprick. Also *Oswald* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who devised a Form of Prayers to be daily used in his Church, and was used afterwards in other Churches, from whence proceeded the common saying of *Secundum usum Sarum*. In this Kings time was *Berengarius*, who denied the true Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament; Also in his time, Pope *Gregory* the Seventh removed married Priests from executing Divine Service, whereof great Troubles arose in *England*: Also in his time was instituted the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*: Also in his time, Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, in a Synod holden at *Rome*, ordained that none should be called Pope but only the Bishop of *Rome*, where before all Bishops were called Popes.

Bishops Sees removed.

The Archbishop of *York*, *Primas Angliæ*; of *Canterbury*, *Primas totius Angliæ*.

Aldred Archbishop of *York*, his insulting over King *William*.

An equivocating Bishop.

A Miracle done upon a Bishop.

A Miracle done by a Bishop.

Prayers devised *Secundum usum Sarum*.

No Priests to be married. *Eadmerus*.

Works of Piety, by him and others, in his time.

THis King founded the Abbey of *Battel* in *Sussex*, where he overcame *Harold*, as a Monument in memory of his Victory; but there succeeded a greater Monument in memory of this Battel, if it be true which *Newbrigensis* saith, that after every small rain, the Grass where the Battel was fought, shews to be of the colour of blood, and had continued to do so to his dayes who lived in the time of King *Stephen*, almost an hundred years after the Battel was fought. The Abby of *Selby* in *Yorkshire*; and a third near *London*, called St. *Saviours*. He founded also the Priory of St *Nicholas* at *Exeter*, and gave great Priviledges to St. *Martins le Grand*

Grand in *London*; which Church was founded before the Conqueſt, by *Ingelricus* and *Emardus* his Brother, Couſins to King *Edward* the Confeſſour. He alſo builded the Tower of *London*: namely the great white and ſquare Tower there. Theſe were this Kings works of Piety in *England*; but in *Normandy* he founded alſo an Abbey at *Caen*, where his Wife *Maude* built alſo a Monaſtery of Nuns. He gave alſo to the Church of St. *Stephens* in *Caen*, two Mannors in *Dorſetſhire*, one Mannor in *Devonſhire*, another in *Eſſex*, much Land in *Barkſhire*, ſome in *Norfolk*, a Manſion in *Woodſtreet*, *London*, with many Advowſons of Churches: and even he gave his Crown and Regal Ornaments to the ſaid Church being of his own Foundation: for the redemption whereof, his Son *Henry* gave the Mannor of *Brydleton* in *Dorſetſhire*. In this Kings time *Robert*, Son to *Hildebert Laciet* founded the Priory of *Pontfraight*: *Henry* Earl *Ferrers* founded a Priory within his Caſtle at *Tutbury*; *Alwyne Childe*, a Citizen of *London*, founded the Monaſtery of St. *Saviours* at *Bermondſey* in *Southwark*, and gave the Monks there divers Rents in *London*. Alſo in this Kings time, *Maurice* Biſhop of *London*, after the firing of the former Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, began the Foundation of the New Church, a work ſo admirable, that many thought it would never have been finiſhed. Towards the building of the Eaſt end whereof, the King gave the choyce ſtones of his Caſtle at the Weſt end of the City, upon the Bank of the River *Thames*; which Caſtle having been at that time fired, in place thereof *Edward Kilwarby* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, did afterwards found a Monaſtery of *Black Fryers*. The King alſo gave the Mannor of *Stafford* to the ſame *Maurice*, and to his Succeſſours in that See; after whoſe deceaſe, *Richard* his next Succeſſour beſtowed all the Rents of his Biſhoprick to advance the building of this Church, maintaining himſelf by his private Patrimony: and yet all he could do, made no great ſhew, but the finiſhing of the Work was left to many other ſucceeding Biſhops. In the fourteenth year of this Kings Reign, *Roger de Montgomery* Earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury*, founded the Abby of *Shrewsbury*; He alſo built another at *Wenlock*. In the fifteenth year of this Kings reign, *William* Biſhop of *Durham*, founded Univerſity-Colledge in *Oxford*; Alſo one *Gilbert* a *Norman* Lord founded the Abby of *Merton* in *Surrey*, ſeven miles from *London*; and *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York* firſt builded the Minſter of *York*. In this Kings ſixteenth year, his Brother Duke *Robert* being ſent againſt the *Scots*, builded a Fort, where at this day ſtandeth *New-Caſtle* upon *Tyne*: but the Town and Walls were builded afterward by King *John*. Alſo in this Kings time *Ledes* Caſtle in *Kent* was builded by *Crevekeyn*, and the Caſtle of *Oxford*, by *Robert d' Oylie*; two Noblemen that came into *England* with him. *Oſmund* Biſhop of *Salisbury* built the new Church there.

St. Paul's Church new builded.

Univerſity Colledge in *Oxford* founded.

New-Caſtle upon Tyne builded.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN the twentieth year of his Reign, ſo great a fire happened in *London*, that from the Weſt-Gate to the Eaſt Gate, it conſumed Houſes and Churches all the way, and amongſt the reſt the Church of St. *Paul*, the moſt grievous fire that ever happened in that City. Alſo this year, by reaſon of diſtemperature of weather, Thunders and Lightnings, by which many men periſhed, there enſued a Famine, and afterwards a miſerable mortality of Men and Cattel; and which is very ſtrange, Hens, Peacocks, Geeſe, and Ducks bred in, and accuſtomed to Houſes, forſook their wonted Hives, and turned wild. (*Matt. Weſt. Anno Dom.* 1087.) Alſo this year in the Province of *Wales*, upon the Sea-ſhore, was found the Body of *Gawen*, Sifters Son to *Arthur*, the great King of the *Britains*, reported to be fourteen foot in length. Alſo in this Kings time, a great Lord ſitting at a Feaſt, was ſet upon by Mice; and though he were removed from Land to Sea, and from Sea again to Land; yet the Mice ſtill followed him, and at laſt devoured him.

A great fire in *London*.

The body of *Gawen*, Sifters Son to King *Arthur* found.

A Lord eaten up with Mice.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE had to Wife, and her only, *Mathilde*, or *Maude*, Daughter to *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*. She was Crowned Queen of *England*, the ſecond year of his Reign: the ſeventeenth year of his reign ſhe died. A Woman only memorable for this, that nothing memorable is recorded of her, but that ſhe built a Nunnery at *Caen* in *Normandy*, where ſhe lies buried. By her he had four Sons and five Daughters. His Sons were, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*: of whom *Robert* the eldeſt called *Court cayſe*, of his ſhort Thighs; or *Court-hoſe*, of his ſhort Breeches; or *Courtois*, of his Courteous behaviour, (for ſo many are the comments upon his name) ſucceeded his Father in the Dutchy of *Normandy*. *Richard* his ſecond Son was kill'd by misfortune, hunting in the *New-Foreſt*. *William* his third Son, called *Rufus*, ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*. *Henry* his youngeſt Son called *Beauclerk* for his Learning, had by his Fathers Will five thouſand pounds in money, and the Inheritance alſo of his Mother: His Daughters were *Cecilie*, *Conſtace*, *Adela*, *Margaret*, and *Elenor*, of whom *Cecilie* was Abbeſs of *Caen* in *Normandy*. *Conſtace* was married to *Alan* Earl of *Britain*. *Adela* to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*. *Margaret* affianced to *Harold* King of *England*, but never married and died young. *Elenor* betrothed to *Alphonſus* King of *Gallicia*, but deſiring to die a Virgin, ſhe had her wiſh, ſpending her time ſo much in Prayer, that with continual kneeling her knees were brawned.

Robert Court-hoſe why ſo called.

Good Devotion.

Of His Perſonage and Condition.

HE was but mean of ſtature, yet big of Body, and therewithal ſo ſtrong, that few were able to draw his Bow: growing in years he was bald before; his beard always ſhaven, after the manner of the *Normans*; and in his younger time he was much given to that infirmity of Youth, which grows out of ſtrength of Youth, Incontinency. After he was once married, whether out of ſatiety or out of Grace, he was never known to offend in that kind. Of ſo perfect health, that he was never ſick, till that ſickneſs whereof he died. Of a ſtern countenance,

tenance, yet of an affable nature: In War as Expert as Valiant: In Peace, as Provident as Prudent: and in all his Enterprizes as fortunate, as bold and hardy. Much given to Hunting and Feasting, where he was no less pleasant than magnificent. He made no great proficiency in Learning, as having had his Education in the licentiousness of the *French* Court; yet he favoured learned men, and drew out of *Italy*, *Lanfrank*, *Anselm*, *Durand*, *Terberne*, and divers others, famous at that time for Learning and great Piety. Very devout he was, and alwayes held the Clergy in exceeding great Reverence. And this is one special Honour attributed unto him, That from him we begin the Computation of our Kings of *England*.

His Places of Residence.

King *William* now Crowned every year.

HIS *Christmas* he commonly kept at *Gloucester*, his *Easter* at *Winchester*, and his *Whitsuntide* at *Westminster*, and once in the year at one of these places would be new Crowned; as though by often putting on his Crown, he thought to make it fit the easier upon his head. And for the Houses which the Kings of *England* had in those dayes in *London*; I find that at *Westminster*, was a Palace, the ancient habitation of the Kings of *England*, from the time of *Edward* the Confessour; which in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, was by casual fire burnt down to the ground. A very large and stately Palace this was, and in that Age, for Building, incomparable. The Remains whereof are the Chamber of assembling the High Court of Parliament, and the next unto it; wherein anciently they were wont to begin the Parliament, called St. *Edward's* Painted Chamber; because the Tradition holdeth, that the said King *Edward* died in it. Adjoyning unto this, is the White-Hall, wherein at this day the Court of Requests is kept. Beneath this, is the Great Hall, where Courts of Justice are now kept: This Hall which we now have, was built by King *Richard* the second, out of the ground; as appeareth by his Arms engraven in the stone work: (when he had plucked down the old Hall, built before by *William Rufus*) and made it his own habitation. But the aforesaid Palace, after it was burnt down in *Anno* 1512 lay desolate, and King *Henry* the Eighth shortly after translated the Kings Seat, to a house not far off, built by Cardinal *Woolsey*, and is called *White-Hall*. The Tower of *London* was anciently used by the Kings of *England* to lodge in. Other Houses they anciently had; one where *Bridewell* now standeth, out of the ruines whereof, the now *Bridewell* was built. Another called the *Tower-Royal*, now the Kings Wardrobe. Another in *Bucklers-bury*, called *Sernes* Tower. Another where now the Popes-Head Tavern is, over against the *Old Exchange*, thought to have been the Kings House; also another in *Lime-street*, called the Kings Arrirce. Also another in the *Old Jury*; and oft-times they made use of *Baynards Castle*. But these are all long since demolished, that we may see Palaces and Places have their fates and periods well as men. And as for his Arms, he gave three Lions passant Gold in a Field *Gules*; which have ever since been used as peculiar to the Crown of *England*; to which three *Flower de Luces* were added by King *Edward* the Third, by reason of his claim to the Crown of *France*.

Westminster Palace the ancient habitation of the Kings of *England*.

Westminster Hall built by *Richard* the second.

White-Hall, when made the Kings habitation.

His Death and Burial.

TOwards the end of his Reign, he appointed his two Sons, *Robert* and *Henry*, with joynt authority, Governours of *Normandy*. These went together, to visit the King of *France* lying at *Constance*; where entertaining the time with variety of sports, *Henry* played with *Lewes* the Heir of *France* at Chess, and winning much money of him, *Lewes* grew so cholerick, that he threw the Chess-men at *Henries* face, calling him the Son of a Bastard; and thereupon *Henry* struck *Lewis* with the Chess-board, and had presently slain him, if his Brother *Robert* had not stept in and stayed him. Upon this the King of *France* invades *Normandy*, and drawes *Robert*, King *William's* eldest Son, to joyn with him against his Father: But King *William* coming presently over with an Army, was soon reconciled to his Son; yet being corpulent and in years, was by this means much distempered in body, and so retired to *Roan*, where he stayed, as not being well in health. The *French* King hearing of his sickness, scoffingly said, That he lay in Child-bed of his great belly. Which so incensed King *William*, that he swore by Gods Resurrection and his Brightness, (his usual Oath) that as soon as he should be Churched of that Childe, he would offer a Thousand Lights in *France*: And indeed he performed it; For he entred *France* in Arms, and set many Towns and Corn-fields on fire, in which he was so violent, that by reason of his travel, and the unreasonable heat, being in the month of *August*, it brought upon him a relapse of his sickness, and withall, leaping on Horseback over a Ditch, his fat belly did bear so hard upon the pummel of his Saddle, that he took a Rupture in his inner parts; whereupon returning to *Roan*, his sickness so increased, that in short time he dyed. And that which is scarce credible, yet recorded for certain, the very same day he dyed at *Roan* his death was known at *Rome*, a thousand miles off; which if it be true, it seems there are certain Invisible Intelligencers, that can make such speed: whereof *Froissard* tells a strange story; and for the strangeness not unworthy to be here related. There was (saith he) in the time of King *Edward* the Third, a Knight in *France*, called *Coraffe*, who could tell any thing that was done all the World over, the very day it was done, or within a day or two, how far soever it were off; and this he did by such an invisible Intelligencer. For he had gotten a Familiar Spirit, called *Orthone*, who brought him the news continually; and held on this course with him divers years, till at last he lost him, by this occasion. He had only heard the voice of his spirit *Orthone*; and now had great longing to see his shape: whereupon the spirit seeing his earnestness; Well then (saith he) to morrow morning when you rise out of your bed, the first thing you see shall be I. So the Knight rising in the morning, looked out, but could see nothing: whereupon he blamed his spirit *Orthone*

The *French* King scoffs at King *William's* great belly.

1087.

King *William's* death known the same day he dyed, a thousand miles off.

thone, for not keeping his promiſe with him. *Orthone* anſwered, He had kept his promiſe: for, ſaith he, bethink your ſelf, what it was you firſt ſaw after your riſing. Then the Knight bethinking himſelf, remembred he ſaw two ſtraws upon the ground, tumbling upon one another: Why (ſaith *Orthone*) that was I. Then the Knight deſired he might ſee him in ſuch a ſhape, as that he might take notice of him. Well then, ſaid *Orthone*, to morrow morning when you riſe, the firſt thing you ſee, that ſhall be I. So the next morning, the Knight riſing, and looking out of his Chamber Window, the firſt thing he ſaw was a Sow, ſo lean and deformed, that he could not abide to ſee it: and thereupon cauſed his men to ſet Dogs upon it, to drive it away: which being done, the Sow vaniſhed away; after this his ſpirit *Orthone* never came to him any more. And this relation *Froiſſard* had from the Knights own mouth: and by ſuch a like means, it might perhaps be, that the death of King *William* was known at *Rome*, the very day he died at *Roan*, though a thouſand miles aſunder. And now to go on with the ſtory, *William* the Conquerour in all the time of his ſickneſs retained to the very laſt his memory and ſpeech; and ſhewed many demonſtrations of his Devotion, and true contrition, ſpecially for his ſeverity uſed towards the *Engliſh*. And thus he who was a Conquerour of men, was conquered himſelf by death, the ninth day of *September*, when he had reigned Twenty years, and near eleven mounths, in the Threeſcore and fourth year of his age; *Malmesbury* ſaith in the fifty ninth. I may well ſay he was conquered by death, ſeeing death uſed him more deſpitefully, than ever he living uſed any whom he had conquered: For no ſooner was the breath out of his body, but his attendants purloyning what they could lay hands on, forſook him and fled, leaving his body almoſt naked upon the ground. Afterwards, *William*, Archbiſhop of *Roan*, commanded his body ſhould be conveyed to *Caen*, but his command was little regarded: till at laſt, one *Herlewyne*, a Countrey Knight, at his own charges cauſed his body to be Embalmed, and conveyed thither; where the Abbot and Monks meeting the corps, ſuddenly in the midſt of their ſolemnities, a violent fire brake out in the Town, with the fright whereof, every man left the place; and thus was his body the ſecond time left forlorn. In the end a few Monks returned, and accompanied the Herſe to the Abbey Church, but when the Divine Office was ended, and the body ready to be laid in the Grave, one *Anſelm Fitz Arthur*, ſtood up and claimed that ground to have been the Floor of his Fathers houſe, which King *William* had violently wreſted from him, and thereupon charged them, as they would anſwer it before the dreadful face of God, not to cover his Body with the earth of his Inheritance. Whereupon after ſome pauſe, agreement was made with him, and three pound was paid in hand for the ground broken up, and an hundred pounds more afterwards for the ground it ſelf, paid him by *Henry*, the Kings youngeſt Son, who only of all his Sons was preſent at the Funeral. And yet this was not all, but when his body was to be put in the earth, it happened that the Sepulchre of ſtone which ſtood within the Grave, was hewen ſomewhat too ſtrait for his fat belly, ſo as they were fain to preſs it down with ſome violence, with which, whether his bowels burſt, or whether ſome Excrements were forced out of their natural paſſage, ſuch an intolerable ſtink proceeded from him, that none were able to endure it, but made all the haſte they could to be gone. And yet neither was this the laſt of his miſeries, for in the year 1562. when *Caſtillion* took the City of *Caen*, certain diſſolute Souldiers opened his Tomb, and not finding the Treaſure they expected, threw forth his bones with great deriſion: whereof ſome were afterward brought into *England*. So that if we conſider his many Troubles in his life, and after his death; we may well think, that notwithſtanding all his greatneſs, a very mean man would hardly be perſwaded to change fortunes with him. He bare the ſame Arms as peculiar to the Crown of *England*, which all ſucceeding Princes have uſed: namely, Three Lions paſſant Gold in a Field *Gules*: for as for the Three *Flower de Luces*, they were added by King *Edward* the Third, upon his claim of the Crown of *France*.

The Arms born by King *William*.

King *William* being dead, how neglected and moleſted at his burial.

Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Learning in his time, were but rare in this Iſland, yet ſome there were, particularly *Marianus Scotus*, an Hiſtoriographer, and *Alphered* a Monk of *Beverly*, a Writer alſo of Hiſtorical Argument. And as for the Men of Valour, they are not to be expected in a time of ſervitude, but as if all the *Engliſh* Valour were now remaining in the *Kentiſh* men, they only made reſiſtance, when all other Countries had ſubmitted. Yet it is memorable in this time, what a private *Norwegian* Souldier did, who himſelf alone upon a Bridge, reſiſted the whole Army of the *Engliſh*, ſlew forty of them, and maintained the place for divers hours together, till one getting under the Bridge, found means to thruſt up a Spear into his body and killed him.

THE

The REIGN of KING WILLIAM THE SECOND.

William Rufus is Crowned. An. Dom. 1087.

KING *William* the Second, called *Rufus*, third Son to *William* the Conquerour, appointed Successor by his Fathers Will, was upon the fifth of *October*, in the year 1087. by *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Crowned at *Westminster* King of *England*. Wherein his Father seems to have followed the example of *Jacob*, who gave to his younger Son *Joseph*, the Land which he had taken with his Sword and his Bow: for with his Sword and his Bow, had King *William* gotten the Land of *England*; and therefore might justly bestow it on which of his Sons he pleased. And besides, there was cause enough, why he should shew this Son of his some extraordinary favour, seeing in the Rebellion of his Brother *Robert*, yet he stood firmly for his Father; and in his quarrel incurred no small hazard of his life, as wherein he received divers wounds: and perhaps also, his Father thought the rough disposition of this Son, fitter to bridle the insurrections of the *English*, than the softly disposition of his Son *Robert*.

But though he have thus quietly gotten the Crown, he must not look to hold it so; and indeed at his very beginning is assaulted with two troubles in one: for both his Brother *Robert* prepares to recover it from him, and the Lords of the Kingdom combine with *Robert* to assist him in it. The first mover of this trouble was *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Uncle, who finding himself not to bear the sway he expected, and specially for an old grudge he bore to *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by whose means, in the former Kings time he had been imprisoned, the Archbishop telling him, That though he might not imprison a Bishop, yet he might imprison an Earl of *Kent* (as this *Odo* was made not long before) he draws many other Bishops and Temporal Lords to joyn with him, in behalf of Duke *Robert* against the King: but though the storm were violent for a while, yet it soon passed over; that indeed of his Lords, with more difficulty: but that of his Brother *Robert* with more cost: for it was at last agreed, That *Rufus* should pay him Three thousand marks a year, during his life, and leave him the Kingdom after his own decease. But there was difficulty in repressing his Rebel Lords by reason of their spreading themselves abroad in many quarters. For *Odo* fortified himself in *Kent*; *Roger Mountgomery*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgeshire*; *Hugh de Grandmenil*, in *Leicestershire*, and *Northamptonshire*; *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, possessed himself of *Bristow*; *William* Bishop of *Durham*, of the North parts of the Realm; and divers other of the Clergy and Nobility, fortifie themselves in *Herefordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, and all the Countreys adjoyning to *Wales*, thinking by this means to distract the King, that he should not know where to begin, nor whither to turn him. But this course, as it made it hard to repress them suddenly, so it made it easie to repress them at leasure; for being thus divided, they were but as single sticks, that are easily broken; whereas if they had united themselves, as into a Faggot, they might have made a strength of far greater resistance. But the King having *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Wolstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, firm of his side: partly by their Authority and love amongst the people; but chiefly by his own promises, to restore their ancient Laws, and to allow them liberty of hunting in his Forests, he so firmly won the hearts of all unto him; that some of the Rebel Lords he reconciled with fair words: as *Robert Mountgomery*; (a principal sinew of the Faction) some again he mastered by strong hand; and *Odo* the chief Engineer of all the work, he besieged in the Castle of *Rochester*, took him Prisoner, and forced him to abjure the Realm. And thus this great Rebellion was suppressed: In which it is observable, that though so many hot bloods were up, yet there was but little blood spilt. A happy Rebellion for the *English*; for the Rebel Lords and Bishops being all *Normans*, the King had none to trust to, but the *English*, whom for their faithfulness to him in this service, he ever after respected more than he had done before:

His Brother is incited to claim the Crown.

He is compounded with for 3000 marks a year.

The Rebel Lords are won or overcome.

The *English* firmer to King *William* than the *Normans*.

This year died *Lanfrank*, after he had been Archbishop of *Canterbury* eighteen years, who had brought the Monks to some good order, that before his time followed hunting and hawking, dicing and carding, to the great discredit of their profession.

After this storm was over in the South, there ariseth another in the North; For now *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, thinking it a fit time to do some feats when King *William* was troubled at home, invades *Northumberland*, and having burnt and spoiled the Countrey, returns home laden with booties: Which King *William* hearing, he takes his Brother *Robert* along with him, and with a mighty Army enters *Scotland*, brings *Malcolme* to acknowledge his ancient homage: and upon Faith given returns to *London*. After this, Duke *Robert* finding his Brother King *William* not to keep his promise, in paying his Pension, complains to the King of *France*, and with his aid,

An. Reg. 3. 1090.

King *William* represseth the *Scots*. He represseth his brother *Robert* taking up Armes for his Pension not payed.

aid assaults and take some Towns, which he before had delivered in pawn for money to his brother King *William*; who hearing of it, hastens into *Normandy* with an Army, and by the mediation of money takes off the King of *France*, and makes his brother, being left destitute of Assistance, to ask him pardon; a wise and merciful course in King *William*; for to buy his peace with the King of *France*, did cost him but money, where to have purchased it by War, must besides money, have cost the lives of many.

An. Reg. 6. 1093.

After this, *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, came in kindness to visit King *William* at *Gloucester*; but the King not vouchsafing so much as to see him, put him into so great an indignation, that returning home, he makes ready an Army, invades *Northumberland*, making great spoil, and getting great spoils, but by *Robert Mowbray*, the Kings Lieutenant there, was taken in ambush, and together with his eldest Son *Edward*, defeated and slain. This King *Malcolme* was a most valiant Prince, as may appear by an Act of his of an extraordinary strain; for hearing of a conspiracy, plotted to murther him, whereof one was Author, whose name is not recorded, he dissembled the knowing of it, till being abroad one day a hunting, he took the fellow apart from the company, and being alone, said unto him; Here now is a fit time and place, to do that manfully, which you have intended to do treacherously; draw your weapon, and if you kill me, none being present, you can incur no danger: with which speech of the King, the fellow was so daunted that presently he fell down at his feet, confessed his fault, humbly asked forgiveness, and being granted him, was ever after serviceable and faithful to him. The death of King *Malcolme* and his Son was so grievous, and so grievously taken of *Margaret* his Queen the Sister of *Edgar Atheling*, that she made it her Prayer, and had it granted, not to overlive them, and so within three dayes after died. A woman as full of vertues all her life, as at this time of sorrows; whom yet I should not break order to mention, but for one Pious Act of hers, in causing a most barbarous custome of *Scotland* to be abrogated, that when a man married, his Lord should lie the first night with his Bride. Which custome by her endeavour was altered to a payment in money.

Malcolme King of Scots with his eldest Son Edward is slain.

A most valiant Prince.

With grief of whose death his Queen Margaret dyeth within three dayes.

A barbarous custom in Scotland abrogated by her means.

After these troubles were ended in the North, a new trouble ariseth in the West; for now the *Welch* men hearing of King *William*'s distractions, enter upon the *English* borders, making spoil and havock of men and Towns: whom King *William* went with an Army to encounter, but could do no good upon them, till he was fain to return to *London*, and provide him a stronger Army. About this time also *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, by whom *Malcolme* King of *Scots* was in King *William*'s service formerly slain; finding his service not rewarded as he expected, enters into conspiracy against the King: but the King being informed of the practice, seiseth suddenly upon many of his Complices; and himself, after many devices and shifts for flight, is taken and put in Prison, in the Castle of *Windsor*. After this, King *William* to take a further revenge of the *Welch*, and to make an absolute conquest of that unquiet people, with a far greater Army than ever before, enters *Wales*, and thinks with new devices of Castles and Forts, utterly to subdue them, but they defending themselves, with their Woods and mountainous passages, tire and weary out the King and his Army, so as he leaves the business to two *Hughs*, one Earl of *Salop*, the other of *Chester*, who first invaded and took *Anglesey*, (their Island of refuge) where they used all kind of cruelty, pulling out of eyes, and cutting off hands and noses: In prosecuting of which business, *Hugh* Earl of *Salop* was slain, but *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, entred *Wales*, and in the end with the slaughter of *Rees*, the last King of *Wales*, made an absolute conquest of the Countrey: For after this, though they often rebelled, yet they were in a true subjection. And these for the most part, were all the troubles of his reign; where we may observe, that none of them did overtake him, but still he met them; and from none of them he ever fled, but still was the pursuer; and yet so many as might well have taken away all the comfort of a Crown, and have made him willing to change his Diadem for a pair of Beads: but that Ambition, though sometimes weary, yet never tires.

Wales solely conquered by King William.

Rees the last King of Wales slain.

His Exactions and Courses for raising Money.

IN the second year of his Reign, *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* dyed, who had kept the Kingdom and King in some good order; but assoon as he was dead, the King, as though he were then got loose, ranged without reins, in all licentiousness, preying especially upon the Clergy, as amongst whom he found the richest Booties. When Bishopricks or Abbeys were vacant, it was familiar with him to seise them into his own hands, as this of *Lanfranks*, he kept to his own use four years together, and longer would have kept it, if a sickness of his body had not healed this disease of his mind; For finding himself in some hazard of death, he then conferred the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* upon *Anselm*, and the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* upon *Robert Bloet*, two eminent men of that time: but assoon as he was well again, it repented him of that he had done, and he was not quiet, till he had drawn from the said *Bloet*, five thousand pounds, and from *Anselm* also good sums of money. For he repented not more in time of sickness for the evil he had done in health, then being in health he repented of the good he had done in sickness; that it may in a manner be said, there was nothing made him sick but health, and nothing made him be in health but sickness. But this preying upon the Clergy was grown into such a custome with him, that he kept in his hands at one time, three Bishopricks, *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, and *Salisbury*, and twelve Abbeys; all which he let out to farm, and received the profits; and from this King the use is said to have risen first in *England*, that the Kings succeeding had the Temporalities of Bishops Sees, as long as they remained void. Having agreed to pay the King of *France* a great sum of money, he raised it in this manner; He caused twenty thousand men to be levied, under pretence for his wars in *Normandy*; but when they were ready to be shipped, it was signified to them from the King, that whosoever would pay ten shillings towards the levying of Souldiers in *Normandy*, should be excused from

King William keeps Abbeys and Bishopricks vacant in his hands.

From this King the Kings succeeding took the Temporalties of Bishops Sees vacant.

going, and ſtay at home, which was ſo plauſible an offer to the Army, that ſcarce a man was found that accepted not that condition. When Duke *Robert* went into the Holy Land he pawned his Duchy of *Normandy* to his Brother King *William* for 6666 pounds, or as ſome write, for 12600. which money King *William* took up part by a grievous Impoſition: ſo that Biſhops melted their Plate, and the Temporal Lords ſpoiled their Tenants for the payment thereof: and part by loan; but chiefly of Religious Perſons. He ſold the Abbey of *Glaſtenbury* to *Thurſtan* for five hundred pounds, and when he built *Weſtminſter* Hall, he made that an occaſion to lay a heavy tax upon the people, who grudged at it as done on purpoſe. He uſually ſold all Spiritual Preferments, to them who would give moſt, and took Fines of Prieſts for Fornication, as alſo he took money of *Jews*, to cauſe ſuch of them as were converted, to renounce Chriſtianity, and return to Judaiſm, as making more benefit by their unbelief than by their converſion. He cauſed divers of the Nobility to pay grievous Fines for tranſgreſſing his Laws, though the fault were never ſo ſmall. He ſet forth a Proclamation that none ſhould go out of the Realm without his Licence, by which he drew much mony from many; for either they muſt tarry at home and live diſcontented, or elſe content him for giving them leave to go abroad. And from thence the Cuſtom or Law of *Ne exeas Regno*, ſeems to have taken its beginning: for Precedents of ſervitude are ſure to live, where Precedents of Liberty are commonly ſtil-born. Theſe were his wayes for raiſing of money, wherein Promoters and Informers were his darling ſervants; and the moſt officious of all was *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham*, of whom he would often ſay, there was not ſuch a man in the world to ſerve a Kings turn. And yet he was not ſo greedy of lucre, but that he did ſome acts that may ſerve for examples; as one time, an Abby being vacant, two Monks of the Covent came ſuiters to him for the place, offering great ſums, and each of them out-bidding the other; whereupon the King looking about, and eſpying another Monk ſtanding not far off, asked him what he would give for the place? Who anſwering, he neither had any thing to give, nor would give any thing if he had it: Well (ſaid the King) thou haſt ſpoken honeſtly, thou art fitter to be Abbot than either of theſe; and ſo beſtowed the place upon him *gratis*.

Fines taken of Prieſts for fornication.

Ne Exeat Regno, whence it began.

A notable part of King William.

Of his Magnanimity.

WOrd was brought him as he ſat at dinner, that his City of *Mans* in *Normandy* was beſieged, and in great danger to be taken, if not preſently relieved: whereupon the King asked which way *Mans* lay, and then cauſed Maſons preſently to take down the Wall, to make him paſſage the next way, and ſo rode inſtantly towards the Sea. His Lords about him, adviſing him to ſtay till his people were ready, No (ſaith he) ſuch as love me I know will follow me. And being come on Shipboard, and the weather growing very tempeſtuous, he was adviſed by the Maſter of his Ship to ſtay for ſome calmer ſeaſon: No (ſaith he,) Fear nothing, I never yet heard of any King that was drowned. And thereby coming to *Mans* unexpected, preſently diſperſed the Beſiegers, and took *Helias*, *Count de la Fleſche*, who had been Author of the tumult priſoner; who vaunting to the King, and ſaying, Now indeed you have taken me by a wile; but if I were at liberty again, you ſhould find me to do other kind of feats: at which the King laughing, Well then (ſaith he) go your waies and do your worſt, and let us ſee what feats you will do. Being reconciled to his Brother *Robert*, he aſſiſted him to recover the Fort of Mount St. *Michael*, which their brother *Henry* did formerly hold in *Normandy*: during which ſiege, ſtragling one time alone upon the ſhoar, he was ſet upon by three Horſemen, who aſſaulted him ſo fiercely, that they drove him from his ſaddle, and his ſaddle from his Horſe, but he taking up his ſaddle, and withal drawing out his Sword, defended himſelf till reſcue came: and being afterward blamed for being ſo obſtinate to ſave his ſaddle, he anſwered: It would have angred me at the very heart, that the knaves ſhould have bragged they had won the ſaddle from me.

In what he was juſt in keeping his word, in what he was failing.

THis vertue eſpecially was commended in him, and he would often ſay, That even God himſelf was obliged by his Word. But if we obſerve the courſe of his life, we ſhall find that howſoever he might keep his word in ſmall matters, yet certainly not in great; For he kept not his word with his Brother *Robert*, to whom he promiſed to leave his Kingdom of *England* after his deceaſe, but performed it not. He kept not his word with his Subjects, for in the rebellion of the *Norman* Lords, he promiſed the *Engliſh*, if they would now ſtick to him, they ſhould have their ancient Laws reſtored, and be allowed liberty to hunt in his Foreſts; which promiſe he kept not at all, or at leaſt ſoon brake. Laſtly he kept not his word with God himſelf; for being ſick at *Gloceſter*, and in ſome hazard of his life, he made a ſolemn vow, that if he recovered he would lead a new life, and give over all his diſorderly courſes: but being recovered he grew more diſorderly than he was before: that if denomination be made from the greateſt action, it cannot be truly ſaid, that he was juſt of his word. But ſuch is the priviledge of Princes over their Subjects, that if they make a promiſe, it muſt be believed; and if they break it, it muſt not be queſtioned.

Of his Incontinency and Prodigality.

MUch is ſpoken of his laſcivious life in general, but nothing in particular; for neither is mentioned any violence he ever offered to any, nor is any woman named to have been his Concubine; and Princes Concubines are ſeldom concealed. It is true, he was never married and of a ſtrong conſtitution of body, and ſo probable he might be inclined to that vice: but probabilities are not alwaies concluding, and therefore whether it be a true accuſation, or but a ſlander, it may well be doubted; one baſe Son is ſpoken of, called *Bertrannus*, whom he advanced in honour, and matched in a Noble Family.

King William never married.

Family. But why should we look more for particulars of his Incontinency, than of his Prodigality? for he was taxed no less for being Prodigal, than for being Incontinent; and yet for his Prodigality there is not so much as one instance recorded, unless we take this for an instance, that when his Chamberlain brought him a pair of hose, which because they were new, he asked what they cost? and being told they cost three shillings, in a great chase he threw them away; asking him, If he thought a pair of hose of 3 *s.* to be fit for a King to wear? Get thee gone (saith he) and let me have a pair of a Mark. His Chamberlain went, and bringing him another pair scarce so good as the former, and telling him they cost a Mark; I marry (saith the King) these are something like, and was better satisfied with hearing what they cost, than with seeing what they were worth: and yet was this no imputation to his wisdom, for to say the truth, it is no defect of wisdom in a King to be ignorant what his clothes are worth.

A costly suit for a King.

Of his wavering in Religion.

HE appointed a disputation to be held between Christians and Jews, and before the day came, the Jews brought the King a Present, to the end they might have an indifferent hearing; The King took the Present, encouraging them to quit themselves like men: and swore by St. *Luke*'s face (his usual Oath) that if they prevailed by Disputation, he would himself turn Jew, and be of their Religion. A young Jew on a time was converted to the Christian Faith, whose Father being much troubled at it, presented the King sixty Marks, intreating him to make his Son to return to his Judaism; whereupon the King sent for his Son, commanding him without more ado to return to the Religion of his Nation: But the young man answered, he wondred his Majesty would use such words: for being a Christian, he should rather perswade him to Christianity: with which answer the King was so confounded, that he commanded the young man to get him out of his sight. But his Father finding the King could do no good upon his Son, required his money again, Nay (saith the King) I have taken pains enough for it; and yet that thou maist see how kindly I will deal, you shall have one half, and the other half you cannot in conscience deny me. There were fifty Gentlemen accused for hunting and killing the Kings Deer, which they denyed, and were therefore condemn'd to the trial of fire, which by Gods merciful judgement they passed through untouched; the King hearing it, and deceived of the confiscation expected, is said in a great chase to say, How happens this? Is God a just Judge in suffering it? Now a murrain take him that believes it. It seems also he doubted in many points of Religion then in credit? For he would often protest, that he believed not that Saints could profit any man in Gods sight, and therefore neither would he, nor any other that were wise (as he affirmed) make Intercession either to *Peter*, or to any other for help.

King William takes money to perswade a Christian Jew to turn to Judaism. *Eadmerus.*

A blasphemous speech of King *William.*

K. *William* trusted not to the Prayers of Saints.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

THE King claimed the Investiture of Bishops to be his right, and forbad Appeals and Intercourse to *Rome*: for Appeals had been seldom used till *Anselm* in this Kings reign appealed to the Pope; upon whose complaint the Pope was about to Excommunicate the King, but having a little before Excommunicated the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, he forbare at that time to do it, lest by making Excommunication common, he should make it be slighted. At this time great contention arose between the King and Archbishop *Anselm*; and *Anselm* not yielding to the King in any point prejudicial to the Popes authority, nor the King yielding to *Anselm* in any point prejudicial to his own Prerogative, (which were points indeed incompatible) the contention continued long and hot, and the hotter, because there were at that time two Popes on foot at once; one elected by the Conclave, called *Urbanus* the second; another set up by the Emperour called *Clement* the third: for *Anselm* held with *Urban*, the King with *Clement*; and thus not agreeing in a third, it was impossible they should agree between themselves. And this contention, though palliated with pretentions, sometimes of one side, sometime of another; yet brake out again, and was renewed both in this Kings time, and in the time of many Kings after. *Anselm* often threatning his going to *Rome*, the King told him plainly he would not thrust him out of the Realm: but if he would go without his leave, he would then keep him out during his pleasure; and besides, he should carry nothing out of the Realm with him. Yet *Anselm* ventured it, and the King performed it; for *William Warlewast* was sent to rifle him in his passage at Sea, of all he had, neither was he suffered to return as long as the King lived; during all which time, the King took the profits of his Archbishoprick to his own use. It may not be amiss to shew a passage here concerning the first cause of contention between the King and *Anselm*, which some say was this; The King required a thousand Marks of him for having preferred him to that See; which *Anselm* refused to give, as judging it no less Simony to give after the preferment than before: but yet afterward offering five hundred pounds, the King refused to accept it, as being worth (he said) five times as much; whereupon *Anselm* told him, Your Grace may have me and all that is mine, to serve your turn in a friendly manner: but in the way of servitude and bondage, you shall neither have me nor mine; Which words so angred the King, that they could never after be reconciled. In this Kings Reign Pope *Urban* exhorted all Christian Princes to joyn together for recovery of *Jerusalem* and the Holy Land: and by the soliciting of *Peter* an Hermite, there assembled for that enterprise, under the conduct of *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne*, to the number of three hundred thousand men; amongst whom was *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who so valiantly carryed himself in the action, that after *Jerusalem* was won, the Kingdom of it (as some write) was offered to him: but he looking more after the Kingdom of *England*; and therefore refusing it, it is observed he never prospered all his life after. In this Kings reign, although he had no command in *Ireland*, yet their Bishop of *Dublin* was sent over to *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*,

Willfred before this appealed to the Pope; as Bede largely relateth.

Contentions between the King and Archbishop of *Salisb.*

Anselm flieth the Realm, and not suffered to return during the Kings life.

Liberty of the Subject.

Godfrey of *Bulloin* undertakes the recovery of *Jerusalem.*

Robert Duke of *Normandy* refusing the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* never prospered after.

to be consecrated by him; and the Citizens of *Waterford* also desiring to have a Bishop, procured *Mercherdach* King of *Ireland*, to write to *Anselm*, to give his consent. Also in this Kings dayes the Pope forbad the marriage of Priests.

Works of piety by this King, or by others in his time.

THe King gave the Monks of *Southwark* the Church of St. *Saviour* of *Bermonsey*, and *Bermonsey* it self; He also founded at *York* the Hospital of St. *Leonards*: He gave the Church of St. *Peter* in the City of *Bathe* to be a Bishops See. *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* in this Kings dayes builded the Abby of *Chester*: *Osmald* Bishop of *Salisbury*, founded the Cathedral Church of *Salisbury*. *Remigius* Bishop of *Dorchester*, to the end his Bishoprick might be removed to *Lincoln*, began to build the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*; and *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* builded two Hospitals without the City; the one of St. *John*, the other at *Harbaldown*; repaired Christs Church, and caused five and twenty Manours to be restored to that See, which had unjustly been withholden. He repaired also the Abby of St. *Albans*, and the Church of *Rochester*, where for four secular Priests he placed to the number of fifty Monks. In the fifth year of this Kings Reign, *William Warren* the first Earl of *Surrey*, (who came with Duke *William* into *England*) and *Gundred* his Wife, founded the Abby of *Lewis* in *Sussex*. In his twelfth year, *Robert Losaunge* Bishop of *Thetford*, removed his See from *Thetford* to *Norwich*, and founded there a fair Monastery.

Bath made a Bishops See.

The Abby of *Lewis* in *Sussex* is founded.

His Buildings and Structures.

THis King enlarged the Tower of *London*, and compassed it with new walls: he also built the great Hall at *Westminster*, being 270. foot in length, and 74. in breadth, but thinking it too little, he intended to have built another Hall which should have stretched from the Thames to the Kings-street. He repaired the City and Castle of *Carlisle*, which had been wasted by the *Danes* two hundred years before; and because it had but few Inhabitants, he brought a Colony thither out of the Southern parts. He finished *New-Castle* upon *Tyne* and many other Castles erected or repaired upon the borders of *Scotland*; many also upon the Frontiers, and within the very Breast of *Wales*.

Westminster Hall built by this King.

Casualties happening in his Reign.

IN the fourth year of his Reign, on St. *Lukes* day, above six hundred houses in *London* were thrown down with tempest, and the roof of St. *Mary Bow* Church in *Cheapside*, was so raised, that in the fall six of the beams being 27. foot long, were driven so deep into the ground (the streets being not then paved with stone) that not above four foot remained in sight, and yet stood in such rank and order as the workmen had placed them upon the Church. Also in this Kings Reign all the Lands in *Kent*, sometimes belonging to Earl *Godwin*, were by breaking in of the Sea covered with Sands, and are called *Godwin's* Sands to this day. In his eleventh year, at a Town called *Finchamstead* in the County of *Berks*, a Well cast out blood, as before it had done water; and after by the space of fifteen dayes, great flames of fire were seen in sundry places, and at sundry times.

A strange Fall. The streets in this Kings time not paved with stone.

Godwins sands in *Kent*.

Of his Personage and Condition.

HE was but mean of stature, thick and square bodied, his belly swelling somewhat round, his face was red, his hair deep yellow, whereof he was called *Rufus*, his forehead four square like a window; his eyes spotted, and not one like another; his speech unpleasant, and stammering, especially when he was moved with anger. Concerning the qualities of his mind, they may best be known by looking upon the actions of his life; in which we shall find he was never more assured, than when he was least sure; never less dejected, than when in most extremity; being like a Cube, that which way so ever he fell, he was still upon his bottom. For his delights to pass the time, there was none in more request with him than hunting, a delight hereditary to him; which was the cause that as his Father had begun the great new Forest, so he enlarged it to a far greater extent. Other delights of his we find not any, unless we shall reckon his Wars for delights; for though they were oftentimes forced upon him, when he could not avoid them: yet sometimes he entred into them when he needed not, but for his pleasure. And in general, it may be said that one of his greatest virtues, was that which is one of the greatest virtues, Magnanimity; and his worst vice, was that which is the worst of vices, Irreligion.

Presages that preceded his Death.

AT *Finchamstead* in *Barkshire*, near unto *Abington*, a spring cast up liquor for the space of fifteen dayes, in substance and colour like to blood. The night before the King was kil'd, a certain Monk dreamed, that he saw the King gnaw the Image of Christ Crucified with his teeth; and that as he was about to bite away the legs of the same Image, Christ with his feet spurned him down to the ground: and that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, with abundance of smoak. This being related to the King by *Robert Fitz. Mammon*, he made a jest of it, saying, This Monk would fain have something for his Dream: Go, give him a hundred shillings; but bid him look that he dream more auspicious Dreams hereafter. Also the same night, the King himself dream'd that the veins of his arms were broken, and that the blood issued out in great abundance; and many other like passages there were, by which it seems he had friends somewhere, as well as *Julius Cæsar*, that did all they could to give him warning: but that, as *Cæsars*, so his *malus Genius* would not suffer him to take.

No warning can prevent destiny.

Of his Death and Burial.

KIng *William* having kept his Christmas at *Gloucester*, his Easter at *Winchester*, his Whitsuntide

Whitſuntide at *Weſtminſter*; notwithſtanding forewarned by many ſigns of ſome great diſaſter toward him, would needs the day after *Lammas*, go a hunting in the New Foreſt; yet ſomething reſenting the many paſſages, he ſtaying within all the forenoon. About dinner time, an Artificer came and brought him ſix Croſs-bow Arrows, very ſtrong and ſharp; whereof four he kept himſelf, and the other two he delivered to Sir *Walter Tyrel*, a Knight of *Normandy*, his Bow-bearer, ſaying, Here *Tyrel*, take you two, for you know how to ſhoot them to purpoſe: and ſo having at dinner drank more liberally than his cuſtome, as it were in contempt of Preſages, out he rides into the *New Foreſt*, where Sir *Walter Tyrel* ſhooting at a Deer, at a place called *Charingham*, (where ſince a Chappel hath been erected) the Arrow glanced againſt a tree, or as ſome write, grazed upon the back of the Deer: and flying forward, hit the King upon the breaſt: with which he inſtantly fell down dead. Thus it is delivered by a common conſent of all; only one *Sugerus* a Writer that lived at that time, and was a familiar acquaintance of the ſaid *Tyrels*, againſt the current of all Writers, affirms that he had often heard the ſaid Sir *Walter* ſwear that he was not in the Foreſt with the King all that day. I have been the longer upon this point, becauſe a more pregnant example of Gods Judgement remains not any where upon record. For not only this King at this time, but before this, a Brother of his named *Richard*, a young Prince of great hope; and alſo a Nephew of his, the Son of his Brother *Robert*, came all in this place to violent deaths; that although King *William* the Founder of the Foreſt eſcaped the puniſhment in his own perſon, yet it was doubled and trebled upon him in his Iſſue. Thus died King *William Ruſus*, in the three and fortieth year of his age, and twelfth and ſome months, of his Reign: His body was drawn in a Colliers Cart, with one Horſe, to the City of *Wincheſter*, where the day following it was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Swithing*, and was laid there in the Quire under a Marble ſtone; till afterward it was tranſlated, and laid by King *Canutus*'s bones.

King *William* ſlain in hunting in the new Foreſt.

1100.

Sugerus differs from all other Writers.

Men of Note in his time.

FOr men of Valour, he muſt ſtand alone by himſelf: for men of Learning, there was *Lanfrank*, a *Lombard*, but Biſhop of *Canterbury*; alſo *Robert*, a *Lorain*, who Epitomized the Chronicle of *Marianus Scotus*: alſo *Turgotus* an *Engliſh* man, Dean of *Durham*, who wrote the Annals of his own time, and divers other works; but eſpecially *Oſmund* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, who compoſed the ordinary Office, or Book of Prayer.

The

The REIGN of KING HENRY THE FIRST.

Of his coming to the Crown.

An. Dom. 1100.

ALthough *Henry* came not to the Crown, as his Brother *William* did, by the gift of his Father, yet he came to it by the Prophecy of his Father; for when his Father made his Will, and divided all his Eſtate in Land between his two Eldeſt Sons, giving to *Henry* his youngeſt only a portion in Money, with which diviſion he perceived him to be much diſcontented, he ſaid unto him, Content thy ſelf *Harry*, for the time will come, that thy turn ſhall be ſerved as well as theirs. And now the time was come that his Predi:ction was accompliſhed, for on the fifth of *Auguſt*, in the year 1100. he was Crowned King of *England* at *Weſtminſter* by *Maurice* Biſhop of *London*, (as Dean of all the Biſhops of *England*, and therefore might do it without any prejudice to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, though he had been preſent, who was indeed at this time in exile.) But though it appears *fuiſſe in Fatis*, to be decreed by the Divine Providence that it ſhould be ſo; yet it would not have been ſo, if his own endeavours had not been concurring. And therefore being in the New Foreſt, when his Brother King *William* was killed, he never ſtayed to complement the Diſaſter, but rode preſently to *Wincheſter*, and there, not without ſome oppoſition of the keepers, ſeized upon his Brothers Treaſure, as knowing Treaſure to be the means of getting of Friends, and Friends the means for getting the Crown; and having now gotten the firſt means he made uſe of it for the ſecond; and both of them together brought him to this he is. Yet withal there were circumſtances in his own perſon that conduced to it; his Brother was born, when their Father was but a Duke, he, when he was a King; *Robert* but a Foraigner, being born in *Normandy*, himſelf a Native, born at *Selby* in *Yorkſhire*; and it was not the leaſt circumſtance, that he was called *Beauclerk*, as much as to ſay a good Scholar, having been bred in *Cambridge*; not perhaps that his learning was ſo great, but that it was great, either in reſpect of that age, which had but little, or in reſpect of his Brothers, who had none at all; and the people having been oppreſſed before, by the ill Government of two Kings that were illiterate, could not chuſe but be glad to come under the Government of a King that was learned. And though his Brother *Robert*, as being the elder, had right unto it; yet he as out of ſight was out of mind, and perhaps neglected, as being himſelf negligent; withal it was given out, that he was choſen King of *Jeruſalem*, and therefore no looking for him to come home; and to give force to all theſe reaſons, *Henry Newborough* Earl of *Warwick* was a Principal furtherer.

King *Henry* is crowned. The Biſhop of *London* is as Dean to all the Biſhops of *England*.

Why *Henry* preferred before *Robert* his Brother.

His courſe for eſtabliſhing himſelf in the Kingdom.

IT is a hard matter to keep that ſafely, which is unjuſtly gotten; and therefore he took all poſſible care to overcome that hardneſs, which he effected by theſe means: Firſt he called *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* home from Exile; placed *William Gifford* a learned man, in the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*; and Monaſteries that had been long vacant, he furniſhed with good Abbots. And becauſe it is no leſs pleaſing to the people to have bad Inſtruments puniſhed, than the good to be advanced, he caſt *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham* (a principal cauſe of their late oppreſſions) into priſon, then mitigated the rigour of the new Laws, and promiſed reſtitution of the old. And that there might be no abuſe in meaſures, he ordained a meaſure, made by the length of his own Arm, which is called a Yard. He reſtored to his Subjects the uſe of Lights and Fire in the night, which before had been forbidden after eight a clock at night. He acquitted the people from the Tax of *Dane-gilt*, and from all other unjuſt payments, which had been impoſed upon them by the two former Kings. He gave free liberty to the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, to incloſe Parks for Deer, and Warrens for Coneys, and ſuch like Game. And becauſe he knew *Scotland* might be an ill Neighbour to him, if not tied by ſome Bond, and none ſo ſure as the Bond of Alliance, he therefore takes *Matild* ſiſter of the preſent King *Edgar* to be his Wife.

Anſelm called home from exile.

The meaſure of a Yard ordained by King *Henry*.

Dane-gilt remitted.

He marries the King of *Scots* Siſter.

His troubles during his Reign.

RAlph Biſhop of *Durham*, the late King *William's* greateſt Inſtrument for Exactions, that had by this King been committed to the *Tower*, made an eſcape, and paſſing over to Duke *Robert* in *Normandy*, incenſeth him, not to ſuffer himſelf to be baffled by a younger Brother: as for his Brother *William* there was ſome reaſon, becauſe his Father had given him the Kingdom by his Will; but what could

An. Reg. 2.

Ralph Biſhop of *Durham* inceaſeth Duke *Robert* to claim the Crown.

Henry

Henry pretend, who had his Portion given him in money? Besides, it was an agreement with his Brother *William*, with consent of all the Lords of the Realm, that the survivor of them should succeed. With such like instigations, and withal assuring him, there were many in *England* would take his part; he easily perswaded the Duke to that, from which he could hardly have disswaded him. Who thereupon with a convenient Army puts to Sea, and lands at *Portsmouth*, while *Henry* waited for his coming about *Hastings*; and being landed there, much people resorted to him, that it was like to have been a bloody business; but by mediation of friends, working upon the flexible nature of Duke *Robert*, it was brought at last to this agreement, that King *Henry* should pay to Duke *Robert*, three thousand marks yearly, and Duke *Robert* should succeed him in the Kingdom if he survived. And thus this cloud, that threatned so great a storm, brought with it rather Sun-shine, and fair weather; for now to his possession of the Kingdom, there was added a right, and he might now justifie his being a King, without any scandal or usurpation. After this another little cloud arose, but was soon dispersed; for *Robert de Belesme*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a rash young man of disposition, but more through discontentment, though discontented for nothing, but that having a great estate, he was not a King as well as some others, fortified the Town of *Shrewsbury*, and the Castle of *Bridgenorth*, and got many *Welchmen* to assist him, but the King coming with a mighty Army, so terrified the *Welch*, that they abandoned the Earl, and left him a prey to the King in his person, and more in his estate; for the King seised his estate into his hands, but for his person he only banisht it the Realm. For as yet the shedding of blood, and putting to death, though for great Treasonable Practices, was not much in use: Policy of State was not yet grown to that height of severity. The like attempt, and upon the like occasion, was made by *William* Earl of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*, and of *Cornwal* in *England*, Uncle to the King, only for denying him the Earldom of *Kent*, which because he could not obtain, he entred into Treasonable practises, by which he lost the Earldoms he had before. But these troubles were but as the labour of a woman, that is safely delivered; painful for a time, but ending in joy; and indeed for the most part this King had the fortune to be a gainer by his losses.

1101. Duke *Robert* comes with an Army into *England*.

Is compounded with upon certain conditions.

Robert de Belesme Earl of *Shrewsbury* rebels.

An. Reg. 3. 1102. banishment as yet the greatest punishment, though for Treason.

William of *Cornwal* rebels.

After this Duke *Robert* came in kindness into *England*, to visit his Brother *Henry*; where he was so well pleased with his entertainment, that in requital thereof, and to do favour to the Queen, that was his God-daughter, he released to King *Henry*, the three thousand marks, which he was yearly to pay him. But returning into *Normandy*, and considering better what he had done, he so repented him, that he spared not to give out, that his Brother had directly cousened him. Which coming to King *Henries* ear, so incensed him, that he presently sent over a mighty Army, which forraged the Countrey, and won many Towns, and Cities, and soon after went over himself; where he so prevailed, that he left Duke *Robert* but only *Roan* in all *Normandy* to put his head in; and this done, returns into *England*. And now Duke *Robert* begins to be sensible of his own weakness, and therefore comes over into *England* to try the uttermost of his Brothers good nature. Himself had sent him a Tun of Wine to refresh him withal, when in a siege he was ready to perish for want of water: and it cannot be but that gratefulness and natural affection, meeting together, must needs work something in the mind of a Brother. Thus resolved, he presents himself to the King, referring both his Dukedom and himself, and all differences and debates to his will and pleasure. But whether incensed with the scandalous words Duke *Robert* had given out of him, or whether aspiring to joyn *Normandy* to *England*, as his Father had done before, King *Henry* scarce vouchsafed to hear him speak, at least vouchsafed not to make him any answer, but in a sullen manner turned away, and so left him: which scornful usage put the Duke into such indignation, that he resolved to set his whole state at stake, and either to redeem his disgrace, or to forfeit his life. So returning into *Normandy*, he useth all his force in raising of Forces; but King *Henry* suspecting his intentions, and not using to give Insurrections time to ripen, came upon him so suddenly with a mighty Army, that he drew him to a Battel before he was half ready to fight. In which Battel King *Henry* received sundry stripes on the head at the hands of one *William Crispine*, *Count de Eurenx*; so as the blood burst out of his mouth: yet nothing abashed, he struck down divers of his enemies, and particularly the said *Crispine* who was there taken prisoner at the Kings feet. And now desire of revenge so animated the Duke, and the Duke his Souldiers, that never Battel was more fiercely fought, and the *Normans* seemed at first to have the better, till King *Henry* shewing himself in the Army, put such courage into his Souldiers, that they quickly made good the advantage they had in number, and King *Henry* obtained a compleat Victory, both in slaughter of men, (of whom there were slain above ten thousand) and in taking of Prisoners (to the number of four hundred:) amongst whom, besides other great ones, as the Earl of *Mortaigne*, *William Crispine*, and *William Ferrers*, was Duke *Robert* himself, whom the King (having first taken order for all things, in his new State of *Normandy*) brought over with him into *England*, and committed him to the Castle of *Cardyffe* in *Wales*, where he remained a Prisoner till he died, used for a time with reasonable liberty for Recreation, till attempting to make an escape, it was thought fit to put out his eyes; which though it increased his misery, yet it shortned not his life, for he lived many years after, in all, from the time of his first imprisonment, eight and twenty. And thus this great Duke, who in his birth was the joy of Nature, in his life was the scorn of Fortune; and it is not unworthy the observing, that the *English* won *Normandy*, the very same day fortieth year, the *Normans* had won *England*. Such Revolutions of Fortune there are in Kingdoms, and so unstable is the state of all worldly greatness. He died, *Anno Dom.* 1134. and lies buried at *Gloucester*.

An. Reg. 4. 1104. Duke *Robert* remits his anxiety.

1105. He giveth out that his Brother had cousened him.

1106. Duke *Robert* is invaded by King *Henry*.

1107. Is taken prisoner, brought into *England*, and hath his eyes put out.

ceſter. *Matth. Weſtmon.* writes that King *Henry* his Brother ſent him according to his cuſtome, a Robe of Scarlet; and putting it firſt on himſelf, perceived the Capouch to be ſomewhat ſtrait: whereupon he ſaid, Carry this Garment to my Brother, for his head is leſs than mine. The meſſenger delivering the Robe, Duke *Robert* demanded if any had worn it, and being told him the King had firſt aſſayed it, and what ſpeeches he had uſed, the Duke replyed, I have now too long protracted a miſerable life, ſince my Brother is ſo injurious to me, that he ſends me his old cloaths to wear; and from that time would never eat any meat, nor receive any comfort.

And now is King *Henry* as great as ever his Father was; and as greatneſs draws envy, as much envied as ever his Father was; and as envy makes enemies, as much oppoſed as ever his Father was. For now *Fulk* Earl of *Angiou*, and *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, upon ſmall occaſions, and *Lewis* the *Groſs* King of *France*, upon none but ſuch as envy ſuggeſted, ſeeking to place *William*, Son to Duke *Robert*, in his Right to *Normandy*, aſſaulted the Kings Dominions, perhaps to try whether greatneſs had not made him unwieldy; but King *Henry*, to ſhew that greatneſs had made him more active, went over into *Normandy* with a mighty Army, and at *Nice* encountred the *French* King, where a bloody Battel was fought, with exceeding valour on both ſides: but at laſt King *Henry* repelled the *French* King, and recovered *Nice*, and
1142. after many other Conflicts between them, with variety of Fortune, at laſt the King made peace with the Earl of *Angiou*, confirmed by a marriage of the Earls Daughter with his Son *William*; and upon this alſo the two Kings grew to a peace,
King Henry's Son William marries the Earl of Anjou's Daughter. in which *William*, Son to King *Henry*, being about ſeventeen years of age, was inveſted into the Duchy of *Normandy*, doing homage for the ſame to the King of *France*. From whence it
The King of England's eldeſt Son always Duke of Normandy. was afterward a cuſtome, that the King of *England*'s eldeſt Son (as long as *Normandy* remained in their hands) was made always Duke of *Normandy*. After this, *Charles* Earl of *Flanders* being ſlain at *Bruxels* by a conſpiracy of his own people, and leaving no iſſue behind him, *Lewis* King of *France* inveſted *William*, Son to Duke *Robert*, in the Earldom of *Flanders*, deſcended from Earl *Baldwyn*, whoſe Daughter *Maude* was Wife to King *William* the firſt, and Grandmother to this *William*. So as *William* now having gotten this ſtep of advancement, ſeeks to go on, and to recover *Normandy*, and was thereof by the aſſiſtance of the King of *France* in a fair poſſibility, when in a certain light conflict, receiving a wound in his hand,
William Son to Duke Robert is wounded and dieth. the thread of his fair poſſibility was upon a ſudden cut off; and of that light wound he ſhortly after died.

King *Henry* now in perfect peace abroad, was not without ſome little diſquietings at home, and marching through *Powiſ-land* in South *Wales* to repreſs ſome Inſurrections of the *Welch*, he came to certain ſtraits, where his main Army
King Henry in diſtreſs in Wales. could not paſs, in which place the King was ſmitten with an Arrow full upon the breaſt, whereat he ſwore by our Lord's death (his uſual Oath) that it was no *Welch* arm had ſhot that Arrow; yet in his diſtreſs, for a thouſand head of Cattel, he had the paſſage left open, and came ſafely off. And theſe were his troubles of Arms, both at home and abroad, during all his reign.

His Taxations and wayes for raiſing of Money.

TOwards the marriage of his Daughter *Maude* with the Emperour; he obtained at his firſt Parliament at *Saliſbury*, three ſhillings upon every Hide of Land, throughout the Kingdom; which was afterwards drawn to a cuſtome; to receive aid from the Subjects, whenſoever the King gave his eldeſt Daughter in marriage. Beſides this he had no more in all his reign, but only one ſupply for his Wars in *France*, but he kept Biſhopricks, and Abbeys, void in his hands; and that of *Canterbury*, five years together. By an act of Parliament, or rather by a Synod of Biſhops holden at *London*, he was authorized to puniſh marriage, and incontinency of Prieſts, which the Biſhops afterwards repented; for he ſuffered Prieſts to have Wives for Fines; or rather took Fines of them, whether they had Wives or no, becauſe they might have them if they would. Puniſhments which before his time were mutilation of Member, he made Pecuniary. And the Proviſions of his houſe, which were uſed to be paid in kind, were in his time rated at certain prices, and received in money. By this Chapter and the next before, it appears there were in this Kings dayes, but few troubles at home, nor but few Taxations, whereof the one may be thought to be the cauſe of the other; the firſt perhaps of the ſecond, but certainly the ſecond of the firſt.

The cuſtom of giving aid for marrying the Kings eldeſt daughter, when it firſt began.

Puniſhments made pecuniary.

His Rents paids now in money.

Laws firſt Inſtituted in his time.

HE firſt inſtituted the form of the High Court of Parliament; for before his time, only certain of the Nobility and Prelates of the Realm were called to conſultation, about the moſt important Affairs of State: but he cauſed the Commons alſo to be aſſembled, by Knights and Burgeſſes of their own appointment, and made the Court to conſiſt of three parts, the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Common People, repreſenting the whole body of the Realm, and appointed them to ſit in ſeveral Chambers, the King, the Biſhops, and Lords of the Realm in one Chamber, and the Commons in another; to confer together by themſelves. Other Orders of that Court he Ordained, as they are in uſe at this day. The firſt Council of this ſort was held at *Saliſbury*, on the 19. day of *April*, in the 16. year of his Reign. He forbad the wearing of long Hair, which at that time was frequent, after the manner of the *French*. He commanded Robbers upon the High-way, to be hanged without redemption; of whom a famous one at that time was one *Dunne*, and of him, the place where he moſt uſed, by reaſon of the great Woods thereabout, is to this day called *Dunſtable*, where the King built the Borough as now it ſtandeth.

The Court of Parliament firſt inſtituted by King Henry.

Long hair forbidden.

Dunſtable why ſo called.

Counterfeiters of money how punished.

ſtandeth. Counterfeiters of money he puniſhed with pulling out their eyes, or cutting off their privy Members; a puniſhment both leſs than death, and greater.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

Contention between the King and the Pope about inveſtiture of Biſhops.

AT his firſt coming to the Crown, he forbore his claim to the inveſtitures of Biſhops, but after he had been King ſome time, he claimed that both to inveſt Biſhops, and to allow, or hinder appeals to *Rome*, belonged to him. In theſe *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* who was now returned into *England*, oppoſed him; affirming that both of them belonged to the Pope. The contention at laſt was brought to the Pope, to whom King *Henry* ſent *William Warleſtwaſt*, elect Biſhop of *Exeter*, who ſaying to the Pope that his Maſter would not for the Crown of his Realm, loſe the Authority of inveſting his Prelates; the Pope ſtarted up, and anſwered, Neither will I loſe the diſpoſing of Spiritual Promotions in *England*, for the Kings head that wears the Crown; before God (ſaith he) I avow it. So the contention grew long and hot, and many meſſengers were ſent to and fro about it: The concluſion was (which proved no concluſion) that the King ſhould receive homage of the Biſhops elect; but ſhould not inveſt them by Staff and Ring: to which the King ſaid nothing for the preſent, but forbore not to do it ever the leſs. For five years after the death of *Anſelm*, *Ralph* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was by the King made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and notwithſtanding all former Decrees and Threatnings of the Pope, he received his Inveſtiture of the King. About this time a Council of Biſhops was held at *London*, at which the Temporal Lords were preſent; to the end that the Decree of the Council might be confirmed by both Orders. If any man deſire to know more of the paſſages between the King and *Anſelm*; and of the many great vertues of *Anſelm*, let him read *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who was his Secretary, and hath written of purpoſe to ſet forth his praiſes.

Eadmerus.

Marriage of Prieſts forbidden.

About this time a Canon was made againſt the marriage of Prieſts, to which purpoſe *Johannes Cremenſis*, a Prieſt Cardinal, by the Kings licence came into *England*, and held a ſolemn Synod at *London*, where inveighing ſharply againſt it, affirming it to be no better than profeſt Adultery, he was himſelf the night following taken in bed with a common Harlot. Even *Anſelm* himſelf, the moſt earneſt enforcer of ſingle life, dyed not, it ſeems, a Virgin; for elſe he would never in his writings make ſuch lamentation for the loſs thereof. A little before this, *Anſelm* being at *Roan*, *Boemundus* one of the chief Princes that had been at *Jeruſalem*, came thither; and amongſt other holy Reliques, gave unto him certain hairs of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, which *Anſelm* held alwayes in great veneration: and * my ſelf having the cuſtody of them committed to me, have found by experience great holineſs to be in them. About this time *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, held a Council at *Weſtminſter*, where divers Conſtitutions were made; of which theſe were two, That Prieſts ſhould no more be ſuffered to have Wives: and that there ſhould be no more buying and ſelling of men in *England*, which was hitherto accuſtomed, as if they had been Kine or Oxen. *Anſelm* about this time dying at the age of 76. years *Rodolph* ſucceeded in the See of *Canterbury*, but not till five years after the death of *Anſelm*; and *Thomas* dying, *Thurſtane* ſucceeded him in the Archbiſhoprick of *York*; between which two Prelates there aroſe great contention. *Rodolph* would not Conſecrate *Thurſtane*, unleſs he would profeſs obedience; *Thurſtane* was content to embrace his Benediction, but profeſs obedience he would not. In this Contention the King takes part with *Rodolph*, the Pope with *Thurſtane*; after many paſſages in the buſineſs, upon the Popes threatening to Excommunicate the King, *Thurſtane* entred upon his Biſhoprick, and the King connived. In the Tenth year of his Reign, the Abbey of *Ely* was made a Biſhops See, and *Cambridgeſhire* was appointed for the Dioceſs thereof, which becauſe it belonged before to the Juriſdiction of *Lincoln*, the King gave the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in recompence thereof, the Mannor of *Spalding*. This King alſo created a Biſhoprick at *Carliſle*, and endowed it with many Honours. In his time, the Order of the *Templars* began. In the 27 year of his Reign, the *Grey-Fryers* by the procurement of the King, came firſt into *England*, and had their firſt houſe builded at *Canterbury*. Alſo in this Kings time, the firſt Legat to ſupply the Popes room came into *England*, but as yet not admitted. I may here have leave to tell two ſtories of Churchmen, for refreſhing of the Reader. *Guymond* the Kings Chaplain, obſerving that unworthy men, for the moſt part were advanced to the beſt Dignities of the Church; as he celebrated Divine Service before him, and was to read theſe words out of St. *James*, [*It rained not upon the Earth. III. years, and VI. months*] he read it thus, *It rained not upon the Earth, one, one, one years, and five one months.* The King obſerved his reading, and afterwards blamed him for it; but *Guymond* anſwered, that he did it of purpoſe, for that ſuch Readers were ſooneſt preferred by his Majeſty. The King ſmiled, and in ſhort time after preferred him to the Government of St. *Frideſwids* in *Oxford*. The other is this, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York* falling ſick, his Phyſicians told him, that nothing would do him good, but to Company with a Woman; to whom he anſwered, that the Remedy was worſe than the Diſeaſe, and ſo died a Virgin: This King granted to the Church of *Canterbury*, and to *William* and his ſucceſſors, the cuſtody of Conſtable-ſhip of the Caſtle of *Rocheſter* for ever. In this Kings time the errours of *Gilbertus Porretas*, were condemned in a Council holden at *Rheimes*, by Pope *Calixtus*; alſo in his time *Innocentius* and *Anacletus* contended for the Papacy, whereby a great Schiſm aroſe in the Church.

Contention between the two Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York.

Ely made a Biſhops See.

Carliſle made a Biſhops See.

The Order of the Templars begun.

Preferment for Ignorance.

A rare chaſtity.

The Errors of Gilbertus Porretas condemned.

Works of Piety done by this King, or by others in his time.

THis King founded and erected the Priory of *Dunſtable*, the Abbey of *Cirenceſter*, the Abbey of *Reading*, the *New-Abbey* without

Windsor Castle built.

the Walls of *Winchester*, the Abbey of *Shirborn*. He also new builded the Castle of *Windsor*, with a Colledge there: He made also the Navigable River between *Tirkesey* and *Lincoln*, a work of great charge, but greater use. His Wife Queen *Maud*, passing over the River of *Lue*, was somewhat endangered; whereupon she caused two Stone-Bridges to be built, one at the head of the Town of *Stratford*, the other over another stream there, called *Channel-Bridge*, and paved the way between them with Gravel. She gave also certain Mannors, and a Mill called *Wyggon* Mill, for repairing the same Bridges, and Way. These were the first Stone-Bridges that were made in *England*, and because they were Arched over like a Bow, the Town of *Stratford* was afterward called *Bow*. This Queen also founded the Priory of the *Holy-Trinity*, now called *Christs Church*, within the East Gate of *London* called *Aldgate*; and an Hospital of St. *Giles* in the Field, without the west part of the City. In this Kings time *Jordan Briset* Baron, founded the House of St. *John* of *Hierusalem* near to *Smithfield*, in *London*, and gave 14. Acres of ground, lying in the field next to *Clerkenwel*, to build thereupon a House of Nuns, wherein he with *Myrial* his Wife was buried in the Chapter House. *Robert Fitsham*, who came out of *Normandy* with the Conquerour, founded anew the Church of *Tewkesbury*, and was there buried. *Herbert* Bishop of *Norwich*, founded the Cathedral Church there. The Priory and Hospital of St *Bartholomew* in *Smithfield*, was founded by a Minstrel of the Kings, named *Reior*, who became the first Prior there. Before this time *Smithfield* was a Loystal of all ordure and filth, and the place where Felons were put to Execution. *Hugh Lacy* founded the Monastery of St. *John* at *Lanthony* near to *Gloucester*. *Juga Baynard*, Lady of little *Dunmow*, founded the Church there and gave to maintain it half a Hide of Land. This Lady *Juga* was late Wife to *Baynard*, that first builded *Baynards* Castle in *London*. *Eudo* the Kings Sewer, founded the Monastery of St. *John* at *Colchester*, of black Canons, and those were the first of that Order in *England*. *Simon* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Maud* his Wife founded the Monastery of St. *Andrew* in *Northampton*. In the seventh year of this Kings Reign, the first Canons entred into the Church of our Lady in *Southwork*, called St. *Mary Overy*; founded by *William Pountlarge* Knight, and *William Dancies*, *Normans*. *Robert* the first Earl of *Gloucester*, the Kings base Son, builded the Castles of *Bristow* and *Cardyffe*, with the Priory of St. *James* in *Bristow*; and his Son Earl *William* began the Abbey of *Kensham*. *Geffery Clinton*, Treasurer and Chamberlain to the King, founded the Priory at *Kenelworth*, of Regular Canons. *Henry* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Margaret* his Wife, founded the Colledge of St. *Mary* in the Town of *Warwick*; and *Roger de Blemond*, his Son, and *Elyne* his Wife, translated the same Colledge into the Castle of *Warwick*, in the year 1123. *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* built the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*; the Castles also of *Malmesbury* and *Shirbourn*. He repaired the Castle of *Salisbury*, and environed it with a Wall; he also built the stately Church of *Salisbury*; destined to a longer life than any of his other works. *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham* began to build the Castle of *Norham*, upon the bank of the River *Tweed*. In the 32. year of this Kings Reign, the Priory of *Norton* in *Cheshire*, was founded by one *William* the Son of *Nychel*, and the Abby of *Cumbermere*, in the same shire. The Colledge of *Secular Canons* also in the Castle of *Leicester*. Also in this Kings Reign was founded the Monastery of *Plimpton* in *Devonshire*, with the Cathedral Church of *Exeter*; the Priory of *Merton*, the Hospital of *Kepar*, the Priory of *Osney* near *Oxford*, by *Robert de Oylye* Knight: and the Hospital of St. *Crosse* near *Winchester*, by *Henry Bloies* Bishop there: also *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers* founded the Abby of *Merival*; and indeed so many in his time were built, that one would think the Inhabitants of *England* to be all Carpenters and Masons, that were able to finish so many great Buildings in so short a time as this Kings Reign.

The first Stone-bridges in England.

Stratford the Bow why so called.

Saint John near to Smithfield founded.

Saint Bartholomews Hospital founded by a Minstrel.

Baynards Castle in London by whom built.

The Devises in Wiltshire by whom built.

The Church of Salisbury by whom built.

The Cathedral of Exeter by whom built.

The Hospital of St. Crosse by whom founded.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN this Kings days all the four Elements were guilty of doing much mischief, but chiefly the Water: For King *Henry* returning into *England* after his Conquest of *Normandy*, left his Son *William* with his Sister *Mary*, Countess of *Perche*, *Richard* his Son by a Concubine, the Earl of *Chester* with his Wife *Lucy*, the Kings Niece by his Sister *Adela*, and other Lords and Ladies, and Passengers to the number of 180. to follow after him, who taking shipping (and the best ship the King had) whether by carelesness, or drunkenness of the Sailers were all drowned. The Prince indeed was got into the Ship-boar, and out of danger: but hearing the lamentable cries of his Sister, compassion wrought so in him, that he turned about his boat to take her in, which overcharged with the multitude, over-turned, and they all perished: none escaped but only a Sailor, who had been a Butcher, who by swimming all night upon the Mast, came safe to Land. An accident not more grievous than exemplary; for amongst other conclusions, from hence we may gather, that no state is so uncertain as prosperity: no fall so sudden as into adversity: and that the Rule [He that stands, let him take heed he fall not] cannot alwaies be observed, because a man happens sometimes to fall before it is possible for him to take heed. Another great mischief was in this Kings daies wrought by the water; for by the breaking in of the Sea, a great part of *Flanders* was drowned: whereupon a great number of *Flemmings* being suitors to King *Henry* for some place to inhabit; he assigned them a part in *Wales* near the Sea, called *Pembrokeshire*, where they have inhabited to this day: the King by this one action, working two good effects, both shewing compassion to distressed strangers, and putting a bridle upon unquiet Natives. But the water had another way to do mischief, as much by defect, as this was by excess; for upon the tenth of *October*, the River of *Medway* many miles together did so fail of water, that in the midst of the Channel, the smallest Vessels could not pass: and the same day also in the *Thames* between the Tower

The Kings Children drowned.

Pembrokeshire assigned to the Flemmings to inhabit.

Tower of *London*, and the Bridge, men waded over on foot for the space of two days: also at another time the River of *Trent* at *Nottingham* was dryed up a whole day. Now for the Earth, though naturally it be without motion, yet it moves sometimes when it is to do mischief, specially being assisted by the Air; as in this Kings days, it moved with so great a violence, that many buildings were shaken down, and *Malmesbury* saith that the house wherein he sate, was lifted up with a double remove, and at the third time settled again in the proper place. Also in divers places it yielded forth a hideous noise, and cast forth flames at certain rifts many dayes together, which neither by water, nor by any other means could be suppressed. But yet the active Element of Fire was busiest of all, for first *Chichester* with the principal Monastery was burnt down to the ground. From *West Cheap* in *London* to *Aldgate*, a long tract of buildings was consumed with Fire: *Worcester* also and *Rochester*, even in the Kings presence; then *Winchester*, *Bathe*, *Glocester*, *Lincoln*, *Peterborough*, and other places did also partake of this calamity, that there could be no charging the fire with any partiality: and to speak of one foreign casualty, because a strange one; in *Lombardy* this year was an Earthquake that continued forty dayes, and removed a Town from the place where it stood, a great way off. In the thirteenth year of this King, many prodigies were seen; a Pig was farrowed with a face like a Child, a Chicken was hatched with four legs; and the Sun was so deeply eclipsed, that by the reason of the darkness, many stars did plainly appear. In this Kings time *Gerard* Archbishop of *York*, a man though learned, yet of many ill parts, sleeping one day in his Garden after dinner, never waked again, but was there found dead.

A strange Earth-quake.

Great Fires in many places.

Hoveden.

A long Earth-quake.

Of his Wives and Children.

AT his first coming to the Crown, he married *Matild* or *Maude*, Sister to *Edgar* then King of *Scotland*, and Daughter to *Malcolme* by *Margaret* the Sister of *Edgar Atheling*. This *Matild*, if she were not a veiled Nun, she was at least brought up in a Nunnery, and thereby grown so averse from Marriage, that when the motion was first made her to marry with King *Henry*, she utterly refused it, as resolved, though perhaps not vowed to die a Virgin; till at last importuned, and even forced by the Authority of her Brother, she rather yielded than consented, for she did it with so ill a will, that it is said, she prayed, if ever she had issue by the Marriage, that it might not prosper: and indeed it prospered but untowardly, as will be seen in the sequel. But though she made this imprecation before she knew what it was to be a Mother, yet when she came to be a Mother, she shewed her self no less Loving and tender of her Children, than loyal and obsequious to her Husband. And to make amends for this seeming impiety towards her Children, there is a story related of her real piety towards the poor: for a Brother of hers coming one morning to visit her in her Chamber, found her sitting amongst a company of *Lazar* people, washing and dressing their Ulcers and Sores; and then kissing them after she had done; who wondering at it and saying to her, How could she think the King would like to kiss that mouth, which had kissed such filthy Ulcerous people? she answered; she had a greater King to kiss, who she knew would like her never the worse for it. By this Queen *Matild*, King *Henry*, according to some Writers, had four children; but as the received opinion is, only two, a Son named *William*, and a Daughter called *Maude*: of whom the Son at fourteen years old had fealty sworn to him by the Nobility of *Shrewsbury*: at seventeen married the Daughter of *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou*: and at eighteen was unfortunately drowned, as hath been shewed. The Daughter lived to be an Emperess, and afterwards a Duchess; but could never come to be a Queen, though born to a Kingdom; as shall be shewed hereafter. She survived her second Husband seventeen years, living a Widow, and at *Roan* in *Normandy* died, and was buried there in the Abby of *Bec*, though there be a Tradition that she was buried at *Reading*, in the Abbey there beside her Father; but it appears to have been a custom in those dayes, for great personages to have their Monuments erected in divers places. After the death of this Queen *Matild*, who dyed at *Westminster*, in the eighteenth year of his Reign, King *Henry* married *Adeliza*, the Daughter of *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorain*; who though she were a beautiful and accomplisht Lady, yet had he never any issue by her. When she was to be crowned, *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was to do the office, came to King *Henry*, sitting Crowned in his Chair of State, asking him who had set the Crown upon his head? the King answering, he had now forgotten, it was so long since. Well (said the Archbishop) whosoever did it, did me wrong to whom it belonged; and as long as you hold it thus, I will do no office at this Coronation. Then (saith the King) do what you think good. Whereupon the Archbishop took the Crown off from the Kings head, and after at the peoples intreaty, set it on again, and then proceeded to Crown the Queen. By Concubines King *Henry* had many Children; it is said seven Sons and as many Daughters; of whom some perished in the great Shipwrack: of the rest, two of the Sons, *Reynold* and *Robert*, were made Earls: *Reynold* of *Bristow*, *Robert* of *Glocester*, and was a great assister of his sister *Maude*, in her troubles with King *Stephen*, who after many acts of Valour performed by him, in the twelfth year of King *Stephen* died, and was buried at *Bristow*. The Daughters were all married to Princes and Noblemen of *England* and *France*, from whom are descended many worthy Families: particularly one of those Daughters by *Anne Corbet*, was married to *Fitz Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain to the King: from which *Fitz Herbert*, our Family (*absit invidia verbo*) is by Females descended; passing by the names of *Cummin*, *Chenduit*, *Brimpton*, *Stokes*, *Foxcote*, *Dynebey*, and so to *Baker* and *Barret*.

King Henry takes a wife out of a Nunnery.

Her great humility and devotion.

Monuments for great personages erected in divers places.

An insolent part of King Archbishop of Canterbury.

Of his Incontinency.

OF this enough hath been said, in saying he had so many children basely begotten: but if comparison be made between his Brother *Rufus* and him, it may be said, that howsoever they might be equal in looseness of life; yet in that looseness *William Rufus* was the baser, and King *Henry* the more noble; for King *Henry* had certain selected Concubines, to whom he kept himself constant, whereas King *William* took only such as he found: constant to the pleasure, but not to the persons.

His course for establishing the succession in Maud *and her Issue.*

HE married his only Daughter *Maude*, being but six years old, to the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth; but he leaving her a Widow without Issue, he married her again to *Geoffery Plantagenet* Son to *Fulk* Duke of *Anjou*: not the greatest Prince that was a Suiter for her, but the fittest Prince for King *Henries* turn; for *Anjou* is neighbouring upon *Normandy*, a great security to it, if a friend; and as great a danger, if an enemy. And having thus placed her in marriage, he now considers how to establish her succession in the Crown of *England*; whereupon he calls his Nobility together, and amongst them *David* King of *Scots*, and causeth them to give their Oaths of Allegiance to her and her Issue: and as thinking he could never make her succession sure enough, he causeth his Lords the year after again to take the like Oath, and after that a third time also; as conceiving that being doubled and trebled, it would make the tie of Allegiance the stronger: wherein nothing pleased him so much, as that *Stephen* Earl of *Blois* was the first man that took the Oath, because he was known to be, at least known he might be a pretender. But the King should have considered that *Nulla fides Regni*, and therefore no Oath, though never so often iterated, sufficient to warrant Loyalty in persons so deeply interessed as *Stephen* was: yet Providence could do no more, and the King was well satisfied with it; especially when he saw his Daughter a Mother of two Sons: for this, though it gave him not assurance, ye it gave him assured hope to have the Crown perpetuated in his Posterity.

King *Henry* causeth his Nobility to swear Allegiance to his Daughter *Maude*.

Of Ireland *in his time.*

THE Kings of *England* as yet had nothing to do with *Ireland*, the Countrey was governed by its own Kings; and the people of both Nations, though they were neighbours, yet divided by a rough Sea, but little acquainted: but now began entercourse to be more frequented, and *Mercherdach*, chief King of the *Irish*, bore such awful respect to King *Henry*; that he would do nothing but by his counsel, and with his good liking.

Mercherdach King of *Ireland* is much ruled by King *Henry*.

Whom King Henry *used as his Vicegerent in his absence.*

HE was absent sometimes in *Normandy*, three or four years together; during which times, he committed commonly the care of the Realm to *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, a politick Prelate, and one as fit to be the second in Government, as King *Henry* to be the first.

His Personage and Conditions.

HE was a person tall and strong, broad breasted, his limbs well knit, and fully furnished with flesh, his face well fashioned, his colour clear, his eyes large and fair, his eyebrows large and thick, his hair black and somewhat thin towards his forehead, his countenance pleasant, specially when he was disposed to mirth. A private man, vilified, and thought to have but little in him, but come to the Crown, never any man shewed more excellent abilities, so true is the saying, *Magistratus indicat virum*. His natural affection in a direct line was strong, in an oblique but weak; for no man ever loved Children more, nor a Brother less. Though a King in act, yet he alwayes acted not a King; but in Battels sometimes the part of a common Souldier, though with more than common valour: as at a Battel in *France*, where he so far hazarded himself, that though he lost not his life, yet he lost his blood. He delighted much in Beasts of Foreign Countries, as in Lions, Leopards, Camels, and such like, for which he inclosed a place at *Woodstock* of purpose to keep them.

Huntington.

King *Henries* valour.

Of his Death and Burial.

A Discontent of mind upon some differences between him and his Son-in-law, the Earl of *Anjou*, brought upon him a distemper, which encreased by eating against his Physitians advice, of a Lamprey, a meat alwaies pleasing to him, but never agreeing with him, cast him into a feavour, which in few days put a period to his life: So certain it is that one intemperate action is enough to overthrow the temperance of a whole life; as of this King *Henry* it is said, that he seldom did eat but when he was an hungry, Never did drink but when he was a thirst: yet this but once yielding to his sensual appetite, made him forfeit all benefit of his former abstinence, though some write he took his death by the fall of his Horse. He dyed upon the first of *December* at night, in the year 1135. When he had reigned five and thirty years, lived threescore and seven. His Bowels, Brains, and Eyes, were buried at *Roan* in *Normandy* where he died: the rest of his Body was stuffed with Salt, wrapped in Ox Hides, and brought over into *England*, and with honourable Exequies buried in the Monastery of *Reading*, which himself had founded. The Physitian that took out his Brains, with the intolerable stench shortly after died. In this King *Henry* ended the Line of the *Normans*, as touching the Heirs Males; and then came in the *French* by the title of Heirs General.

King *Henry* forfeiteth of eating of a Lamprey.

1135.

The time of the Norman Kings ends.

Men

Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Learning in his time were many; firſt, *Stephen Harding*, a Benedictine Monk, who was Founder to the *Ciſtercian* Order. Then *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who beſides his activeneſs in matters of State, writ many great and learned Books. Then *Walter Calene*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, who delivered a Hiſtory written in the *Britiſh* tongue, from *Brute* to *Cadwallader*, to *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* to tranſlate; and added forty years of his own time. Alſo *Florentius* a Monk of *Worceſter*, who writ *De rebus Geſtis Anglorum*. Alſo *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who beſides other Works, writ the Hiſtory of his own time, under the two *Williams*, and *Henry* the firſt.

THE

The REIGN of KING STEPHEN.

Anno. Dom. 1135.

AFter the deceaſe of King *Henry*, preſently ſteps upon the Stage of Royalty, *Stephen* Earl of *Boleyne*, Son to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by *Adela*, Daughter of King *William* the Conquerour; and though there were two other before him, *Maude* the Empereſs, and *Theobald* his elder Brother; She in a ſubſtantial right, He in a colourable, yet taking advantage of being *primus Occupans*, the firſt Invader, (as being quickly here after King *Henry*'s death, where the other ſtaid lingring about other affairs) he ſolicits all the Orders of the Realm, Biſhops, and Lords, and People, to receive him for their Soveraign: wherein beſides his own large promiſes, what great matters he would do for them all, he had alſo the aſſiſtance of *Henry* his Brother, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Popes Legate, and of *Roger* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, his great Friend, (two the moſt powerful Men at that time in the State) who partly by force of Reaſons, but more indeed by Force than Reaſons, procure the State to accept him for their King, and ſo upon St. *Stephen*'s day, in *Anno* 1135. he was Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, in the preſence of but three Biſhops, few of the Nobility, and not one Abbot, by *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with great ſolemnity. That which put a ſcruple in mens minds, and made them averſe at firſt, from King *Stephen*, was the Oath they had taken to receive King *Henry*'s Daughter *Maude* to be their Queen, after his deceaſe; but the weight of this ſcruple was ſomething abated, when it was urged, That no Precedent could be ſhewed, that ever the Crown had been ſet upon a Womans head. And *Roger* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, brought another Reaſon, Becauſe they had taken that Oath but upon Condition, that the King ſhould not marry her out of the Realm without their conſents; and the King's having broken the Condition, was juſt cauſe to nullifie their Obligation. To which was added, That the Oath having been exacted by Authority, which is a kind of forced, it might have the Plea of *Per minas*, and therefore void. And yet more than all theſe, *Hugh Bigot*, ſometime Steward to King *Henry*, immediately after his deceaſe came over into *England*, and took a voluntary Oath before divers Lords of the Land, That he was preſent a little before King *Henry*'s death, when he adopted and choſe his Nephew *Stephen* to be his Succeſſor, becauſe his Daughter *Maude* had grievouſly at that time diſpleaſed him. But howſoever their breach of Oath was thus palliated, it is certain that many of them, as well Biſhops as other Lords, came afterward to an evil end, at leaſt to many calamities before their end.

K. *Stephen* is Crowned.

Upon what reaſons the Oath before taken to *Maude* was ſlighted.

What courſe he took to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Kingdom.

IT is a true ſaying, *Jis rebus optime ſervatur Imperium, quibus paratur*; and this was *Stephen*'s courſe, he got the Kingdom by promiſes, and he eſtabliſht it by performances; He pleaſed the People with eaſing them of Taxes and Impoſitions: He pleaſed the Clergy with forbearing to keep Biſhopricks and Abbeys vacant, and with exempting them from the Authority of the Temporal Magiſtrate; He pleaſed the Nobility with allowing them to build Caſtles upon their own Lands; He pleaſed the Gentry with giving them Liberty to hunt the Kings Deer in their own woods; and beſides with advancing many of them in Honours: and for his Brother *Theobald*, who being the elder, was before him in pretence to the Crown, he pleaſed him with a Grant to pay him two thouſand Marks a year. And then to ſtrengthen himſelf abroad no leſs than at home he married his Son *Euſtace* to *Conſtace* a Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, which alliance alone might be thought a ſufficient ſecurity againſt all oppoſition. And yet one thing more which eſtabliſht him more than theſe, at leaſt theſe the more for this, That he had ſeiſed upon King *Henries* Treaſure, which amounted to One hundred thouſand pounds, beſides Plate and Jewels of ineſtimable value, which he ſpent not in vain riot, but imployed to his beſt advantage, both in procuring of Friends, and in levying of Souldiers out of *Britany* and *Flanders*.

He marries his Son *Euſtace*, to the King of *France*'s Daughter. King *Henry* had left a hundred thouſand pounds in ready money.

Of the Troubles in his Reign.

THere may well be made a Chapter of the Troubles of his Reign, ſeeing his whole Reign was in a manner but one continued trouble, at leaſt no longer intermiſſion, than as to give him breath againſt new encounters; till at laſt, when he grew towards his laſt, he rather left to be in trouble, than was at quiet, being forced to make his adverſary his Heir; and to leave his Crown to him that had ſought his life. For he was no ſooner ſet in his Chair of State, but he was preſently diſquieted and made to riſe, by the provocation of *David* King of *Scots*, who ſolicited by ſome Lords of *England*, but chiefly by *Maude* the Empereſs (whoſe right he had ſworn to defend) with a mighty Army entred *Northumberland*, took *Carliſle* and *New-Caſtle*, and was proceeding further, till King *Stephen* with a greater Army coming againſt him, yet rather bought his peace than won it; for to recover *New Caſtle* out of his hands, he

Ao. Reg. 4. 1139.

The King of *Scots* in *Maude*'s cauſe, enters *England* with an Army: but is compounded with.

was

was fain to let King *David* hold *Cumberland*, and his Son *Henry* the Earldom of *Huntington*, as their Inheritance, for which, the Father would not for his, as being engaged, but the Son for his as being free, did Homage to King *Stephen*.

Upon a bruit of King *Stephen*'s death the Lords possess the strictest of several Castles.

No sooner was this trouble over, but he was presently under another; for being faln somewhat ill at ease, it was bruited abroad that he was dead; which so distracted mens minds, that every one thought it wisdom to shift for himself; and the great Lords made a contrary use of Castles, to that which King *Stephen* intended, when he gave liberty to build them, for the King intended them for his own defence against his Enemies, and they made use of them, in their own defence against the King; for now *Hugh Biget* Earl of *Norfolk* possesseth himself of *Norwich*, *Baldwyn Rivers* of *Oxford*, and *Robert Quesquerium* of other Castles. In these difficulties King *Stephen*, though he could not in person be in all places at once, yet in care he was, and there most, where was most danger, imploying others against the rest. Against *Baldwyn* he went himself, whom, driven before out of *Oxford*, and gotten to the Isle of *Wight*, the King followed and drove him also from thence, and at last into Exile.

And now *England* afforded him once again to take a little breath, but then *Normandy* presently begins with him afresh: For now *Geoffery Plantagenet* Duke of *Anjou*, in right of *Maud* his Wife enters upon his Towns there, and seeks to get possession of the Countrey; when K. *Stephen* passeth over with an Army, and arrests his proceedings: and after some small defeats of his Enemies, brings the matter at last to a pecuniary Composition: He to pay the Duke five thousand Marks a year, and the Duke to relinquish his claim to *Normandy*. This done, he returns into *England*, where new Commotions are attending him. For the Lords in his absence, resenting his breach of promises upon which they had admitted him to the Crown, make use every one of their Castles, and stand upon their Guard: The Lord *Talbot* held *Hereford*; Earl *Robert* of *Maud*s Brother, *Bristow*, *William Lovell*, the Castle of *Cary*; *Paganell*, the Castle of *Ludlow*; *William Moune*, the Castle of *Dunster*; *Robert* of *Nichol* now called *Lincolne*, the Castle of *Warham*; *Eustace* the Son of *John*, the Castle of *Melton*; *William* the Son of *Alan*, the Castle of *Shrewsbury*; and withall *David* King of *Scots*, never regarding his former agreement, enters *Northumberland* with an Army, committing so great cruelty, in ravishing of Maids, murthering of Infants, slaughtering of Priests, even at the Altar, that never any barbarous Nation committed greater. Thus the Kingdom from the one end to the other was in combustion; that if the King had had as many hands as *Briareus*, there would have been work enough for them all. Yet all this dismay'd not the King, but as having learned this Lesson, *Tu ne cede malis, sed contrà audentior ito*, grows the more in confidence, the less he was in assurance; and as if danger were the fuel of courage, the more erected in himself, the less he was upheld by others: and so, venturing what his Rebels at home would do in his absence, he

Geoffry Duke of Anjou enters into Normandy; but is Compounded withal.

passeth himself in person against *David* King of *Scots*; as being most dangerous, and therefore the first to be repressed; but in finding it hard to draw him to a battel, and impossible without a battel to do any good upon him, he leaves the care of that Quarrel to *Thurstane* Archbishop of *York*, and returns himself home, if it may be called home, where he scarce had a safe place to put his head in. But though many Lords were rebellious against him, yet some there were that stuck firmly to him, by whose assistance and his own industry, partly by inticements, partly by inforcements, he reduced most of them to obedience, and all of them to submission. When in the mean time *Thurstane* Archbishop of *York*, and in his sickness, *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, assisted with *William* Earl of *Aumerle*, *William Piperell* of *Nottingham*, and *Hubert de Lacy*, fought a memorable Battel against *David* King of *Scots*, wherein though King *David* himself, and his Son *Henry* performed wonderful Acts of Prowess, yet the *English* got the Victory, with the slaughter of Eleven thousand *Scots* in the Fight, besides many other slain in the flight; where of the *English* none of account were slain, but only a Brother of *Hubert Lacyes*, and some small number of Common Souldiers. This Victory infinitely pleased and comforted King *Stephen*, who not long after to make an absolute suppression of the *Scots*, passeth again with an Army, and inforceth King *David* to demand a Peace, delivering his Son *Henry* into King *Stephen*'s hands for a pledge; and coming homeward, by the way he besieged *Ludlow*, one of the Rebels nests, where Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* had been taken Prisoner, if King *Stephen* in his own Person had not rescued him.

He goes in person against the King of Scots.

The rebel Lords are reduced to obedience.

Eleven thousand Scots slain, and but very few English.

King Stephen's good nature and valour.

After this, once again the King got a little breathing time, but it was but to prepare him for greater Encounters. For now *Maude* the Empress her self in person comes into play, in whom the Oath before taken was to have its tryal; for till now, though never so really intended, yet it could not actually be performed; for how could they receive her for Queen, who came not in place to be received? but now that she came in Person, now was the time of tryal how the Oath would work; and work it did indeed with many, and that strongly. For *Maude* coming into *England* with *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester* her base Brother, was much joyfully received at *Arundel* Castle, by *William de Aubigny*, who had married *Adeliza* the Queen Dowager of the late King *Henry*, and had the said Castle and County assigned for her Dower. King *Stephen* having intelligence hereof, cometh to *Arundel* Castle with an Army, and besiegeth it; but either diverted by counsel, or else finding the Castle to be inexpugnable, he left the siege, and suffered the Empress to pass to *Bristow*. The King hearing, that *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester* Son in Law to *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, had possest himself of the City of *London*, thither he goeth with an Army, and besiegeth it: thither also came the said Earl of *Chester*, and *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester* to raise the siege; at which time a most fierce battel was fought between them upon *Candlemass*-day; wherein as it is memorable what wonders of valour King *Stephen* performed; for when all men about him were either

The Empress Maude comes now into England, and hath many adherents.

1141.

King Stephen valiant. Is taken prisoner and carried to *Maud*.

either fled or slain; yet he kept the field himself alone, no man daring to come near him, *Horrentibus inimicis incomparabilem illium ejus immanitatem*, saith *Hoveden*: yet overmastered at last by multitude, he was taken Prisoner, and brought to *Maud* the Empress; who sent him to be kept in safe custody in the Castle of *Bristow*, where he remained till *All hollantide* after. And now the Empress having gotten King *Stephen* into her hands, she takes her Journey to *London*; received in all places, as she went, peaceably, and at *London* joyfully. Where Queen *Matild* made humble suit unto her, for the liberty of King *Stephen* her Husband, and that he might but be allowed to live a private life; the *Londoners* also made suit to have the Laws of King *Edward* restored: but the Empress not only rejected both their suits, but returned them answers in harsh and insulting language: Indeed most unseasonably; and which gave a stop to the current of all her fortunes. For Queen *Matild* finding thereby how high the Empresses pulses did beat, sent presently to her Son *Eustace*, being then in *Kent*, to raise Forces with all speed, with whom the *Londoners* as much discontented as she, do afterwards joyn; and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, as much discontented as either of them, fortifies his Castles at *Waltham* and *Farnham*, and especially *Winchester*, where he stays himself, attending upon what Coast the next wind of the Empress would blow. Of all these things the Empress had intelligence, and thereupon secretly in the night she fled to *Oxford*, sending strait charge, to have King *Stephen* more narrowly watched, more hardly used, put (as some write) in Fetters, and fed with very bare and poor commons; withall she sends to her Uncle *David* King of *Scots*, to come unto her with all speed possible, who coming accordingly, they fall into consultation what is first to be done. The lot falls upon *Winchester*, as being their greatest Adversary, now, no less in appearance than in power: so *Winchester* they besiege, which Queen *Matild* hearing, she with her Son *Eustace* and the *Londoners*, came presently to the succour, where a fierce Battel being fought, the end was, that the party of Queen *Matild* prevailed, and the Empress to make her escape, was fain to be laid upon a Horses back in manner of a dead Corps, and so conveyed to *Gloucester*, while Earl *Robert* Her Brother disdaining to flie was taken Prisoner, whom Queen *Matild* caused to be used the more hardly, in retaliation of the hard usage which the Empress before had shewed to King *Stephen*. Things standing on these terms, propositions were made by the Lords for Pacification; but such were the high spirits of the Empress and her Brother *Robert*, that no conditons would please them, unless the Empress might enjoy the Crown. But after long debate, whether by agreement between themselves, or by connivence of the Keepers, both King *Stephen* and Earl *Robert* got to be at liberty. When the first thing King *Stephen* did, was to look out the Empress to requite the kindness she had shewed him in Prison; and hearing her to be at *Oxford*, he layes siege to the Town, and brings the Empress to such distress that she had no way to free her self but by flight; and no way to flie but with manifest danger: yet she effected it by this device. It was in the Winter season, when Frost and Snow covered all the ground over; she therefore clad her self, and her four servants that were with her in white clothes, which being of the Colour of Snow, made her pass the watches without being discerned, and by this means came safe to her Friends at *Wallingford*. Yet *Malmesbury*, who lived at that time, confesseth he could never learn certainly by what means she made her escape. But howsoever she escaped this present danger; yet it left such an impression of fear upon her, that she never had after any mind to appear upon this Stage of War: but left the prosecution of it to her Son *Henry*, who was now about sixteen years of age; and being forward of his age and able to bear Arms, was by his great Uncle *David* King of *Scots* Knighted, to make him more forward.

Maud is received of the Londoners.

She is beaten by *Matild*, King Stephen's Wife, and her Brother the Earl of Gloucester taken prisoner.

K. Stephen and Earl Robert both set to be at liberty.

1142.

Maud besieged at *Oxford* flieth away secretly.

Henry, *Maud*'s Son, now fifteen years of age, prosecuteth the War against King *Stephen*.

1144.

It was now the ninth year of King *Stephen*'s Reign, when *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, keeping possession of the City of *Lincoln*, was in the night time assaulted by the King; but the Earl perceiving the Kings Forces to be but small, suddenly issued forth and repelled the King with the slaughter of fourscore of his men. Yet two years after this, the Earl was reconciled to the King, and came of his own accord to wait upon him, when perfidiously he was detained by the King, and not set at liberty, till he had surrendred into the Kings hands all the Castles that were in his possession; which though it brought the King some present benefit, yet it wrought him a greater future loss; for it lost him his credit with all men, and no man afterward would trust his word.

King Stephen discredits himself.

1152.

Prince Henry marries the Heir of William Duke of Guyen.

1153.

Now was Duke *Henry* come to the age of Nineteen years, and was in possession of the Dukedom of *Anjou*, by the death of his Father *Geoffery Plantagenet*: and not long after this he married *Eleanor*, the Daughter and Heir of *William* Duke of *Guyen*, by whom he had that Duchy, and also the Earldom of *Poictou*; *Normandy* he had by his Mother; but more by the peoples inclination. So as being possest now of four great Principalities, this greatness of Estate adding to the greatness of his spirit, made him aspire to recover his right in *England*; and over he comes bringing with him but small Forces, but promising himself great, from the people of this Kingdom. And many indeed resorted to him; with whom he fell on presently, and besieged *Marleborough*: but by the Kings greater Forces was repelled.

After this, their Armies continued in the field still; rather watching advantages to be doing, than doing any thing, sometimes advancing when no Enemy was near, and then retiring when the Enemy came; till at last it was like to come to a set Battel, when suddenly *Eustace* King *Stephen*'s only Son unfortunately dyed: Unfortunately for himself, but fortunately for the Kingdom; for now King *Stephen* being left destitute of issue to succeed, was the more easily drawn to conditions of Peace, as likewise the Empress *Maud*, having lately lost her Brother *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, and *Miles* Earl of *Hereford*, (her two best Champions) was no less willing than he: which being furthered by the Lords of both sides, was at last concluded upon these conditions,

Eustace King Stephen's Son dyeth.

King Stephen and Prince Henry agree.

tions that *Stephen* should hold the Kingdom of *England* during his life, and adopt Duke *Henry* as his Heir to succeed him. And this agreement thus made, and in a Parliament at *Winchester* confirmed, Duke *Henry* ever after accounted King *Stephen* no less than a Father; and King *Stephen*, Duke *Henry* no less than a Son; and well he might, if it be true which some write, that the Empress, when a Battel was to be fought between King *Stephen* and her Son, went privily to him, asking him how he could find in his heart to fight against him that was his own Son? Could he forget the familiarity he had with her in her Widow-hood! But this was no matter for the Writers of that time to deliver. It touched too near the Interest of Princes then in being, and Princes must not be touched while they live; nor when they are dead neither, with uncertainties, as this could be no other: But howsoever it was, certain it is, that after this agreement between King *Stephen*, and Duke *Henry*, they continued in mutual love and concord, as long after as they lived.

Prince Henry thought by some to be King Stephen's Son.

1154.

No mention what became of *Maud* at this time.

But what became of *Maud* the Empress at this time? For that she was alive, and lived many years after this agreement between King *Stephen* and her Son *Henry*, all Writers agree; and to say that she consented to the agreement, without any provision made for her self, is to make her too much a woman, a very weak vessel: and to say there might be provision made, though it be not Recorded, is to make all Writers defective in great excess: And besides, being so stirring a woman as she was, that upon a sudden she should be so quiet, as not to deserve to have one word spoken of her in all the long time she lived after, (being no less than twelve or thirteen years) is as strange as the rest. And if she placed her contentment so wholly in her Son, that in regard of him she regarded not her self at all, it deserves at least the *Encomium* of such a motherly love as is very unusual, and not alwayes safe. Whatsoever it was, I must be fain to leave it as a Gordian knot, which no Writer helps me to unty. *Matthew Paris* makes her to live one and thirty years after the death of King *Stephen*; and makes this her Epitaph.

Ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima partu
Hic jacet Henrici *filia, sponsa, parens.*

Of his Taxations and wayes for raising of Moneys.

OF Taxations in his time, there is no mention made, for Taxations indeed, are properly drawn from a body of State when it is entire, whereas the state all this Kings time was altogether in Factions. But what he wanted in Taxations, he supplyed with Confiscations, which by reason of the many revoltings of men of all sorts, could not chuse but fill his Coffers, every Rebellion being in nature of a purchase to him; for whatsoever became of the persons, their Lands and Goods were sure to be his. And if it happened at any time, that Confiscations came in but slowly, he had then devices to hasten their pace; for upon light suggestions (not so much oftentimes as just suspicions) he would call men into question, and seise upon their Goods, as in the case particularly of *Robert* Bishop of *Salisbury*; and it may not be unpleasing to hear from what beginning this Bishop grew to such a height of greatness, which was thus. In the time of King *William Rufus* he was a poor Priest, serving a Cure in a Village near to *Caen* in *Normandy*, when the Kings younger Brother *Henry* chanced to pass that way, and to make some stay in the said Village, who being desirous to hear a Mass, this *Roger* being Curate, was the man to say it; which he dispatched with such celerity, that the Souldiers (who commonly love not long Masses) commended him for it, telling their Lord, that there could not a fitter Priest be found for men of War than he. Whereupon *Henry* appointed him to follow him; and when he came to be King, preferred him to many great places, and at last to be Chancellour of *England*, and Bishop of *Salisbury*. You have heard his rising, now hear his fall. When King *Stephen* came to the Crown, he held this man in as great account as his Predecessour King *Henry* had done, and perhaps in greater; for being a great begger of Suits, the King would say of him, If this man will never give over asking, neither shall I ever give over giving. Yet this great Prelate fell first through pride into envy, and then through envy into ruine. For King *Stephen* having given liberty to build Castles, this man did so far exceed all others in magnificence (for he builded the Castles of *Salisbury*, the *Vyes*, *Sherburn*, *Malmesbury*, and *Newark*, to which there were no Structures comparable in the Kingdom) that the Lords out of envy put it into the Kings head, that these Castles of his were built thus magnificently for entertainment of *Maud* the Empress. Which so possessed the King, or he would be thought to be so possessed, that taking this for a just cause, he seised them all into his hands, and forty thousand Marks besides, which he had in money; and not contented with this, he took the like course also with *Alexander*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, only because he was his Nephew, and of his near kindred. Another way he had for gaining of Money, for in the first year of his Reign, having given liberty to hunt in his Forests, he afterwards at *Oxford* caused many to be impleaded for that liberty: a trick which perhaps he learned from Hunting, first to give men leave to do a thing, and then to fine them for having done it. But this is the priviledge of Princes, that their leave must be interpreted by him that gives it, and not by him that takes it.

Robert Bishop of *Salisbury* by what means he came to his greatness.

By what means to his fall.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

HE gave licence to the City of *Norwich* to have Coroners and Bailiffs, before which time, they had only a Sergeant for the King to keep Courts; and after this, in the 37. year of King *Henry* the Third, they had licence to inclose the Town with Ditches.

Norwich is allowed to have Coroners and Bailiffs.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

UPon the Kings seising into his hands, the Bishop of *Salisburies* Castles, and Goods, complaint was made, and a Synod was called by

the Bishop of *Wincheſter*, the Popes Legat, to right the Biſhop, where the King was cited to appear; who ſending to know the cauſe, anſwer was made, that it was to anſwer for his impriſoning of Biſhops, and depriving them of their Goods, which being a Chriſtian King he ought not to do. The King replies by his Lawyer, *Alverie de Vere*, that he had not arreſted the Biſhop of *Salisbury* as a Biſhop, but as his Servant that was to make him accompt of his Imployment. To this the Biſhop anſwereth, that he never was Servant or Accomptant to the King: and many Allegations and Probations were urged to and fro, but in concluſion the Synod brake up, and nothing was done. The Biſhops durſt not Excommunicate the King without the Popes privity; ſo in the end they fell from Authority to ſubmiſſion: and in the Kings Chamber fell down at his feet, beſeeching him that he would pity the Church, and not ſuffer diſſenſion to be between the Kingdom and the Prieſthood. And this was no ſmall magnanimity in the King, that he was able to pull down the high ſtomachs of the Prelates in that time. In the eighth year of his Reign, a Synod was held in *London* by *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, where it was decreed, that whoſoever ſhould lay violent hands upon any Clergyman, ſhould not be abſolved but by the Pope himſelf, and from this time forward, Clergy men were exempt from the ſecular power. In the tenth year of his Reign, by the ſoliciting of St. *Bernard*, many took upon them the Croſs, for a ſupply to the Holy Land, amongſt whom ſome Engliſh Lords alſo.

The King might not imprifon Biſhops.

Clergy men exempt from ſecular power.

Works of piety by him, or by others in his time.

HE founded the Abbeys of *Cogſhall* in *Eſſex*, of *Furneys* in *Lancaſhire*; of *Hurguilers* and *Feverſham* in *Kent*; at *Heigham* in *Kent*, a houſe of black Nuns; alſo an houſe for Nuns at *Carew*. His Queen *Matild* builded the Hoſpital of St. *Katharines* by the Tower of *London*: A Knight called Sir *William* of *Mount Fitchet*, founded the Abbey of *Stratford Langthorn*, within four miles of *London*; *William* of *Ypre* founded *Boxeley* Abbey in *Kent*; *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers* founded the Abbey of *Merival* in *Warwickſhire*, and in the ſame Shire, *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Abbey of *Non Eaton*. *Thurſtane* Archbiſhop of *York* founded the Monaſtery of *Fontes* in *Yorkſhire*. Alſo by others were founded the Abbeys of *Tiltey*, of *Rieval*, of *Newborough* and *Beeland*, of *Kirkſtead* in *Yorkſhire*; and divers others in other places: ſo that more Abbeys were erected in his dayes, than had been within the ſpace of a hundred years before.

St. Katharines by the Tower founded.

Boxley Abbey in Kent founded.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

NEmbrigenſis and alſo *Huntingdon* reporteth of one *Raynerus*, a wicked Miniſter of a more wicked Abbot, that croſſing the Seas with his Wife, he ſo with his iniquity overweighed the Ship, that in the midſt of the Stream, it was not able to ſtir; at which the Mariners aſtoniſhed, caſt lots, and the lot fell upon *Raynerus*; and leſt this ſhould be thought to happen by chance, they caſt the lots again and again, and ſtill the lot fell upon *Raynerus*: whereupon they put him out of the Ship, and preſently the Ship as eaſed of her burthen, ſailed away. Certainly a great Judgement of God, and a great Miracle; but yet recorded by one that is no fabulous Author. In this Kings time alſo, there appeared two Children, a Boy and a Girl, clad in Green, in a ſtuff unknown, of a ſtrange language, and of a ſtrange diet; whereof the Boy being Baptized, dyed ſhortly after, but the Girl lived to be very old; and being asked from whence they were, ſhe anſwered, They were of the Land of St. *Martyn*, where there are Chriſtian Churches erected; but that no Sun did ever riſe unto them: but where that Land is, and how ſhe came hither, ſhe her ſelf knew not. This I the rather write, that we may know there are other parts of the World, than thoſe which to us are known: and this ſtory I ſhould not have believed, if it were not teſtified by ſo many, and ſo credible witneſſes as it is. In the fifteenth year of this King, the River of Thames was ſo hard frozen, that Horſe and Cart paſſed over upon the Ice. In this Kings time lived *Johannes de Temporibus*, of whom it is recorded, that he lived three hundred ſixty and one years. He was one of *Charlemain* the Emperours Guard, and died in the Reign of *Conradus* the third, *Anno Dom.* 1139.

Newbrigenſis.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married by his Uncle King *Henries* means, *Matild*, Daughter and Heir of *Euſtace*, Earl of *Boloyne*, a Woman made for the proportion of both fortunes: In Adverſity not dejected, in Proſperity not elated. While her Husband was at liberty, a Woman; during his durance, as it were a Man; acting his part for him when he was reſtrained from acting it himſelf; not looking that fortune ſhould fall into her lap, but induſtrious to procure it. By this Queen he had only one Son named *Euſtace*, a Prince more than of hope, for he lived to the bloſſoming of much valour, though it came not to maturity, as being cut off at eighteen years of age, ſome ſay by drowning, and ſome by a ſtranger accident. But ſtrange Relations muſt not alwayes be rejected; for though many of them be forged, yet ſome no doubt are true; and who knows but it may be of this kind, which ſome Writers relate of this Prince, That being at the Abbey of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, and denied ſome money he required to have had, he preſently in a rage went forth, and ſet fire on the Corn Fields belonging to the Abbey; but afterwards ſitting down to dinner, at the firſt morſel of bread he put into his mouth, he fell into a fit of madneſs, and in that fit dyed? Certainly, the perſons of Princes are for more obſervation than ordinary people: and as they make Examples, ſo they are ſometimes made Examples. This Prince *Euſtace* was ſo beloved of his Father, that he had a purpoſe to have joyned him King with himſelf, but that the Pope upon the Biſhops complaining to him of it, diverted him from it. Howſoever being dead, he was buried in *Feverſham* Abbey, where his Mother

Queen Matilds commendation.

The ſtrange death of Euſtace.

Mother was buried a little before. Other legitimate issue King *Stephen* had none, but by a Concubine he had a Son named *William*, whom he made Earl of *Norfolk*; which honour was confirmed upon him, by a special Article, in the agreement made between King *Stephen* and Duke *Henry*; only a *French* Chronicle speaks of another Son of his, named *Gervase*, made Abbot of *Westminster*, and that he died in the year 1160. and was there buried.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, of great strength, and of an excellent good complexion. Concerning the qualities of his mind, there was apparent in him a just mixture of Valour and Prudence; for if he had not had both, he could never have held out with such weak friends as he did, against such potent adversaries as he had. And specially it must be confest, he was of an excellent temper for a Souldier, seeing he never kill'd any enemy in cold blood, as *Anthony* did *Cicero*; nor any friend in hot blood, as *Alexander* did *Clitus*. What he would have been in Peace, we are left to judge by only a pattern, the short time between his agreement with Duke *Henry* and his death. Which seeing he spent in travelling to all parts of the Realm, and seeking to stitch up the breaches which the violence of War had made, we may well think that if his life had been continued, he would have given as good proofs of his Justice in Peace, as he had done of his Valour in War. For of his extraordinary good nature we have a sufficient example in one action of his, which was this: Duke *Henry* being on a time in some straits for money, sent to his Mother *Maud* the Empress, desiring her to furnish him, but she answered that she was in as great straits her self, and therefore could not do it: then he sent to his Uncle Earl *Robert* to furnish him, and he answered he had little enough to serve his own turn, and therefore could not do it: at last he sent to King *Stephen*, and he though an Adversary and standing in terms of opposition, yet sent presently, and supplyed him with it. He was withal a great oppugner of superstition, which made him on a time to ride into *Lincoln* with his Crown upon his head, only to break the people of a superstitious opinion they held, that no King could enter into that City in such manner, but that some great disaster would fall upon him. One special Virtue may be noted in him, that he was not noted for any special Vice, whereof if there had been any in him, Writers certainly would not have been silent.

A good temper for a Souldier.

King Stephen's good nature.

A superstitious opinion held of Lincoln.

Of his Death and Burial.

AS a Fish cannot live out of Water, no more was it in the Destiny of this King, to live out of Trouble. As soon as he came to enjoy quietness, he left to enjoy life. No time left him between his agreement with Duke *Henry* and his Death, but only so much as might reasonably serve him to take his last leave of all his Friends: For it was but from *January* to *October*; and the last friend he took leave of was *Theodorick* Earl of *Flanders*, whom he met at *Dover*, and as soon as he had dismissed him he was suddenly taken with the Iliack Passion and with an old Disease of the Emrods; and died in the Monastery there, the five and twentieth of *October*, in the year 1154. when he had reigned almost nineteen years, lived nine and forty, and was buried in the Abbey of *Feversham*, which he had founded.

1154.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Clergy-men there was *Thurstane*, Archbishop of *York*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* the Kings Brother; also *William* another Archbishop of *York*, whom we may find in the Calendar of Saints, as likewise St. *Bernard*, who lived in this time, though not of this Countrey. And if we may reckon strangers, there lived at this time *Peter Lombard*, Master of the Sentences; *Peter Comestor*, writer of the Ecclesiastical Story; and *Gratian*, Compiler of the Canon Law, all three Brothers, and all three Bastards: also *Avicen*, *Averroes*, *Mesue*, and Rabbi *Solomon* were in this time famous. Of Military men, there was *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester*; *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwal*, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*: but especially *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, the Kings base Son, whose praises, if any desire to hear sounded out to the full, let him read *William* of *Malmesbury*, who writ the History of these times, of purpose to be his Trumpet. Of the Writers of our Nation, there was this *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Henry Huntington*, *Simeon Dunelmensis*, *William Newbrigensis*, and *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, Bishop of St. *Asaph* in *Wales*. Also *Hugo Carthusianus*, a *Burgundian*, but made Bishop of *Lincoln* here in *England*.

Three great Clerks all Bastards.

Robert Earl of Glocester his praise.

The chief History Writers at this time.

The LIFE and REIGN of KING HENRY THE SECOND.

1155. King Henry is Crowned.

KING *Stephen* being dead, *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, by his Father *Geoffry Plantaginet*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *England*, by agreement, whom he preceded by right as being Son and Heir of *Maud*, ſole Daughter and Heir of King *Henry* the firſt, and was Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, by *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, on the ſeventeenth of *December*, in the year 1155. and was now a greater Prince than any of his Anceſtors had been before. And indeed the Kingdom of *England*, the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and the Dukedom of *Anjou* in his own right, and in the right of his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, the Duchy of *Guyen*, and the Earldom of *Poitou*, being all united in his perſon, made him a Dominion of a larger extent than any Chriſtian King had at that time.

A greater Prince than any of his Anceſtors.

Born at *Mentz* in *Normandy*.

He was born at *Mentz* in *Normandy*, in the year 1132. a great joy to his Father *Geoffry*, Duke of *Anjou*, a greater to his Mother *Maud* the Empereſs; but ſo great to his Grandfather King *Henry* the firſt, that it ſeemed to make amends for his Son *William*, whom unfortunately he had loſt before by Shipwrack. The years of his childhood were ſpent at home under the care of his Parents. At nine years old or thereabouts, he was brought by his Uncle *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter* into *England*, and placed at *Briſtow*, where under the tuition of one *Matthew* his Schoolmaſter, to inſtruct him in learning, he remained four years; after which time he was ſent into *Scotland*, to his great Uncle *David* King of *Scots*, with whom he remained about two years, initiated by him in the principles of State, but chiefly of his own Eſtate. And being now about fifteen years of age, was by him Knighted; and though ſcarce ripe for Arms, yet as a fruit gathered before its time, was mellowed under the Diſcipline of his Uncle *Robert* one of the beſt Souldiers of that time. And now the Duke his Father not able any longer to endure his abſence, ſent with great inſtance to have him ſent over to him; for ſatisfying of whoſe longing, Earl *Robert* provided him of paſſage, and conducted him himſelf to the Sea ſide, where he took his laſt farewel of him. Being come into *Anjou*, his Father perhaps overjoyed with his preſence, not long after died, leaving him in preſent poſſeſſion of that Dukedom, being now about nineteen years of age: when ſhortly after he married *Eleanor* the late Wife of *Lewis* King of *France*, but now divorced. A year or two after, he came again into *England* where after ſome velitations with King *Stephen* they were at laſt reconciled, and his ſucceſſion to the Crown of *England*, ratified by act of Parliament. Not long after he went again into *France*, and preſently fell to beſiege a Caſtle which was detained from him by the *French* King. In the time of which ſiege, news was brought him of King *Stephen*'s death, which one would have thought ſhould have made him haſten his Journey into *England*; yet he reſolved not to ſtir till he had won the Caſtle. Which reſolution of his being known to the Defendants, they ſurrendred the Caſtle; but yet no ſooner, but that it was ſix weeks after before he came into *England*, when he was now about the age of three and twenty years.

Is Educated at *Briſtow*.

Is ſent into *Scotland*.

Is carried into *Anjou*.

He marries the Lady *Eleanor* the divorced Wife of *Lewis* King of *France*.

His firſt Acts after he came to the Crown.

HE began his Reign as *Solomon* would have begun it, if he had been in his place. For firſt he made choice of wiſe and diſcreet men to be his Counſellours; then he baniſhed out of the Realm all ſtrangers, and eſpecially *Flemmings*, with whom the Kingdom ſwarmed: as of whom King *Stephen* had made uſe in his Wars, amongſt whom was *William* of *Ypres*, lately before made Earl of *Kent*. Caſtles which by King *Stephen*'s allowance had been built, he cauſed to be demoliſhed, (of which there were ſaid to be eleven hundred and fifteen) as being rather nurſeries of Rebellion to the Subject, than of any ſafety to the Prince. He appointed the moſt able men of that profeſſion, to reform abuſes of the Laws, which diſorder of the Wars had brought in. He baniſhed many Lords, who againſt their Oath had aſſiſted King *Stephen* againſt him, as thinking that men once perjured would never be faithful; and to the end he might be the leſs preſſing upon the people with Taxations, he reſumed all ſuch Lands belonging to the Crown, which had any way been aliened or uſurped, as thinking it better to diſpleaſe a few than many; and many other things he did, which in a diſjoynted State were no leſs profitable and expedient, than requiſite and neceſſary.

He cauſeth Caſtles to be demoliſhed.

He reforms the Laws.

He reſumes Crown-Lands.

His troubles during his Reign.

HE had no Competitors, nor Pretenders with him for the Crown; and therefore his troubles at firſt were not *in Capite*, ſtrook not at the root, as King *Stephen*'s did: but were only ſome certain niblings at inferiour parts, till at laſt he

he brought them himſelf into his own bowels. For what was the trouble in his firſt year with the *Welch*; but as an exerciſe rather to keep him in motion, than that it needed to diſquiet his reſt? For though they were mutinous for a time, while they looked upon their own Bucklers, their Woods and Mountainous paſſages; yet as ſoon as King *Henry* did but ſhew his Sword amongſt them, they were ſoon reduced to obedience for the preſent, and to a greater awfulneſs for the future. It is true *Henry* Earl of *Eſſex* that bore the Kings Standard, was ſo aſſaulted by the *Welch*, that he let the Standard fall to the ground, which encouraged the *Welch*, and put the *Engliſh* in ſome fear as ſuppoſing the King had been ſlain; but this was ſoon fruſtrated to the *Welch*, and puniſhed afterward in the Earl, by condemning him to be ſhorn a Monk, and put into the Abbey of *Reading*, and had his lands ſeiſed into the Kings hand. And what was his trouble with *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, but a work of his own beginning? for if he would have ſuffered him to enjoy that which was juſtly his own, *Cumberland* and *Huntingtonſhire*, by the grant of King *Stephen*, and *Northumberland*, by the gift of his Mother *Maud* the Empereſs, he might have ſtayed quietly at home, and needed not at all to have ſtirred his foot; but he could not endure there ſhould be ſuch parings off from the body of his Kingdom; and therefore went with an Army into the North, where he won not, but took *Northumberland* from him, with the City of *Carliſle*, and the Caſtles of *Newcaſtle* and *Bamberg*: and meerly out of gratefulneſs, in remembrance of the many courteſies done to him before, by *David* King of *Scots*, he left him the County of *Huntington*; but yet with this condition to owe fealty, and to do homage to him for it. And what was his trouble with his Brother *Geoffry*, but a Bird of his own hatching? For his Father *Geoffry* Duke of *Anjou*, had three Sons, *Henry*, *Geoffry* and *William*; and dying, he left his Dukedom of *Anjou* to his eldeſt ſon *Henry*, but to hold no longer than till he ſhould come to be King of *England*, and then to deliver it up to his ſecond Son *Geoffry*. And he made his Lords to ſwear, not to ſuffer his body to be buried, until his Son *Henry* had taken his Oath to do it. Which Oath *Henry* afterward, in reference to his Fathers body, did take: but as he took it unwillingly, ſo he willingly brake it, and ſent preſently to *Adrian* the then Pope, for a diſpenſation of his Oath. Which granted, he enters *Anjou* with an Army, and takes from his Brother *Geoffry*, being little able to make reſiſtance, not only the Dukedom of *Anjou*, but ſome other Cities alſo, which his Father had abſolutely given him for his maintenance: yet out of brotherly kindneſs was content to allow him a Penſion of a thouſand pounds a year. Which brotherly kindneſs was ſo unkindly taken by his Brother *Geoffry*, that it brake his heart; and within a ſhort time after he dyed.

His troubles with the *Welch* ſoon ended.

1157.

Henry Earl of *Eſſex* how puniſhed for letting the Kings Standard fall.

Malcolme King of *Scots* repreſſed.

King *Henries* unkindneſs to his brother *Geoffry*.

And thus theſe troubles begun by *Henry* himſelf, were ſoon ended; but now a trouble is coming on, begun by *Lewis* King of *France*, and this is like to ſtick longer by him. For King *Lewis* not having yet digeſted King *Henries* marriage with his divorced Wife *Eleanor* ſeeks all opportunities to expreſs his ſpleen, by doing him diſpleaſure, and a fit opportunity was now offered. For there fell out a difference between *Raymond* Earl of St. *Giles*, and *Hen.* King of *England*, about the Earldom of *Tholouſe*, which *Raymond* poſſeſt, and *Henry* claimed: in this difference, King *Lewis* takes part with *Raymond* as pretending to be the juſter ſide. Hereupon are great Forces provided on both ſides, and it was like to have come to a dangerous battel: but that by mediation of friends, a peace was made; and to make the Peace the firmer, a marriage was concluded between *Henry*, King *Henries* eldeſt Son, ſcarce yet ſeven years of age, and *Margaret*, Daughter of King *Lewis* not paſt three, who was delivered to King *Henry* to bring up till fit years for conſummation. This was then thought a ſtrong link to hold them in friendſhip, but it proved afterward a cauſe to make a greater breach; and indeed when a Son is once matched into a Family, the Father muſt never look from thence afterward to have a good wiſh; ſeeing the Daughter thus matched can have no advancement, but by the advancement of her Husband, and he none, at leaſt, none ſo well, as by the ruine of his Father: yet this brake not out till ſome years after. It was now about the ſixteenth year of King *Henries* Reign and his Son *Henry* grown to be ſeventeen years of age, when it came into the Kings mind to have his Son *Henry* crowned King, and Reign with himſelf in his own time; partly out of indulgence to his Son, but chiefly, as having found by his own experience, that Oaths for ſucceſſion are commonly eluded: but Oaths for preſent Allegiance, as being *Verba de præſenti*, can have no evaſion. And pleaſing himſelf with this conceit, he acquaints his Lords with his purpoſe, and cauſeth his Son *Henry* to be crowned King by the hands of *Roger* Archbiſhop of *York*; and all the Lords to ſwear Allegiance to him. At the Feaſt of which ſolemnity King *Henry* to honour his Son, would needs carry up the firſt diſh to his Table: whereupon the Archbiſhop *Roger* ſtanding by, and ſaying merrily to the new King, What an honour is this to you, to have ſuch a waiter at your Table? Why (ſaith he) what great matter is it for him that was but the Son of a Duke, to do ſervice to me, that am the Son of a King and Queen? Which the old King hearing, began to repent him now it was too late, of that he had done. For indeed the honour which by Gods commandment, children are to do their Parents, is by ſuch making them their equal, in a manner aboliſhed; at leaſt it gives them ſtomachs to take more upon them than is fit. But King *Henry* paſſed it over, and meant to ſet the beſt ſide outward. Notwithſtanding this ill ſucceſs of King *Henry*, yet King *Lewis* of *France* ſoon after, did the like to his Son *Philip*, and cauſed him to be crowned King in his own life time, at *Paris*, *Anno* 1179.

Trouble like to ariſe between King Henry and the King of *France*.

1160.

But pacified by a marriage of their children.

An. R. 16. 1170.

King *Henry* cauſeth his Son *Henry* to be crowned King with himſelf.

The ſons inſolent ſpeech grieves his Father.

And now King *Lewis* took diſpleaſure that his Daughter was not crowned as well as her Husband; and therefore to ſatisfie him in that point, King *Henry* ſendeth his Son *Henry* and his Wife *Margaret* into *England*, and cauſeth them both to be crowned by *Walter* Archbiſhop of *Roan*: and ſhortly after, the young King *Henry* and his

his Wife go back to King *Lewis* her Father, and by him with great joy, and variety of ſports were entertained. In the time of their being there, King *Lewis* partly out of his old ſpleen to King *Henry*, and partly to make his Son-in-law more abſolute, falls oftentimes into conference with him; and finding his hot ſpirit to be fit tinder for ſuch fire, tells him, it was a ſhame he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be made a ſtale; have the title of a King, and not the Authority; and that as long as he ſtood in ſuch terms, that which ſeemed an honour was indeed a diſgrace. With which words of King *Lewis*, the young King *Henry* was ſet a float, and from that time forward, ſtuck not openly to oppoſe his Father. Whereof his Father having intelligence, ſent meſſengers to King *Lewis*, deſiring him from the King their Maſter, to be a means to bring his Son to more moderation. But King *Lewis* hearing the Embaſſadours name their Maſter King, with an angry countenance ſaid unto them; What mean you by this to call him King who hath paſſed his Kingdom over to his Son? and with this anſwer ſent them away. To this evil, another worſe was added: That Queen *Eleanor* his Wife enraged with jealouſie of her Husbands Concubines, both incenſeth her Son *Henry*, and perſwadeth alſo two other of her Sons, *Richard* and *Geoffery*, to joyn againſt their Father; telling them, it would be better for them that their Brother ſhould prevail, who could not chuſe but allow them better maintenance, than their Father did. With theſe perſwaſions they paſs over into *Normandy*, and joyn with their Brother *Henry*, who emboldened by their aſſiſtance, grows now more inſolent than he was before; that when meſſengers were ſent to him from his Father, requiring him to lay down his Arms, and to come lovingly to him, he proudly made anſwer, that his Father muſt not look he would lay down his Arms, unleſs himſelf firſt would lay down his authority, and reſign the Kingdom. And now *Lewis* King of *France* calling together the great Lords of his Kingdom, and with them *William* King of *Scots*, *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, *Roger Mowbray*, *Hugh Bigot*, and others of his Sons party, they all take their Oaths to aſſiſt the young King *Henry* with all their power, and thereupon all in one day, the *French* invade *Normandy*, *Aquitain* and *Britain*; the King of *Scots Northumberland*; and King *Lewis* the City of *Vernoil*, which he brought to that diſtreſs, that it was agreed by the Inhabitants, if it were not ſuccoured within three dayes, then to ſurrender it. King *Henry* hearing of this agreement, promiſeth to ſuccour them by that day. But here King *Lewis* uſeth a trick, gets that by fraud, which he could not do by force; for he ſends to King *Henry*, that if he were willing to have a peace with his Sons, he ſhould meet him at a place appointed, at ſuch a time, and he doubted not to effect it. King *Henry* glad of ſuch an offer, and with that gladneſs perhaps blinded, and not ſuſpecting any deceit, promiſed to meet; and coming to the place at the day, which was the day he ſhould have ſuccoured *Vernoil*, he ſtayed there all day looking for King *Lewis* coming, who inſtead of coming, ſent word to *Vernoil*, that King *Henry* was defeated; and therefore their hope of ſuccour was in vain. Whereupon the Citizens thinking it to be ſo indeed, becauſe he came not according to his promiſe, ſurrendred the Town; which King *Lewis* finding himſelf unable to hold, ſet it on fire, and ſo departed. But King *Henry* when he perceived the fraud, followed him with his Army, and took a bloody revenge of his fraud, with the ſlaughter of many of his men. At the ſame time alſo King *Henries* Forces encountred *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*, and *Robert Fulger*, who had taken *Dole* in *Britain*, took them Priſoners, and brought them to King *Henry*. And about the ſame time likewiſe in *England Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter* thinking to ſurprize *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwal*, and *Richard Lacy* King *Henry*'s Generals, at unawares, was himſelf by them overthrown, and the Town of *Leiceſter* taken, which only the ſite of the place defended from being battered to the ground. *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter* being thus defeated, paſſeth over into *France*, and being ſupplyed by King *Lewis* with greater forces than before, is together with *Hugh Bigot* ſent back into *England*, to draw the Country to *Henry* the Sons party, who at firſt aſſault take *Norwich*; and then ſitting down before *Bury*, they are in a great Battel, by *Richard Lacy*, and other of King *Henry*'s Captains, overthrown with the ſlaughter of ten thouſand men, and as many taken priſoners; amongſt whom Earl *Robert* himſelf. Yet were not *Roger Mowbray*, and *Hugh Bigot* ſo daunted with this overthrow, but that together with *David* the King of *Scots* Brother, they gather new Forces, and invade *Northumberland* and *Yorkſhire*, when *Robert Seeccee*, *Ralph Granula*, *William Veſci*, and *Bernard Baliol* who built *Bernard* Caſtle in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*) Knights of thoſe parts aſſembled together, and fighting a great battel with them, overthrew them, and took the King of *Scots* Priſoner, with many others. Yet is not *Hugh Bigot* daunted with this neither, but gathers new Forces and takes *Norwich*; and *Robert Ferris*, *Nottingham*. The news whereof, when King *Henry* the Son heard, he recovered new ſpirits, and obtaining new aſſiſtance from King *Lewis*, prepares himſelf afreſh for War: which King *Henry* the Father hearing, returns ſpeedily into *England*, and to appeaſe St. *Thomas Beckets* Ghoſt goes to viſit his Tomb, and there asks him forgiveneſs. This done, he goes into *Suffolk*, and at *Framingham* Caſtle, which belonged to *Hugh Bigot*, ſtates with his Army, when ſuddenly moved, by what inſtinct no man knows (unleſs the appeaſing of St. *Thomas*'s Ghoſt did work it,) both *Hugh Bigot* delivers up his Caſtle into King *Henry*'s hands, and likewiſe *Robert Mowbray*, *Robert Ferris*, and many other of that party, come voluntarily in, and ſubmit themſelves to the Kings mercy. Hereupon King *Henry* returns to *London*, about which time he committed his Wife Queen *Eleanor* to priſon, for her Practices againſt him. In the mean time, K. *Lewis* underſtanding that *Normandy* was but weakly guarded, together with his Son the young King *Henry*, and *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, he beſiegeth *Roan*, which the Kings Forces valiantly defended, till he came himſelf in perſon; and thereupon King *Lewis* deſpairing of any good to be done, ſends meſſengers to King *Henry*

The young King *Henry* is incited by his Father-in-law King *Lewis* to oppoſe his Father.

Queen *Eleanor* alſo.

The young King requires his Father to reſign the Kingdom. King *Lewis* and the Lords of *France* aſſiſt him.

King *Lewis* his fraud to get *Vernoil*.

Leiceſter a ſtrong ſite.

Hugh Bigot's reſolute perſiſting in aſſiſting young King *Henry*.

Bernard Caſtle of whom ſo called.

1174.

King *Henry* viſits the Tomb of *Tho. Becket*.

Hugh Bigot and others ſubmit themſelves to King *Henry*.

Queen *Eleanor* committed to priſon.

Henry for a truce, and appointed a day to meet at *Gysors*, where he doubted not to make a reconcilement between his Sons and him; King *Henry* agreed willingly, but at the meeting nothing was done. It seems it was but one of King *Lewis* his old tricks to come fairly off.

After this truce made with King *Lewis*, King *Henry* hearing that his Son *Richard* had in the mean time posset himself of a great part of the Province of *Poitou*, goes thither with an Army, where *Richard* at last, after some hesitation, as doubting his Forces, submits himself to his Father, and asks his pardon; which his Father as freely grants, as if he had never committed any fault. And thereupon K. *Henry* imploys him to King *Lewis*, and his brother *Henry*, to perswade them to peace; who wearied now with the wars, were easily drawn, and so reconciliation on all parts is made. And to confirm the reconciliation between the two Kings, *Henry* and *Lewis*, his Daughter *Adela* is affianced to King *Henry*'s Son *Richard*, as Earl of *Aquitain*; and because the Lady was but young, she was committed to the care of King *Henry*, till she could be fit for marriage. Upon this King *Henry* sets *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, giving hostages and oath for their Allegiance, at liberty; and *William* also King of *Scots*, paying a certain Mulct, for which he delivered in pawn the strong Castles of *Berwick*, *Roxborough*, and *Sterling* to King *Henry*, and was fined to lose the County of *Huntingdon*, and never to receive any Rebels into his protection. These things done, the King with his son returns into *England*, where with all joyfulness they were received.

A reconciliation is made on all parts. Viz. King Henry's second Son affianceth Adela the King of France's Daughter.

1179.

It was now the year 1179. when King *Lewis* began again to grow discontented with King *Henry*; because his daughter was not yet married to his Son *Richard* as was agreed: but King *Henry* making him promise to have them married within a few dayes, gave him satisfaction; though indeed he meant nothing less, for it was thought he kept her for himself, as with whom he had before that time, had unlawful familiarity.

With whom King Henry is thought to have unlawful familiarity.

An. Reg. 30. 1184.

The year 1184. was memorable for nothing, or for nothing so much as the death of the young King *Henry*, who died then, being of the age of one and twenty years: whose Widow *Margaret* returning into *France*, was afterward married to *Bela* King of *Hungary*. Now King *Henry*'s Son *Richard*, no longer enduring to have his marriage delayed, which his father often promised, but would never suffer to be performed, falls into his old fit of discontentment. Wherein though he cannot perhaps be justified, yet he may justly be excused, for to be kept from a wife at that time of his age, for which a Wife was most proper; and especially having been affianced so long before, which could not chuse but make his appetite the sharper; must needs be, if not a just cause, at least a strong provocation to make him do as he did. Howsoever from this fit of discontentment, he falls into a relapse of a Rebellion, and infecting with it his Brother *John*, and a great part of his Fathers Adherents, they all take part with *Philip*, (now after the decease of *Lewis*) King of *France*, who willing to make use of their assistance, before the stream of filial awfulness should return into the natural Channel, takes them along with him and besiegeth the City of *Mentz*, in which King *Henry* at that time was himself in person. Who apprehending the danger, and then resenting the mischief of falling into his enemies hands, gets him secretly out of the City, leaving it to defend it self, till he should return with greater forces; for hearing afterward that the Town was taken, he fell into so great a distraction of mind, that it made him break out into these blasphemous words; I shall never hereafter love God any more, that hath suffered a City so dear unto me, to be taken from me: but he quickly recollected himself, and repented him that he had spoken those words. Indeed *Mentz* was the City in which he was born, That to have this City taken from him, was as much as to have his birthright taken from him. And to say the truth, after he had lost this City, he scarce seemed to be alive; not only because he shortly after died: but because the state of Majesty which had all his life accompanied him, after this forsook him, for now he was fain to beg peace of his enemies, who often before had begged it of him; now he was glad to yield to conditions, which no force before could have wrested from him. It is memorable, and worth observing, that when these two Kings had meeting between *Turwyn* and *Arras*, for reconcilement of differences, there suddenly happened a Thunderbolt to light just between them, with so terrible a crack, that it forced them for that time, to break off their conference; and afterward at another meeting, the like accident of thunder happened again, which so amazed King *Henry*, that he had fallen off his horse, if he had not been supported by those about him. Which could be nothing but drops let fall of the Divine anger, and manifest presages of his future disasters. And thus this great Princes troubles, which began in little ones, and were continued in great ones, ended at last in so great a trouble, that it ended his life, and left him an example of desolation, notwithstanding all his greatness; forsaken of his friends, forsaken of his Wife, forsaken of his children; and (if he were not himself, when he blasphemed for the loss of *Mentz*) forsaken of himself; which might be exemplar in this King, if it were not the common Epilogue of all greatness.

Richard discontented with the delay of his marriage rebels: and draws in his brother *John*.

Mentz taken by the King of France.

A blasphemous speech of K. Henry.

A strange accident.

King Henry forsaken of his good fortune.

Of his Acquest in Ireland.

ROBERT *Fitz-Stephen* was the first of all *English* men after the Conquest that entred *Ireland*, the first day of *May*, in the year 1170. with 390. men: and there took *Wexford*, in the behalf of *Dermutius*, Son of *Mercherdach*, called *Mac Murg*, King of *Leymster*. In *September* following, *Richard* Earl of *Chepstow*, surnamed *Strong-bow*, sailed into *Ireland* with twelve hundred men, where he took *Waterford* and *Dublin*; and married *Eve* the Daughter of *Dermutius*, as he was promised. From these beginnings, King *Henry* being then at rest from all Hostile Arms, both at home and abroad, takes into his consideration the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as a Kingdom which oftentimes afforded assistance to the *French*; and therefore purposing with himself by

Who first of all English men entred Ireland.

Ireland falls with it self to King Henry.

by all means to subdue it, he provides a mighty Army, and in the Winter season saileth thither, taking Shipping at *Pembroke*, and landing near to *Waterford*. Where entring into consultation what course was fittest to be taken in the enterprise, suddenly of their own accord the Princes of the Countrey came in, and submitted themselves unto him, only *Rodorick* King of *Connaught* stood out; who being the greatest, thought to make himself the only King of that Nation. But King *Henry* forbearing him for the present, who kept himself in the fastness of Boggs and Woods, and was not to be followed in the winter season, takes his journey to *Dublin*, the chief City of the Countrey; and there calling the Princes and Bishops of the Nation together, requires their consent to have him and his heirs to be their King; which they affirming they could not do without the Popes authority, to whom, at their first conversion to the Christian Religion, they had submitted themselves, the King sent presently to *Adrian* the then Pope, an *English* man, requiring his assent, which upon divers good considerations he granted; and hereupon the King built him a stately Palace in the City of *Dublin*; and having thus without blood possest himself of the Kingdom, the Spring following he returns joyfully into *England*. About four years after *Rodorick* also sends his Chancellour to King *Henry*, to offer his submission, with a tribute to be paid of every ten beasts, one sufficient. After this, in the one and thirtieth year of his reign, he sent his Son *John* to be the Governour there.

The Pope confirms their submission.

King *Henry* builds a stately Palace in *Dublin*.

He sends his son *John* Governour into *Ireland*.

His Taxations and wayes for raising of Money.

TAxations in his time, were chiefly once; when he took Escuage of *English* men, towards his wars in *France*, which amounted to 12400 pounds: but confiscations were many because many Rebellions, and every Rebellion was as good as a Mine. Also vacancies of Bishopricks and Abbeys, kept in his hands sometimes many at once; no time without some. He resumed also all Lands which had either been sold or given from the Crown by his Predecessors: but a principal cause that made him plentiful in money, was his Parsimony; as when he was enjoyned for a Penance, to build three Abbeys, he performed it, by changing Secular Priests into Regular Canons, only to spare cost: And it was not the least cause of alienating his Sons from him, that he allowed them not maintenance answerable to their calling. And it could be nothing but Parsimony while he lived, which brought it to pass, that when he died, there were found in his Coffers, nine hundred thousand pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.

He keeps Abbeys vacant in his hands.

He resumes Crown-Lands. His Parsimony.

He left behind him nine hundred thousand pounds in money.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN the beginning of his reign, he refined and reformed the Laws of the Realm; making them more tolerable and more profitable to his people than they were before. In the one and twentieth year of his reign, he divided his whole Kingdom into six several Circuits, appointing in every Circuit three Judges, who twice every year should ride together, to hear and determine Causes between man and man: as at this day, though altered in the number of the Judges, and in the Shires of Circuit. In this Kings dayes the number of *Jews* all *England* over was great: yet, wheresoever they dwelt, they might not bury any of the dead any where but in *London*; which being a great inconvenience to bring dead bodies oftentimes from far remote places, the King gave them liberty of burial in several places where they lived. It was in this Kings dayes also ordained, that Clergy men offending in hunting the Kings Deer, should be punishable by the Civil Magistrate, according to the Laws of the Land; which order was afterward taken with them for any offence whatsoever they committed. Though it be not a Law, yet it is an Ordinance which was first brought in by this King, that the Lyons should be kept in the Tower of *London*. Also this King made a Statute, concerning Armour and Weapons; that every man that held a Knights-Fee, should be bound to have a pair of Curasses, an Helmet, with Shield and Spear; and that every man of the Laity having Goods and Revenues to the value of sixteen Marks, should have one pair of Curasses, an Helmet, a Spear and a Shield; and every man worth ten Marks should have an Habergeon, a Steel Cap, and a Spear.

Judges Circuits appointed.

Jews wheresoever dwelling might bury no where but in *London*, till this King gave them liberty.

Clergy men punishable by the Civil Magistrate.

Lyons ordained to be kept in the Tower.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

THis Kings reign is famous for the contention of a Subject with the Prince; and though it may be thought no equal match, yet in this example we shall find it hard to judge which of them had the victory. But before we come to speak of the Contention, it is fit to say something of the Man, and of the Quarrel. The man was *Thomas Becket* born in *London*, his Father one *Gilbert Becket*, his Mother an outlandish woman, of the Countrey of *Syria*. His first rising was under *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who taking a liking to him, (as one saith, no man knew for what) made him first Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and then used means to have him be the Princes Tutor; after that to be Chancellour of *England*; and after the decease of the said *Theobald*, was himself made Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his place. One memorable thing he did at his coming to be Archbishop, he surrendred his place being Chancellour; as not thinking it fit to sit at the Helm of the Common-wealth, and of the Church, both at once. But now began the contention between the King and him. The difference was, the King would have it ordained that Clergy men who were malefactors, should be tryed before the Secular Magistrate as Lay-men were: This *Becket* opposed, saying it was against the Liberty of the Church, and therefore against the honour of God. Many Bishops stood with the King, some few with *Becket*, the Contention grew long, and with the length still hotter till at last *Becket* was content to assent to the Ordinance with this clause, *Salvo Ordine suo*. The King liked not the clause, as being a deluding of the Ordinance: He required an absolute assent, without any clause of Reservation. At last, after many debatings and demurs, the Archbishop yields to this also, and subscribes the Ordinance, and set his hand unto it: But going

Tho. Becket his parentage and rising.

The contention between the King and him.

going homewards, it is said, his Cross-bearer and some other about him, blamed him for that he had done. But whether moved with their words, or otherwise upon second thoughts, the next day when they met again, he openly repented his former deed, retracts his subscription, and sends to the Pope for absolution of his fault; which the Pope not only granted, but incouraged him to persist in the course he had begun. It may be thought a fable, yet it is related by divers good Authors, that one time during this contention, certain fellows cut off the Archbishops Horses tail; after which fact, all their children were born with tails like Horses: and that this continued long in the Posterity, though now long since ceased, and perhaps their families too. But King *Henry* finding there was no prevailing with *Becket* by fair means, begins to deal more roughly with him; and first makes use of Authority upon his Temporalties; and withal a censure was spoken to be intended against his person. Which *Becket* understanding, thought it his best course to flee the Realm, and thereupon passing under the name of *Dereman*, he passeth over Sea, and there, two years by the Pope, and five by the King of *France*, was maintained as it were of Alms: in which misery, nothing vexed him so much, as that King *Henry* sent all his kindred, Men and Women, old and young, into banishment after him. And now King *Henry* finding that *Becket* stood much upon his Legantin Power, sent messengers to the Pope, desiring him to take that power from him, and to confer it upon his Archbishop of *York*; but the Pope answered he would not do so, but was content the King himself should be his Legate, and sent him Letters to that purpose, which King *Henry* took in such scorn, that he threw away the Letters, and sent them presently back to him again. This dignity of Legatship, for the diligent service of *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was by a special Decree of Pope *Innocent* the second, to remain to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; so that they were intituled *Legati nati*, Legats born.

Children born with Horses tails and the cause.

Becket flees the Realm.

The Pope offers to make King *Henry* his Legat.

In this mean time, the King of *France* prevailed with King *Henry* to afford *Becket* a conference, hoping to bring them to some Agreement; where being together, King *Henry* alledged before the King of *France*, that he required nothing of *Becket*, but his assent to an Ordinance, to which in his Grand-father King *Henry* the first's time, all the Bishops of the Realm, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* that then was, did give their Assent: yet this moved not *Becket* at all, but he continued his former Tenet; it was against the honour of God, and therefore desired to be excused. See now (saith King *Henry*) the perverseness of this man, all that agrees not with his own humour, is presently against the honour of God. While these things were thus a working, *Becket* had gotten him more friends at *Rome*, and by their means prevailed with the Pope, to give him power to interdict some Bishops in *England* that had done him wrong; and the Pope spared not to threaten Excommunication to King *Henry* himself, if he restored not *Becket* to his dignity. But whether awed with threatnings, or won by the King of *France*'s importunity; or else perhaps relenting in himself, he was contented at last that *Becket* should return home and enjoy his Bishoprick. Who being come to *Canterbury*, the Bishops whom he had interdicted for Crowning the young King *Henry*, (which he said was his right to have done) made humble suit unto him, to be released of the censure. Which, when the Archbishop would not grant, but with certain cautions and exceptions, the Bishops discontented went over to the King, complaining of the hard measure that was offered them by the Archbishop: whereat the King being much moved, Shall I never (saith he) be at quiet for this Priest? If I had any about me that loved me, they would find some way or other to rid me of this trouble. Whereupon four Knights standing by, that heard the King make this complaint, namely *Reynold Fitz-urse*, or *Bereson*, *Hugh Mervill*, *William Tracy*, and *Richard Britton*, thinking they should do an acceptable service to the King, went shortly after into *England*; and going to *Canterbury*, found the Archbishop then at Church, when upon the steps there, they struck him upon the head with their Swords and slew him the thirtieth day of *December*, in the year 1172. Afterward with much ado, by King *Henries* means they were pardoned by the Pope, only enjoyned Penance to go on Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, as some write: but others more probably, that the King abhorred them ever after; and that within three years after they all dyed miserably. You have heard his persecution, and (as some would have it called) his Martyrdom: now hear the honours that have been done him, and the visitations to his Tomb. And first King *Henry* himself coming to *Canterbury*, as soon as he came within sight of *Beckets* Church, lighting off his Horse, and putting off his hose and shooes, he went barefoot to his Tomb; and for a further penance suffered himself to be beaten with Rods by every Monk of the Cloister. A few years after, King *Lewis* of *France* comes into *England* of purpose to visit the Shrine of St. *Thomas*; where having paid his Vows, he makes Oblations with many rich Presents. The like many Princes since that time have done; and many Miracles are reported to have been done at his Tomb, which yet may be unbelieved without unbelief, and with Faith enough. It is worth observing, how some dayes are to some men more fortunate than other dayes; as *Matthew Paris* writes of this *Becket*, that Tuesday was observed to be a fortunate day to him; for upon Tuesday he was born: upon a Tuesday he was banished; upon a Tuesday he was recalled from Banishment: upon a Tuesday he suffered Martyrdom; upon a Tuesday fifty years after his death, his body with great solemnity was translated.

Becket returns home.

The Bishops complain of Becket to the King.

Becket is slain.

His murtherers how punished.

The honours done to Becket's Tomb.

King *Henry* complains of *Becket* to the King of *France*.

Another difference in this Kings dayes, was between the two Archbishops of *England*, about the jurisdiction of *Canterbury* over *York*, which being referred to the Pope, he gave judgement on *Canterburies* side. Also in this Kings dayes there was a Schism in the Church of *Rome*, two Popes up at once, of whom *Alexander* the third was one; which schism continued the space of almost 20 years. Also in this Kings dayes, one *Nicholas Breakspear*, born at St. *Albans*, or

Contention betwixt the two Archbishops.

Two Popes at once.

A bondman carries to be Pope, called Adrian the fourth.

as others write, at *Langley* in *Hertfordshire*, being a bondman of that Abbey, and therefore not to be allowed to be a Monk there, went beyond Sea, where he so profited in Learning, that the Pope made him first Bishop of *Alba*, and afterward Cardinal, and sent him Legate to the *Norwayes*, where he reduced that Nation from Paganism to Christianity, and returning back to *Rome* was chosen Pope by the name of *Adrian* the Fourth, and dyed, being choaked with a Fly in his drink. In his dayes also *Heraclius* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, came to King *Henry*, desiring aid for the *Holy Land*, but not so much of money as of men; and not so much of men neither, as of a good General, as himself was: to whom King *Henry* answered, that though he were willing to undertake it, yet his unquiet State at home would not suffer him. With which answer the Patriarch moved, said, Think not Great King, that Pretences will excuse you before God; but take this from me, that as you forsake Gods cause now, so he hereafter will forsake you in your greatest need. But (saith the King) if I should be absent out of my Kingdom, my own Sons would be ready to rise up against me in my absence; to which the Patriarch replyed, No marvail, for from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they shall; and so departed. Also in this Kings dayes there came into *England*, thirty *Germans*, Men and Women, calling themselves Publicans, who denyed Matrimony, and the Sacraments of Baptism, and of the Lords Supper, with other Articles: who being obstinate, and not to be reclaimed, the King commanded they should be marked with a hot Iron in the forehead, and be whipped; which punishment they took patiently, their Captain (called *Gerard*) going before them singing, *Blessed are ye when men hate you.* After they were whipped, they were thrust out of doors in the Winter, where they died with cold and hunger, no man daring to relieve them. This King after his conquest of *Ireland*, imposed the tribute of *Peter* pence upon that Kingdom, namely, that every house in *Ireland* should yearly pay a peny to St. *Peter*. In this Kings time, was held by Pope *Alexander* the third, the General Council of *Lateran* consisting of 310 Bishops; where many Ordinances were made for the peace of the Church. Also in the 33 year of his Reign *Jerusalem* was taken by the *Turks*.

Choaked with a Fly.

Heraclius the Patriarch of *Jerusalem* his insolent speech to King *Henry*.

The patience of Heretick.

Peter pence imposed upon *Ireland*.

Works of piety by this King, or by others in his time.

THis King founded the Church of *Bristow*, which King *Henry* the eighth afterward erected into a Cathedral. He also founded the Priories of *Dover*, of *Stonely*, of *Basinwork*, and the Castle of *Rudlan*; and began the Stone-bridge over the Thames at *London*. He caused also the Castle of *Warwick* to be builded. *Maud* the Empereis, his Mother, founded the Abby of *Bordesly*. In his time also *Hugh Mortimer* founded *Wigmore* Abbey: *Rich. Lucy* the Kings Chief Justice laid the Foundation of the Conventual Church, in the honour of St. *Thomas*, in a place which is called *Westwood*, otherwise *Lesnes*, in the Territory of *Rochester* in the new Parish of *Southfleet*. He also builded the Castle of *Anger* in *Essex*. *Robert Harding* a Burgeis of *Bristow*, to whom K. *Henry* gave the Barony of *Barkley*, builded the Monastery of St. *Augustines* in *Bristow*. In the tenth of his reign, *London* Bridge was new made of Timber, by *Peter* of *Cole-Church* a Priest. *Robert de Boscu* Earl of *Leicester*, founded the Monastery of *Gorenden*, of Monks; and of *Leicester*, called St. *Mary de Pratis*, of Canons Regular; and his Wife *Amicia*, Daughter of *Ralph Montford*, founded *Eaton*, of Nuns. In the two and twentieth year of his reign after the foundation of St. *Mary Overies* Church in *Southwark*, the Stone Bridge over the *Thames* at *London*, began to be founded, towards which a Cardinal and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* gave a thousand Marks. *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* founded a Monastery at *Gloucester* of Benedictine Monks.

The Stone-bridge in *London*.

London Bridge new made of Timber.

Casualties that happened in his time.

IN the eleventh year of this Kings reign, on the six and twentieth day of *January*, was so great an Earth-quake in *Ely*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, that it overthrew them that stood upon their feet, and made the Bells to ring in the Steeples. In the seventeenth year of his reign, there was seen at St. *Osyths* in *Essex*, a Dragon of marvellous bignes, which by moving burned houses; and the whole City of *Canterbury* was the same year almost burnt. In the eighteenth year of his reign, the Church of *Norwich* with the houses thereto belonging was burnt, and the Monks dispersed. At *Andover*, a Priest praying before the Altar, was slain with Thunder. Likewise one *Clerk* and his brother was burnt to death with Lightning. In the three and twentieth year, a showre of blood rained in the Isle of *Wight* two hours together. In the four and twentieth year, the City of *York* was burnt; and on *Christmas* day, in the Territory of *Derlington*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, the Earth lifted up her self in manner of an high Tower, and so remained unmoveable from morning till evening, and then fell with so horrible a noise that it frighted the Inhabitants thereabouts, and the Earth swallowing it up, made there a deep pit, which is seen at this day; for a Testimony whereof *Leyland* saith, he saw the Pits there, commonly called *Hell-kettles*. Also in the same year, on the tenth day of *April*, the Church of St. *Andrews* in *Rochester* was consumed with fire. In the eight and twentieth year of his reign, *Barnwell* with the Priory, near unto *Cambridge*, was burnt. In the thirtieth year, the Abbey of *Glastenbury* was burnt, with the Church of St. *Julian*. In the year 1180. a great Earth-quake threw down many buildings, amongst which the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln* was rent in pieces the five and twentieth of *April*: and on the twentieth of *October*, the Cathedral Church of *Chichester*, and all the whole City was burnt. This year also, near unto *Orford* in *Suffolk*, certain Fishers took in their Nets a Fish, having the shape of a man in all points, which Fish was kept by *Bartholomew de Glandevile* in the Castle of *Orford* six moneths and more; he spake not a word; all manner of meats he did gladly eat, but most greedily raw Fish, when he had pressed out the juice; oftentimes he was brought to the Church, but never shewed any sign

A great Earthquake.

A showre of blood.

Hell-kettles in the County of *Durham* made by an Earth-quake.

A Fish taken in the shape of a man.

sign of adoration: at length, being not well looked to, he stole to the Sea, and never was seen after. In the year 1188. on the twentieth of *September*, the Town of *Beverley* with the Church of St. *John* there was burnt. And in this Kings time the bones of King *Arthur*, and his Wife *Guynevour*, were found in the Vale of *Avolan*, under an hollow Oak, fifteen foot under ground: the hair of the said *Guynevour* being then whole and of fresh colour; but as soon as it was touched, it fell to powder, as *Fabian* relateth.

The bones of King Arthur found.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Eleanor* Daughter and heir of *William* Duke of *Guien*, late Wife of *Lewis* the seventh King of *France*, but then divorced; but for what cause divorced, is diversly related. Some say King *Lewis* carried her with him into the Holy Land, where she carried her self not very holily, but led a licentious life; and which is the worst kind of licentiousness, in carnal familiarity with a *Turk*. Which King *Lewis* though knowing, yet dissembled, till coming home, he then waved that cause, as which he could not bring without disgrace to himself, and made use of their nearness in blood, as being Cousins in the fourth degree, which was allowed by the Pope, as a cause sufficient to divorce them, though he had at that time two Daughters by her. Being thus divorced, Duke *Henry* marries her, with whom it was never known, but she led a modest and sober life, a sufficient proof, that the former report was but a slander. By this Queen *Eleanor* he had five Sons, *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geoffry*, and *John*; and three Daughters, *Maud* married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*; *Eleanor* married to *Alphonso* the Eighth of that name, King of *Castile*; and *Jane* or *Jone* married to *William* K. of *Sicily*. Of his Sons, *William* died young. *Henry* born the second year of his reign, was Crowned King with his Father, in the eighteenth year, and died the nine and twentieth year, and was buried at *Roan*; married to *Margaret*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, but left no issue. *Richard* born at *Oxford* (in the Kings Palace there called *Beau-mont*) in the fourth year of his Fathers reign, and succeeded him in the Kingdom. *Geoffry* born the fifth year of his Fathers reign, married *Constance* Daughter and Heir of *Conan*, Earl of Little *Britain*, in the fourteenth year, and in the two and thirtieth year died; leaving by his Wife *Constance*, two Daughters, and a *Posthumus* Son named *Arthur*. *John* his youngest, called *John* without Land, because he had no Land assigned him in his Fathers time; born the twelfth year of his Fathers reign, and succeeded his brother *Richard* in the Kingdom. And this may be reckoned a peculiar honour to this King, that of his five Sons, three of them lived to be Kings; and of his three Daughters, two of them to be Queens. Concubines he had many, but two more famous than the rest; and one of these two more famous than the other; and this was *Rosamund*, Daughter of *Walter*, Lord *Clifford*, whom he kept at *Woodstock*, in lodgings so cunningly contrived, that no stranger could find the way in; yet Queen *Eleanor* did, being guided by a thread: so much is the eye of jealousie quicker in finding out, than the eye of care is in hiding. What the Queen did to *Rosamund* when she came to her, is uncertain; but this is certain, that *Rosamund* lived but a short time after, and lies buried in the Nunnery of *Godstow* near to *Oxford*. By this *Rosamund* King *Henry* had two Sons, *William* called *Long-sword*; who was Earl of *Salisbury* in right of his Wife *Ela*, Daughter and Heir of *William* Earl of that Countrey, and had by her much issue, whose posterity continued a long time: And a second Son named *Geoffry*, who was first bishop of *Lincoln*, and afterward Archbishop of *York*, and after five years banishment in his Brother King *John*'s time, died in the year 1213. The other famous Concubine of this King *Henry*, was the Wife of *Ralph Blewet* a Knight; by whom he had a Son named *Morgan*, who was Provost of *Beverley*, and being to be elected Bishop of *Durham*, went to *Rome* for a dispensation, because being a Bastard he was else uncapable: But the Pope refusing to grant it, unless he would pass as the Son of *Blewet*, he absolutely answered, he would for no cause in the world deny his Father; and chose rather to lose the Dignity of the place, than of his Blood, as being the Son, though but the base Son of a King.

A strange licentiousness of Q. Eleanor.

John without land.

Rosamund one of his Concubines.

The Wife of *Blewet* another of his Concubines.

An honour to descend from a King though born base.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was somewhat red of face, and broad breasted; short of body, and therewithal fat, which made him use much exercise and little meat. He was commonly called *Henry* Short-mantle, because he was the first that brought the use of short Cloaks out of *Anjou* into *England*. Concerning endowments of mind, he was of spirit in the highest degree Generous, which made him often say, that all the World sufficed not to a courageous heart. He had the Reputation of a wise Prince all the Christian World over; which made *Alphonsus* King of *Castile*, and *Garsyas* King of *Navarre* refer a difference that was between them, to his Arbitrement; who so judiciously determined the cause that he gave contentment to both parties; a harder matter than to cut cloth even by a thread. His custome was to be alwayes in action; for which cause, if he had no real Wars, he would have feigned; and would transport Forces either into *Normandy* or *Britain*, and go with them himself, whereby he was alwayes prepared of an Army: and made it a Schooling to his Souldiers, and to himself an Exercise. To his children he was both indulgent and hard; for out of indulgence he caused his Son *Henry* to be Crowned King in his own time: and out of hardness he caused his younger Sons to Rebel against him. He was rather Superstitious than not Religious; which he shewed more by his carriage toward *Becket* being dead than while he lived. His Incontinency was not so much that he used other women besides his Wife, but the affianced wife of his own Son: And it was commonly thought, he had a meaning to be divorced from his Wife Q. *Eleanor*, and to take the said *Adela* to be his wife. Yet generally to speak of him, he was an excellent Prince; and if in some particulars he were defective, it must be considered he was a man.

Why called Short-mantle.

Always in action.

To his children both hard and indulgent.

His incontinency.

Of his Death and Burial.

HE was not well at eaſe before, but when the King of *France* ſent him a liſt of thoſe that had conſpired againſt him, and that he found the firſt man in the Liſt to be his Son *John*, he then fell ſuddenly into a fit of fainting, which ſo encreaſed upon him, that within four dayes after he ended his life. So ſtrong a Corroſive is grief of mind, when it meets with a body weakened before with ſickneſs. He died in *Normandy*, in the 1189. year 1189. when he had lived threeſcore and one years; reigned near five and thirty: and was buried at *Fount-Everard* in *France*; the manner of whoſe burial was thus. He was cloathed in his Royal Robes, his Crown upon his head, white Gloves upon his hands, Boots of Gold upon his legs, Gilt Spurs at his heels, a great rich Ring upon his finger, his Scepter in his hand, his Sword by his ſide, and his face uncovered and all bare. As he was carried to be buried, his Son *Richard* in great haſte ran to ſee him, who no ſooner was come near the body, but ſuddenly at his Noſtrils he fell a bleeding afreſh; which though it were in Prince *Richard* no good ſign of Innocency, yet his breaking preſently into bitter tears upon the ſeeing it, was a good ſign of Repentance. It may not be unſeaſonable to ſpeak in this place of a thing which all Writers ſpeak of, that in the Family of the Earls of *Anjou*, of whom this King *Henry* came, there was once a Princeſs a great enchantreſs, who being on a time enforced to take the bleſſed Euchariſt, ſhe ſuddenly flew out at the Church window, and was never ſeen after. From this Woman theſe later Earls of *Anjou* were deſcended, which perhaps made the Patriarch *Heraclius* ſay of this King *Henry*'s children, that from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they would. But Writers perhaps had been more compleat, if they had left this ſtory out of their Writings:

His body falls a bleeding at his Son Richard's coming near his Corps.

His Anceſtreſs an Enchantreſs.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Clergy men, there was *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Geoffry* of *Ely*, *Robert* of *Bathe*, *Aldred* of *Worceſter*, all learned men, and of great integrity of life. Of Military men, there was *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwal*, *Hugh Bigot*, *Robert Ferrys*, *Richard Lacy*, *Roger Mombray*, *Ralph Fulger*, *Ranulph Granula*, *William Veſci*, and *Raynard Bayliol*; men of great atchievements in War, and of no leſs abilities in Peace.

The

The LIFE and REIGN of KING RICHARD THE FIRST.

Of his coming to the Crown, and of his Coronation.

Anno. Dom. 1189. King *Richard* Crowned.

KING *Richard* the first of that name, after his Fathers Funeral, went to *Roan*, where he settled the state of that Province; and from thence came into *England*, where he was Crowned King at *Westminster*, by the hands of *Baldwin*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the third day of *September* in the year 1189. And herein this Prince is more beholding to Writers than any of his Predecessors; for in speaking of their Crowning, they content themselves with telling where and by whom they were Crowned: but of this Prince they deliver the manner of his Crowning, in the full amplitude of all Circumstances, which perhaps is not unfit to do, for satisfaction of such as are never like to see a Coronation; and it was in this manner. First, the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, *Roan*, *Trier*, and *Dublin*, with all the other Bishops, Abbots, and Clergy, apparelled in rich Copes, and having the Cross, Holy Water, and Censers carried before them, came to fetch him at the door of his Privy-Chamber; and there receiving him, they led him to the Church of *Westminster*, till they came before the high Altar, with a solemn Procession. In the middle of the Bishops and Clergy, went four Barons, bearing Candlesticks with Tapers; after whom came *Geoffry de Lucy*, bearing the Cap of maintenance, and *John Marshal* next to him, bearing a massie pair of Spurs of Gold; then followed *William Marshal*, Earl of *Striguil*, *alias Pembroke*, who bare the Royal Scepter, in the top whereof was set a Cross of Gold; and *William de Patrick*, Earl of *Salisbury* going next him, bare the Warder or Rod, having on the Top thereof a Dove. Then came three other Earls, *David*, Brother to the King of *Scots*, the Earl of *Huntington*; *John* the Kings Brother, Earl of *Mortaigne*; and *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, each of them bearing a Sword upright in his hand with the Scabbards richly adorned with Gold. The Earl of *Mortaigne* went in the middle betwixt the other two; after them followed six Earls and Barons, bearing a Checker Table, upon the which were set the Kings Scutcheons of Arms; and then followed *William Mandevil* Earl of *Albemarle*, bearing a Crown of Gold, a great height before the King, who followed, having the Bishop of *Durham* on the right hand, and *Reynold* Bishop of *Bathe* on the left, over whom a Canopy was born: and in this order he came into the Church at *Westminster*, where before the high Altar, in the presence of the Clergy and the people, laying his hand upon the Holy Evangelists, and the reliques of certain Saints, he took a solemn Oath that he should observe Peace, honour, and Reverence to Almighty God, to his Church, and to his Ministers, all the dayes of his life; also that he should exercise upright Justice to the people committed to his charge; and that he should abrogate and disannul all evil Laws, and wrongful Customes, if any were to be found in the precinct of his Realm; and maintain those that were good and laudable. This done, he put off all his Garments from his middle upwards, but only his Shirt, which was open on the shoulders that he might be anointed. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* anointed him in three places, on the head, on the shoulder, and on the right arm, with Prayers in such cases accustomed. After this, he covered his head with a linnen cloth hallowed, and set his Cap thereon; and then after he had put on his Royal Garments, and his uppermost Robe, the Archbishop delivered him the Sword, with which he should beat down the enemies of the Church, which done, two Earls put his Shooes upon his feet, and having his Mantle put on him, the Archbishop forbad him on the behalf of Almighty God, to presume to take upon him this Dignity, except he faithfully meant to perform those things which he had there sworn to perform; whereunto the King made answer, that by Gods Grace he would perform them. Then the King took the Crown beside the Altar, and delivered it to the Archbishop, which he set upon the Kings head, delivering to him the Scepter to hold in his right hand, and the Rod-Royal in his left hand; and thus being Crowned, he was brought back by the Bishops and Barons, with the Cross and Candlesticks, and three Swords, passing forth before him unto his Seat. When the Bishop that sang the Mass, came to the Offertory, the two Bishops that brought him to the Church, led him to the Altar, and brought him back again. The Mass ended, he was brought with solemn Procession into his Chamber; and this was the manner of this Kings Coronation. But at this solemnity there fell out a very disasterous accident. For this Prince not favouring the Jews, as his Father had done, had given a strict charge, that no Jew should be admitted to be a spectator of the solemnity; yet certain Jews, as though it had been the Crowning of King *Herod*, would needs be pressing in: and being put back by Officers set of purpose, it grew to be a brabble, and from words to blows, so

Hoveden.

The manner of his Coronation.

His Oath at the Coronation.

so as many Jews were hurt, and some slain: and thereupon a rumour was suddenly spread abroad, that the King had commanded to have all the Jews destroyed. Whereupon it is incredible what rifling there was of Jews houses, and what cutting of their throats; and though the King signified by publick Declaration, that he was highly displeased with that which was done: yet there was no staying the multitude till the next day; so often it falls out, that great solemnities are waited on with great disasters, or rather indeed, as being connatural, they can hardly be asunder.

Of his first Acts after he was Crowned.

He sets his Mother Qu. *Eleanor* at liberty.

HE began with his Mother Queen *Eleanor* whom upon her Husbands displeasure, having been kept in prison sixteen years, he not only set at liberty, but set in as great authority, as if she had been left the Regent of the Kingdom. The next he gratifies was his Brother *John*, to whom he made appear how much the bounty of a Brother was better than the hardness of a Father; for he conferred upon him in *England*, the Earldoms of *Cornwal*, *Torset*, *Somerset*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, and *Leicester*; and by the marriage of *Isabel*, Daughter and Heir to the Earl of *Glouceſter*, he had that Earldom also, as likewise the Castles of *Marleborough*, and *Lutgarsal*, the Honours of *Wallingford*, *Tichil*, and *Eye*, to the value of 4000. Marks a year: an estate so great, as was able to put a very moderate mind into the humour of aspiring, of which Princes should have a care. Concerning his affianced Lady *Adela*, it may be thought strange, that having desired her so infinitely when he could not have her, now that he might have her, he cared not for her: but the cause was known, and in every mans mouth; that she was now but his Fathers leavings: yet he would not send her home but very rich in Jewels, to make amends, if it might be, for the loss of her Virginity; though this was somewhat hard on his part, when the Father had taken all the pleasure, that the Son should afterwards pay all the Charges. But by this at least he made a quiet way for his Marriage now concluded, and shortly after to be consummated in *Sicily* with *Berengaria* the Daughter of *Garsyas* King of *Navarre*. And now his mind is wholly set upon his long intended Voyage to the *Holy-Land*; for which he thinks not the treasure left by his Father to be sufficient, which yet amounted to nine hundred thousand pounds: but forecasting with himself the great charge it must needs be, to carry an Army so long a journey, he seeks to enlarge his provision of money by all the means he can devise. Not long before, *Hugh Pudsey* had been advanced to the Bishoprick of *Durham*; and now for a great sum of money he sold him the Earldom: and then said merrily among his Lords, Do ye not think me a cunning man, that of an old Bishop can make a young Earl? From the *Londoners* he drained also great sums of money, and made them recompence in Franchises and Liberties which they had not before. He made also great sales; to the King of *Scots* he sold the Castles of *Berwick* and *Roxborough*, for ten thousand pounds: to *Godfrey de Lucie*, Bishop of *Winchester*, the Mannors of *Weregrave* and *Mentz*: to the Abbot of St. *Edmundsbury*, the Mannor of *Midhal* for one thousand Marks of Silver: to the Bishop of *Durham*, the Mannor of *Sadborough*; and when it was marvelled that he would part with such things, he answered, that in this case he would sell his City of *London*, if he could find a Chapman. But the worst way of all was, that pretending to have lost his Signet, he made a new one; and made Proclamation, that whosoever would safely enjoy what under the former Signet was granted, should come to have it confirmed by the new: whereby he raised great sums of money to himself, but greater of discontentment in his Subjects. By these, and such like means, he quickly furnished himself with money; and now it remained only to consider, to whose care he should commit the Government of the Kingdom in his absence: and after deliberation he made choice for the North-parts, of *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*; joyning in Commission with him, *Hugh Baldulph*, and *William Brunel*; and for the South parts he appoints *William Longshampe* Bishop of *Ely*, and Chancellour of *England*, and for his greater strength, causeth the Pope to make him Legat of all *England* and *Scotland*; and for *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; all men eminent for prudence and uprightness, and which is most of all, for loyalty: and indeed to make a man fit for such imployment, all these vertues must concur. As for his Brother *John*, he knew well his aspiring mind, and therefore would have tied him to live in *Normandy*, and not to come into *England* till his return, but that their Mother Queen *Eleanor* interceded, and passed her word for him; and that nothing might be left unprovided for, he appointed his Nephew *Arthur*, the Son of his Brother *Geoffry* Duke of *Britain* to be his Successour, if himself should fail. And now, *Undique convenere, vocat jam carbasus auras*, every man is ready to take Shiping, and no stay now but for a Wind; only some say that King *Richard* before his departing, calling his Lords and Knights unto him, and swearing them to be true, gave to every of them a blue Riband to be known by; from whence the first occasion of the Order of the Garter is thought to begin.

His bounty to his Brother *John*.

He refuseth his affianced Lady *Adela*, and why.

He marries *Berengaria* the daughter of the King of *Navarre*.

He makes great provision of money for his journey to the *Holy-Land*.

He makes the Bishop of *Durham* an Earl for money.

He sells *Berwick* to the K. of *Scots*.

He leaves *William Longshamp* Bishop of *Ely*, Governour of the Kingdom.

He appoints his Nephew *Arthur* to be his Successour if himself should fail.

From whence the order of the Garter is thought to have begun.

Of his Journey into the Holy Land.

KIng *Richard* having prepared an Army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand Horse; and having appointed to meet *Philip* King of *France* in *Sicily*, at the later end of *June*, in the year 1190. sets forward himself by Land to *Marseilles*, and there stayes till his Ships should come about: but his Navy being driven by tempest to other parts, and the King weary of long staying, after six weeks, he hireth Shipping for himself and his company, and passeth forward to *Messana* in *Sicily*, where arrived also the K. of *France*, and not long after, his own Navy. In this Island the King *William*, now lately dead, had married *Jane*, King *Richard's* Sister, from whom *Tancred* the present King with-held her Dower; and therefore though he shewed King *Richard* fair countenance: yet he dealt secretly with

1190.

King Richard takes the City of Messana in Sicily.

with the *Messanians* to use all means to get him gone: whereupon the *Messanians* taking a small occasion, set suddenly upon the *English*, and thrust them out of their Town. With which King *Richard* justly offended, who had his Camp without the Town, prepares himself to revenge the affront; when *Tancred* sending to him to signifie that the affront was offered without his knowledge, and much against his liking, so pacified him, that for the present he remained satisfied: but understanding afterward, that the *Messanians* did but wait their opportunity till the Spring, when King *Richard* should be going, he resenting their intention, stayes not their leisure, but assaulting the Town with Fire and Sword, in one dayes labour takes it; and had made great slaughter in it, if King *Richard* had not been moved to compassion with the *Messanians* tears, but chiefly with K. *Tancred*'s offers, both to pay his Sister *Jane* her Dower, and to marry his Daughter to King *Richard*'s Nephew, *Arthur*, Duke of *Britain*, and to give a good part of the portion in hand. But King *Philip* was not well pleased with these conditions, yet he breaks not out to open dissension, till more fewel was afterward cast upon the fire of his anger. In the Spring King *Philip* sails with his Army to *Ptolemais* (otherwise called *Acon*) which the Christians had long besieged, and with them he joyns; while King *Richard* taking his Sister *Jane* and *Berengaria* the young Daughter of the King of *Navarre* with him, in 190. Ships, and 50. Gallies, puts to Sea for the *Holy Land*: but is by Tempest cast upon the Coast of *Cyprus*, where the Islanders seeking to hinder his landing, he sets upon them with his Forces; and invading the Island, easily subdues, and brings it under his Subjection. And the King of the Countrey being taken Prisoner, and intreating King *Richard* not to put him in bonds of Iron, King *Richard* gives him his word, and keeps it, but puts him in bonds of Silver. In this Island he solemnized his marriage with *Berengaria*, and then leaving *Richard de Canvile*, and *Rob. de Thurnham*, his Lieutenants in *Cyprus*, he passeth on to *Ptolemais*, which City was defended by *Saladine*, and had been besieged now two years: when the Enemy seeing and fearing the encrease of the Christian Forces, propounds Conditions, upon which accepted, they deliver it up in *August*, the year 1192.

He subdues the Island of Cyprus.

Here he marries Berengaria.

1192.

The first offence between King Richard and Leopold Duke of Austria.

At the taking of this Town there fell out an accident seeming an honour to King *Richard* for the present, but proving a disgrace, at least a great trouble and charge to him afterward; For *Leopold* D. of *Austria* had first set up his colours upon the wall, which King *Richard* caused to be thrown down, and his own to be set up: but this was no place to stand a quarrelling, it came not to the reckoning till some time after. When *Ptolemais* was taken, *Saladine* fearing the Christians further proceeding, dismantles all the best Towns that were near it; as *Porphyria*, *Cæsarea*, *Ascalon*, *Gaza*: but of *Joppa*, K. *Richard* takes a care, and placeth in it a Colony of Christians. For *Joppa* is a City of *Palestine*, that was built before the Flood, and hath belonging to it a Haven of great convenience. And now the K. of *France*, though valiant enough himself, yet thinking his own great acts to be obscured by greater of K. *Richard*'s, he began, besides his old hating him, now to envy him. For indeed Emulation when it is in Vertue, makes the stronger knot of love and affection; but when it is in Glory, it makes a separation, and turns into the passion of envy and malice. And so did it with K. *Philip*, who pretending the air of the Countrey did not agree with his body; but was indeed because the air of King *Richard*'s Glory did not agree with his mind, obtained King *Richard*'s consent to return home, swearing first solemnly not to molest his Territories in his absence. But this fell out for the present enterprise most unseasonably: For the departure of the King of *France*, though it diminished not much the strength, (for he left *Odo* Duke of *Burgundy* in his place) yet it diminished much the shew of assistance. And indeed *Saladine*, who was at this time in terms of surrendring *Jerusalem*, when he saw the King of *France* departed, as knowing there must needs be a conclusion, where there was a beginning, doubted not but the rest would follow soon after; and thereupon stayed his hands, and grew more confident than he was before. At this time *Guy* of *Lusignan* was possest of the City of *Tyre*, and with it of the right of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*: with him King *Richard* makes an exchange, that *Guy* should have the Island of *Cyprus*, which King *Richard* had won, and King *Richard* should have the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, to which *Guy* had a right; and upon this title the Kings of *England* were stiled Kings of *Jerusalem* a long time after; as likewise the posterity of the said *Guy* hath by this exchange held the Kingdom of *Cyprus* to this day. Now was King *Richard* more hot upon taking *Jerusalem* than ever before, and had certainly taken it, but that by ill counsel diverted, because the Winter drew on, and indeed by the drawing back of *Odo* Duke of *Burgundy*, who envied that King *Richard* should have the honour of taking it, he removed for that season to *Ascalon*; after which time, the Enemy growing stronger, and the Christians weaker, all opportunity of taking it is utterly lost, and they could never come to the like again. And shortly after King *Richard* was advertised of the King of *France* his invading *Normandy*, contrary to his Oath at his departure; which forced King *Richard*, much to his grief, to conclude a peace with *Saladine*, and that upon conditions not very honourable for the Christians; and himself presently to return home. And so sending his wife *Berengaria*, and his sister *Jane*, with a great part of his Army into *Sicily*, and from thence into *England*, he passeth himself with some few in his company, by the way of *Thrace* and was by Tempest brought into *Dalmatia*; from whence being to pass through *Germany*, and particularly through Duke *Leopolds* Countrey of *Austria*, he remembring the old grudge, changed his apparel, and travelling sometimes afoot, and sometimes on horseback, he used all means possible to keep himself from being known. But destiny is not to be avoided, for as soon as he came to *Vienna*, partly by his tongue, and partly by his expences, it was presently found he was an *English* man, and withal some great man; and by and by a rumour was spread, that it was *Richard* King of *England*; who finding himself

Joppa a City built before the Flood.

The Kings of England from whence stiled Kings of Jerusalem.

The King of France invading K. Richards Territories in his absence makes him return.

He returns home through Germany.

Is taken prisoner by D. Leopold.

to be discovered, and no means possible to escape, he puts off his disguise, putting on his Princely apparel, and avows himself. Which Duke *Leopald* understanding, sent presently to have him apprehended: but King *Richard* refusing to yield himself to any, but to the Duke himself: the Duke himself came and led him to his own Palace honourably enough, but yet strongly guarded: whereof as soon as *Henry* the Emperour heard, he sent with great instance to Duke *Leopold* to send King *Richard* over to him, under pretence of safer custody, but with a purpose indeed to be a sharer in his Ransome. And the Duke though well knowing his meaning, yet knowing withall that it was not safe for him to deny the Emperour, he sent him over to him; who soon after put him into a prison he had, called *Trivallis*, into which no man was ever known to be put that escaped with life, though done perhaps to him, but *in terrorem*, to draw the better Ransome from him. That with which King *Richard* was charged, beside the wrong done to *Leopold*, in throwing down his Colours at *Ptolemais*; was the death of *Conrade* Duke of *Tyre*, whom they pretended King *Richard* had murthered. Wherein though King *Richard* made his innocency appear by the testimony of *Limboldus*, who confessed himself to have been the author of the Marquesses death; yet the pretence served to detain him in prison: and in prison indeed they kept him, till his Ransome was agreed upon and paid. Which being a hundred thousand pounds, fourscore thousand was paid in hand, whereof two parts to the Emperour, a third part to Duke *Leopald*; and for the rest hostages given to the number of fifty, of whom the Bishop of *Roan* was one: though the Hostages afterward were delivered without paying the rest; for *Henry* the Emperour dying shortly after, his Successour had the conscience not to take it, as knowing it had been unjustly exacted. And indeed the accidents that befel both the Emperour and the Duke *Leopold*, were evident demonstrations of the injustice they had done, for the Emperour shortly after died, and the Duke *Leopold* in a Tilting for solemnity of his Birth-day, fell off his Horse, and so broke his Leg, that to save his life, he was fain to have his Leg cut off. And now after fifteen months imprisonment, K. *Richard* is released, and returns into *England* four years elder than he went out; and thus ended his Journey to the Holy-Land. Yet one memorable accident happening to him in the Holy Land, may not be omitted; that going one day a Hawking about *Joppa*, finding himself weary, he laid him down upon the ground to sleep, when suddenly certain *Turks* came upon him to take him: but he awakened with their noise, riseth up, gets a horseback, and drawing out his Sword, assaults the *Turks*, who feigning to flie, drew the King into an ambush where many *Turks* lay, who had certainly taken him if they had known his person, but one of the Kings Servants, called *William de Patrellis*, crying out in the *Saracen* tongue, that he was the King, they presently lay hold upon him, and let the King escape.

Is imprisoned in *Trivallis* by the Emperour.

He is ransomed.

His valour.

A faithful servant.

Troubles in his Dominions in his absence.

KIng *Richard* at his going out of *England*, had so well settled the Government of the Kingdom, that it might well have kept it in good order during all the time of his absence; but disorders are weeds which no foresight can hinder from growing, having so many hands to water them: where occasions of distaste are no sooner offered than taken: and oftentimes taken before they be offered, as was here to be seen. For King *Richard* had left in chief place of Authority, *William Longshampe*, Bishop of *Ely*; a man who so carried himself, that although the things he did were justifiable, yet the pride with which he did them was unsufferable; seldom riding abroad without five hundred, some say a thousand in his train; not for safety, but for state: and though there were other left in Authority besides himself; yet his power was so predominant, that he made of them but ciphers, and ruled all as he list himself. This insolency of governing was soon distasted by many, and especially by *John* the Kings Brother, who counting the greatness of his birth an equal match at least with any substitute greatness, affronted the Bishop in the managing of affairs in such sort, that while some adhered to the one, and some to the other, the Kingdom in the mean time was in danger to be rent asunder; till at last the Bishop finding himself too weak, or at least fearing that he was so, but rather indeed deposed from his Authority by the Kings Letters, and the Archbishop of *Roan* put in his place, thought it best for him to flie the Realm. Whereupon for his greater safety, disguising himself in womans apparel, and carrying a Web of Cloth under his arm, he sought in this manner to take shipping and pass the Sea: But being discovered and known, the women in revenge of the abuse done their cloths, in making them his instruments of fraud, fell upon him, and so beat him, that it might have beaten humility into him for ever after. This disgrace made him glad to get into *Normandy*, his native Countrey, where to little purpose he wooed King *Richard*, and Queen *Eleanor* for reparation. But this was but a sport in comparison of the mischiefs done in *Normandy* by *Philip* King of *France*; for first he invades *Normandy*, where he takes many Towns and amongst others *Gysors*, and draws the Kings Brother *John* to combine with him, promising to assist him in winning the Kingdom of *England*, and to have his Sister *Adela*, whom King *Richard* had repudiated, to be his Wife: with which promise Duke *John* had been ensnared, if his Mother Queen *Eleanor* had not dissuaded him. But in *England* Duke *John* took upon him as King, perswading the people that his Brother King *Richard* was not living; and indeed it was easie to remove, they knowing him to be a prisoner, to the affirming him to be dead: but such was the faithfulness of the Archbishop of *Roan*, and other the Princes of the Realm to King *Richard*, that they opposed Duke *John* and frustrated all his practices; and the Bishop of *Ely* had told him plainly, that though King *Richard* were dead, yet the succession in the King-

Longshamp's proud carriage.

Which the Lord *Ely* opposeth.

Longshampe forceth to flie the Realm in disguise.

Is discovered, and beaten by the women.

The Duke *John* takes upon him as King.

Kingdom belonged not to him, but to *Arthur* D. of *Britain*, Son of *Geoffry* his Elder Brother. And in these terms King *Richard* found his State when he returned from the Holy-Land.

His Acts and Troubles after his returning from the Holy-Land.

AT his coming home from the Holy Land, the first thing he did, was to give his Lords and people thanks for their faithfulness to him in his absence, and then for their readiness in supplying him for his Ransom. But as for his Brother *John* in whom ungratefulness seemed to strive with Ambition, which should be the greater in him, he depriveth him of all those great possessions he had given him: some ado he had to make sound certain pieces which he had corrupted, as the Castles of *Marlborough*, *Lancaster*, and a Fortress at Saint *Michaels* Mount in *Cornwal*; but chiefly the Castles of *Nottingham* and *Tichil*, which stood so firmly for D. *John*, that they were not reduced to obedience without some blood, and much expence. But his greatest trouble was with *Philip* King of *France*, in whom was so ingrafted a spleen against King *Richard*, that he seemed to be never well but when he was working him some ill. Now therefore King *Richard* to make it appear he had not left the Holy War for nothing (having first obtained in Parliament a Subsidy towards his charges, and caused himself to be new Crowned at *Winchester*, (when the King of *Scots* bore one of the three Swords before him) left the people through his long absence might have forgotten they had a King) he departs with a hundred Ships into *Normandy*; but it was withal, upon this occasion: sitting one day at dinner in his little Hall (as it was called) news was brought him, that King *Philip* had besieged *Vernoil*, with which he was so moved, that he swore a great Oath he would not turn his face till he were revenged. Whereupon he caused the wall right before him to be presently beaten down, that so he might pass forward without turning his face; and thus in haste he goes to *Vernoil*, whither he was no sooner come, but the King of *France* made as great haste to be gone, not without some loss, and more disgrace. Here his brother *John* submits himself to him, and with great shew of penitence intreats his pardon, which he readily granted; saying only, I wish you may as well remember your fault, as I shall forget it. The King of *France* having left *Vernoil*, enters *Turonia*, and near to *Vindocinum* pitcheth his Tents: thither King *Richard* follows him, and with his coming so affrighted him, that leaving Bag and Baggage, Munition, Tents, and Treasure to a marvellous value, he got him gone, and glad he was so rid of King *Richard*. After this a Truce was agreed upon for a year, which each of them longed till it was expired: as having no pleasure but in troubling one another. In this time there was a trouble at home, though not to the King; yet to the Kingdom. For *Robin Hood*, accompanied with one little *John*, and a hundred stout fellows more, molested all passengers upon the High-way: of some it is said, that he was of noble blood, as least made noble, no less than an Earl, for some deserving services: but having wasted his estate in riotous courses, very penury forced him to take this course. In which yet it may be said he was honestly dishonest; for he seldom hurt any man, never any woman, spared the poor, and only made prey of the rich; till the King setting forth a Proclamation to have him apprehended, it happened he fell sick at a certain Nunnery in *Yorkshire* called *Birkleys*; and desiring there to be let blood, was betrayed, and bled to death. Such another trouble, though not to the King, yet to the Kingdom, fell out by reason of the Jews; and first at the Town of *Lynne* in *Norfolk*, upon this occasion: A Jew being turned Christian, was persecuted by those of his Nation, and assaulted in the street; who thereupon flying to a Church hard by was thither also followed, and the Church assaulted: which the people of the Town seeing, in succour of the new Christian, they fell upon the Jews, of whom they slew a great number, and after pillaged their houses. By this Example the like assaults were made upon the Jews at *Stamford*, and after that at *Lincoln*, and lastly at *York*, where infinite number of Jews were massacred; and some of them blocked up in the Castle, cut the throats of their Wives and Children, and cast them over the Walls upon the Christians heads, and then burnt both the Castle and themselves. Neither could this sedition be stayed, till the King sent his Chancellour the Bishop of *Ely*; with force of Arms, to punish the offenders. His last trouble was a punishment of covetousness; for one *Guydomer* having found a great Treasure in the Kings Dominions; and for fear of King *Richard*, flying to a Town of the King of *France* for his safeguard, was pursued by the King: but the Town denied him entrance, and he thereupon going about the Walls to find the fittest place for assaulting it, one *Bertram de Gerdon*, or as others call him *Peter Basile*, shot at him with a Cross-Bow, and hit him on the Arm, of which wound he died within four dayes after, and so ended all his Troubles.

King Richard at his return deprives his Brother John of all his possessions.

Is new Crowned.

His strange haste to relieve *Vernoil*.

Reconciled to his Brother *John*.

1195. A Truce between the two Kings.

Robin Hood and little *John*.

Jews ill in divers places.

King Richard is wounded and dieth 1199.

Of his Taxations and wayes for raising of Money.

OF Taxations properly so called, there were never fewer in any Kings Reign; but of wayes to draw money from the Subject never more. It is true, the first money raised for his Journey, was all out of his own Estate, by selling or pawning of Lands; but then at his coming back, he resumed the Lands into his hands again, without paying back the money he had received. This if it may not have the name, yet certainly it had the venome of a bitter Taxation. Likewise the feigning to have lost his Seal, and then enjoyning them to have their Grants confirmed by a new; though it went not in the number, yet it had the weight of a heavy Taxation where it lighted. Afterward, the money raised for his Ransom, was not so properly a Taxation as a Contribution: or if a Taxation for him, yet not by him, which was done in his absence, by the Subjects themselves. And indeed no Taxations are commonly so pinching, as those which are imposed upon the Subject by the Subject, and such was this; for to raise money for his Ransom, there was imposed upon

every Knights Fee 20 *s.* of all Lay-mens Revenues the fourth part; and the fourth part of all the Revenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their Goods. Alſo the Chalices and Treaſure of all Churches were taken to make up the ſum. Afterward, this only was a plain Taxation, and granted in Parliament; that of every Plough-land through *England*, he would have two ſhillings, and of the Monks Ciſteaux, all their Wool of that year. And one more great than this, and was this year impoſed towards his Wars in *Normandy*, that every Hide of Land, as much as to ſay, every hundred Acres of Land, ſhould pay 5 *s.* which computed without deductions, will riſe to a ſum that will ſeem incredible.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

HIs Ordinances were chiefly for the Meridian of *London*; for where before his time the City was governed by Portgraves, this King granted them to be governed by two Sheriffs and a Major, as now it is. And to give the firſt of theſe Magiſtrates the honour to be remembred the names of the Sheriffs were *Henry Cornhil*, and *Richard Reyner*; and the name of the firſt Lord Major was *Henry Fitz-Alwyn*, who continued Major during his life, which was four and twenty years. But *Fabian* who was himſelf a Sheriff of *London*; and by that means moſt likely to know the truth, affirmeth, that the Officers ordained now by King *Richard*, were but only two Bayliffs: and that there was no Major nor Sheriff of *London* till the Tenth year of King *John*; and therefore at that year I will begin their Catalogue. But howſoever, now began the City firſt to receive the form and ſtate of a Common wealth, and to be divided into Fellowſhips and Corporations, as at this day they are: And this Franchiſe was granted in the year 1189. the firſt year of King *Richard* the firſt. He made alſo divers Ordinances concerning the meaſures of Corn, and Wine, and Cloth; and that no Cloth ſhould any where be dyed of any other colour than black, but only in principal Towns and Cities. Alſo he ordained Juſts and Tournaments to be holden for the exerciſe of his Gentry in Arms.

Sheriffs and Major of *London* firſt ordained.

Paris fol. 191.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

THe Church within his own Dominions was quiet all his time, no conteſtation with the Pope, no alterations amongſt the Biſhops, no difference between the Clergy and the Laity, or the Clergy amongſt themſelves: they alſo ſeemed to be aſleep, till they were afterwards awakened, in the time of the ſucceeding King. But abroad in his time, there was an addition of three Orders of Devotion; the Order of the *Auguſtine* Friers, called Friers Mendicants, begun by *William* of *Paris*; then the Orders of Friers Minors begun by St. *Francis*; and laſtly, the Orders of Friers Preachers begun by St. *Dominick*, though not confirmed till the firſt year of Pope *Honorius*.

New Orders of Friers.

Works of Piety in his time.

WOrks of Piety are for the moſt part works of Plenty. Penury may inwardly have good wiſhes, but outwardly it can expreſs but little. And indeed all parts of the Kingdom, all ſorts of people were drawn ſo dry, by the two great occaſions of his Journey and his Ranſome, and afterward by other Taxations; that the richeſt men had enough to do to maintain themſelves, without being at the charge to make proviſion for others. All works of Piety were now for the ſervice of the *Holy Land*; and therefore it may well paſs, if not for a work of Devotion, at leaſt worthy to be remembred, that *William* Biſhop of *Ely* builded the outer Wall of the Tower of *London*, and cauſed a deep ditch to be made about it, with an intention the River of *Thames* ſhould have ſurrounded it, though it could not be effected. Only *Hubert Walter* who at one time was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Popes Legate, Lord Chancellour, Lord Chief Juſtice, and the immediate Governour under the King, both in *Wales* and *England*, founded a Monaſtery at Weſt *Durham* in *Norfolk*, where he was born; begun another at *Wolverhampton*; and finiſhed a Collegiate Church at *Lambeth*.

Of his Wife and Children.

IN his Infancy he was contracted to a Daughter of *Raymond* Earl of *Barcelone*, after that affianced to *Adela*, or *Alice*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, yet married to neither of them; but he married *Berengaria*, Daughter of *Garſias* K. of *Navarre*, whom his Mother Queen *Eleanor* brought unto him into *Sicily*, from whence paſſing into *Cyprus*, their marriage was there ſolemnized. Afterward going forward to the *Holy Land*, he carried her and his Siſter *Jane* Queen of *Sicily* along with him, where they remained till his return home, and then ſent them to paſs to *Sicily*, and from thence into *England*: but that ever ſhe came into *England*, no mention is made, neither what became of her after ſhe parted from King *Richard* at the *Holy Land*. But Children certainly he had none, either by his Wife, or by any Concubine, unleſs we reckon as a Prieſt in *Normandy* did, who told K. *Richard* he had three Daughters; and the King marvelling who they ſhould be, ſeeing he knew of none he had; Yes (ſaith the Prieſt) you have three Daughters, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and Lechery. Which the King taking merrily, called to the company about him, and ſaid, I am told by a Prieſt here, that I have three Daughters; and I deſire you to be witneſſes how I would have them beſtowed: My daughter Pride upon the Templars and Hoſpitalers; my daughter Covetouſneſs, upon the Monks of the *Ciſtertian* Order; and my daughter Lechery, upon the Clergy.

Uncertain what became of *Berengaria* K. *Richards* Wife.

K. *Richards* metaphorical daughters how diſpoſed.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his time the Town of *Mawling* in *Kent*, with the Nunnery, was conſumed with fire. And in his time the bones of *Arthur* the famous King of *Britain* were found at *Glaſtenbury* in an old Sepulchre, about which ſtood two Pillars, in which Letters were written but could not be read. Upon the Sepulchre was a Croſs of Lead, whereon was written, Here lyeth the Noble K. of *Britain*, *Arthur*. Alſo in this Kings dayes for three or four years together, there reigned

K. *Arthurs* Sepulchre found.

ſo

A great dearth.

so great a dearth, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for 18 shillings 8 pence, and then followed so great a Mortality of men, that scarce the living sufficed to bury the dead.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, and well proportioned, fair, and comely of face, of hair bright abourn, of long arms, and nimble in all his joynts, his thighs and legs of due proportion, and answerable to the other parts of his Body. To speak of his moral parts, his Vices for the most part were but only upon suspicion: Incontinency in him much spoken of, nothing proved. But his Virtues were apparent, for in all his actions he shewed himself Valiant, (from whence he had the appellation or surname of *Cœur de Lion*) Wise, Liberal, Mertiful, Just, and which is most of all, Religious. A Prince born for the good of Christendom, if a Bar in his Nativity had not hindred it. The remorse for his undutifulness towards his Father, was living in him till he died; for at his death he remembred it with bewailing, and desired to be buried as near him as might be, perhaps as thinking they should meet the sooner, that he might ask him forgiveness in another world.

K. Richard why called Cœur de Lyon.

Of his Death and Burial.

HE died of a wound with an Arrow in his arm, shot at him by one *Bertrad*, or *Peter Basile*, which neglected at first, and suffered to rankle, or as other say, ill handled by an unskilful Chirurgeon, in four dayes brought him to his end. But his Charity deserves to have it remembred, that finding himself past hope of Recovery, he caused the party that had wounded him to be brought before him: who being asked what moved him to do his Fact? answered, That King *Richard* had killed his Father and two of his Brothers with his own hand, and therefore he would do if it were to do again. Upon this insolent answer, every one looked the King should have censured him to some terrible punishment; when contrary to all their expectations, in a high degree of Charity, he not only freely forgave him, but gave a special charge he should be set at liberty, and that no man should dare to do him the least hurt; commanding besides to give him a hundred shillings for his pains. An act that well shewed he had been at the *Holy Land*, or rather indeed that he was going to it. But *Polychronicon* saith, That after King *Richard* was dead, the Duke of *Brabant* who was then present, caused the said *Bertrad* to be flayed quick, and then to be hanged. He died the sixth day of *April*, in 1199. when he had lived 44. years, reigned nine, and about nine months, and had his Body buried at *Font-Everard*, by his Father: his Heart at *Roan*, in remembrance of the hearty love that City had alwayes born him, and his Bowels at *Chalons*, for a disgrace of their unfaithfulness: others say at *Carlile* in *England*.

1199.

K. Richard's charitable mind at his death.

Men of Note in his time.

IN his time were famous, *Baldwyn* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who followed King *Richard* into the *Holy-Land*, and dyed there; *Hubert* that succeeded him; *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*; *William* Bishop of *Ely*, a man equally famous and infamous; also *Baldwyn* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Learned Writer in Divinity; *Daniel Morley*, a great Mathematician; *John de Herham*, and *Richard de Herham*, two notable Historians; *Guielmus Stephanides*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, who wrote much in the praise of Archbishop *Becket*; also one *Richard Divisiensis*, *Nicholas Walkington*, and *Robert de Bello Foco*, an excellent Philosopher. Of Martial men, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; *Randulph de Fulgers*; two of the *Bardolphs*, *Hugh* and *Henry*; three *Williams*, *Marshal*, *Brunel* and *Mandevil*, with two *Roberts*, *Ross*, and *Sevevile*.

The REIGN of KING JOHN.

1199. KING *Richard* being dead, the right of Succeſſion remained in *Arthur*, Son of *Geoffry Plantagenet*, elder Brother to Earl *John*; but *John* as thinking the Title of *Arthur* but a Criticiſm in State, and not for every ones Capacity, at leaſt in common ſenſe not ſo plain as his own, who was the Son of a King, and Brother to a King, aſcends into the Throne as confidently as if he had no Competitor: Only *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* went before, and made an Oration in his behalf, wherein ſeeking to do him a courteſie, he did him indeed a wrong; for waving his right of ſucceſſion, he inſiſted wholly upon their right of Election, whereof would follow, that as they brought him in, ſo they might caſt him out; of which errour when he was told, he ſaid, He did it of purpoſe to make King *John* the more careful of his Government, by making him ſenſible upon what an unſure ground his Regality ſtood. King *John* reſented it, but ſeeing it to ſerve his turn for the preſent, he took it not ill, as knowing that his turn once ſerved, he could afterward be his own carver of what Title he pleaſed; and ſo upon Aſcenſion day in the year 1199. he was Crowned King at *Weſtminſter*, with more ſolemnity than joy: many preſaging by their countenances and more in their minds, That all would not long be well. It cannot be denied, but that in moral circumſtances Earl *John* had the advantage of his Nephew *Arthur*; for he was a man of years fit to govern, *Arthur* but a Child, not thirteen years old; he a Native, at leaſt alwayes bred up in the Kingdom, *Arthur* a Foreigner, and had never been here; he well known both to the Nobility and People, *Arthur* a ſtranger to both, as one they had never ſeen. And beſides theſe moral advantages, he had now added one from the Politicks, that he had gotten poſſeſſion, (of more force in the practical part than all the former) and withall a greater than all theſe, if it be true which ſome write, That his Brother King *Richard* had aſſigned him his Succeſſour after his deceaſe. But yet knowing the Title at laſt would come to be tried in a Court, where the Sword muſt be Judge, he employeth all his endeavours to get this Judge to be his Friend, and by all means poſſible to ſtrengthen himſelf with Arms; and thereupon going to *Chinon* and *Roan*, he ſeiſeth upon the Treaſure which his Brother had left in thoſe parts, and with it gets Friends and Souldiers, the Armour of Arms. And indeed all he could have done himſelf would have done him no good, if he had not had the help of able Aſſiſtants, who yet aſſiſted him no leſs for their own ends than for his. And theſe were chiefly his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, who knew if her Grand-ſon *Arthur* ſhould be King, that then his Mother *Conſtantia* would rule all, at leaſt during his Minority; and thereby her ſelf be put from the ſtage of all Authority: and the Archbiſhop *Hubert*, who alſo knew that if *Arthur* ſhould come to reign, that then the *Anjouin* and *French* ſhould have all the beſt Offices, and the *Engliſh* wholly be neglected, as it was in the time of King *William* the Conquerour. And yet a greater Friend than both theſe; for coming to *Roan*, he uſed means, that *Walter* the Archbiſhop in the Cathedral Church with great pomp girt him with the Ducal Sword of *Normandy*, and Crowned him with a Coronet of Golden Roſes, he taking his Oath for faithful Adminiſtration in that Dukedom, and they their Oath for being Loyal Subjects.

King *John* is Crowned.

Why preferred before his Nephew *Arthur*.

Of his Troubles in Conteſtation with his Nephew Arthur.

THough King *John* had entred upon *Normandy*, and made that Province ſure unto him; yet the Province of *Anjou* ſtood firm for *Arthur*, in obſervance of their love to his Father their former Prince; which alſo King *John* ſoon after invading, reduceth by force of Arms to his obedience. And now *Conſtantia* the Mother of Prince *Arthur*, finding King *John* too powerful an adverſary, and no likelihood for her party, to be able long to ſtand out againſt him without further aſſiſtance, conceives it her beſt way to have recourſe to the King of *France*, and thereupon commits her Son *Arthur* to his tuition; who ſeemed to receive him with the tenderneſs of a Father, and promiſeth to aſſiſt him with his uttermoſt Forces, in the recovery of his Right both in *France* and *England*. Here we may obſerve upon what hinge the affections of the Kings of *France* were uſed to turn. For in King *Henry* the Second's time, King *Lewis* of *France* was ſo great a Friend to his Son *Richard*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Father; afterward when *Richard* was King, then *Philip* King of *France* was ſo great a Friend to *John*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Brother: And now that *John* is come to be King, he is preſently grown ſo great a Friend of *Arthurs*, that by all means he will help him to get the Kingdom from his Uncle; and no doubt if *Arthur* ſhould ever have come to be King, he would have been as ready to help any other to get the Kingdom from him; by which it appears, that it was not the perſons of Men they either hated or loved, but that they were alwayes jealous of their growing too great. And indeed this ballancing of

Conſtantia Prince *Arthur's* mother imploreth aid of the King of *France*.

of States keeps Princes affections alwayes in suspence, and never suffers the Glass of their Love or Hate, to make a true Reflection. About this time *William* King of *Scots* came to *London* to visit King *John*, and there did homage to him for his Kingdom of *Scotland*, though some say, but only for the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*: but being required aid against the *French*, he excused himself, saying, He could not do it without consent of his Kingdom, and so returned home.

The King of Scots doth homage to King *John*.

And now *Philip* King of *France* having undertaken the protection of the young Prince *Arthur*, with a mighty Army enters *Normandy*, takes many of the best Towns, and pursuing his Victories, enters the Province of *Anjou* also, and recovers it from King *John*, which he the year before had gotten from Prince *Arthur*. Upon this, King *John* makes a Journey into *Normandy*, accusing King *Philip* for breaking the Truce, which he had formerly made with King *Richard* for five years. But when he should come to make his Accusation good by Arms, he falleth to Treaties, and obtaineth a new Truce for fifty dayes: with which new Truce, *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, who had professed himself of that side, was not well pleased, and thereupon cometh to King *John* to *Roan*, and entring a new League with him, they there consult how to proceed, when the fifty dayes should be expired. This Consultation the King of *France* understood; and thereupon both sides prepare for War, but at the end of the Truce, both sides seemed to relent, and divers meetings were had for Treaties of Peace: and in conclusion, King *John* more desirous of Peace than he was for his Honour, agreed to these Conditions, That his Neece *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alphonsus* King of *Castile*, by his Sister *Eleanor*, should marry with *Lewis* King *Philip*'s Son, who should have with her in Dower, besides Thirty thousand Marks in Money, all those Cities, except only *Angiers*, which the *French* before that time had taken, which were many and very great. And this Peace thus made, he returns into *England* with great joy, but was not with the like joy received of the *English* Lords, who counted themselves dishonoured, in the dishonourable conditions he had made; and *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* also, when he saw the poor spirit of King *John*, to descend to such base conditions, left his party, and entring League with the King of *France*, disposed himself for the Holy War.

1200.

The two Kings of England and France agree upon a peace.

The English Lords are discontented with the conditions of peace.

But King *John* having now gotten a Vacation, and a time of ease, which agreed much better with his nature than War, sets his mind wholly upon pleasures; and for maintaining his pleasures, upon seeking after profit, which he pursues by all manner of injustice, under the name of Prerogative: and with such violence, that when his Brother *Geoffry* Archbishop of *York*, in the dutifulness of a Counsellor, advised him not to take such unlawful courses, he most unworthily took from him all he had, and it was a years work for all the Archbishops friends to pacifie his anger. In the neck of this injustice, he commits another, he procures a divorce from his Wife *Avis*, the Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, only for being of kin to him in the third degree; and by advice of the King of *France*, marries *Isabel* Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Angoulesme*, Affianced before to *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*: and shortly after brings her with him into *England*, where he and she together, are both Crowned at *Canterbury*. And here the Earls and Barons of the Realm, being all summoned to attend the King into *France* at *Whitsuntide* following, they all by a general consent sent him word, That unless he would restore them their Rights and Liberties, they would do him no service out of the Kingdom. But what it was that made the Lords more violent in pressing their demands at this time than before, no Writers of these times do sufficiently deliver: only some of them speak scatteringly of certain oppressions (besides the general grievance for Exactions) lately offered to some of the Lords; one to the Earl of *Chester*, whom he would have banished, only for advising him to leave his cruelty and incontinency. Another, a pursuit in Love to a Daughter of *Robert Fitz-Water*, called *Maud* the Fair, who not consenting to the Kings lust, a messenger was sent to give her poyson in a potched Egg, whereof she died: And a third, offered to *William de Brawse* and his Lady, for a rash word spoken; for when the King sent to have *de Brawse*'s Son delivered him for a pledge, the Lady answered, We shall do well indeed to commit our Son to his keeping, who kept so well his own Nephew Prince *Arthur*. This rash word cost *de Brawse* his Countrey, and his Lady and their Son their lives, both of them being famished to death in Prison. For, though these directly were but particular grievances, yet reflecting they were general, what one suffered, all might; but whether any of these, or all of these together, were Ingredients to make a Compound of violence in the Lords at this time, or whatsoever was the true cause, this was plainly the effect, that unless the King would restore their Liberties, they would not follow him out of the Kingdom. But notwithstanding this refusal of his Lords, he passeth over with his Queen into *Normandy*, and from thence to *Paris*, where the King of *France* receives them with all complements of Love and Amity. But now *Hugh* Earl of *March*, resenting the injury done him by King *John*, in taking away his affianced Wife, joyns with Prince *Arthur*; and the King of *France* also, for all his fair shew of amity lately made, joyns with them, as having some time before married his youngest Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, and these with their Forces joyned, invade first the *Turones*, and then the *Anjouins*, of which Province, Queen *Eleanor*, the Kings Mother was left Regent: who thereupon betakes her self to *Mirabel* the strongest Town of these parts, and sends to her Son King *John*, acquainting him with the danger she was in, and requiting his speedy succour. When in the mean time Prince *Arthur* takes the City, and in it his Grandmother Queen *Eleanor*, whom he used with greater reverence and respect than she expected. But King *John* at the hearing hereof, was so moved, calling the *French* King ungrateful and perfidious for succouring Prince *Arthur*, contrary to his League, that studying presently the art of revenge, he fell upon a stratagem,

King John divorceth his Wife Avis, and

marries Isabel affianced to Hugh le Brun.

The Lords refuse to do the King service out of the Kingdom.

King John's unjust carriage for being denyed his suit in Love.

Hugh de Brun and the King of France joyn against King John in assisting Prince Arthur.

1202.

tegem, of all other the moſt prudent againſt an Enemy. For a Surpriſe in War is like an Apoplexy in the body, which ſtrikes without giving warning for defence. And this Strategem at this time King *John* put in practice; for travelling night and day with indefatigable labour, he came upon his enemies before they were aware, and ſeizing upon them unprovided, it was rather an execution than a battel: and they who remained unſlain were taken priſoners, amongſt whom Prince *Arthur* himſelf, who committed preſently to the cuſtody of *Robert de Veypont* in *Roan*, lived not long after. Whether it were, that attempting to make eſcape, he fell down from the Walls of his Priſon, and was drowned in the River *Seyne*, as ſome ſay: or whether it were that through anguiſh of mind he fell ſick and dyed, as others ſay: or whether indeed he were made away by King *John*, as the common fame went, Certain it is, that he ſurvived his impriſonment but a very few dayes. But though he were gone, yet his Siſter *Eleanor*, a preceding Competitor to King *John*, was ſtill remaining; Her therefore, at this time alſo King *John* ſeiſed upon, and commits her in ſafe cuſtody to *Briſtow* Caſtle, where after ſhe had lived long, ſhe died.

King John by his celerity ſurpriſeth his enemies.

Prince Arthur is taken priſoner, and ſoon after died.

Of his Troubles after the Death of his Nephew Arthur.

KIng *John* being now freed from his Competitor, one would think he ſhould have ended all his troubles: but like a *Hydra's* head, they rather multiplyed upon him. For they who had been ſo ready to aſſiſt Prince *Arthur* in his life, were now as ready to revenge his death. And firſt, *Conſtance* his Mother comes to King *Philip*, with open exclamations againſt K. *John*, accuſing him with the murther of her Son, and with all the inſtance of Tears and intreaties, ſolicits him to revenge it. Hereupon King *Philip* ſummons King *John* to appear at a day; and becauſe he appeared not according to the tenure of his Homage, it was decreed againſt him, that he had forfeited all the property of his Eſtate in *France*: and thereupon King *Philip* with mighty Forces invades his Territories, takes many Towns of principal conſequence, while K. *John* lived idle at *Roan*, no more regarding it, than if it had not at all concerned him. And when ſome of his Lords ſeemed to marvel what he meant, to ſuffer the *French* to rob him of ſuch good Cities; You ſay true indeed (ſaith he) for it is but robbery; and within a few dayes you ſhall ſee, I will make him reſtore them back with uſury. In this ſlighting humour he returns into *England*, where he looks not after the levying of Soul diers, or the raiſing of an Army, as this caſe required, but continues his old courſe for raiſing of money, accuſing ſometimes one of his Lords, ſometimes another, as if it were their fault that he had loſt theſe Towns in *France*. And upon theſe accuſations made many of them pay great ſums of money, which brought him not only into hatred at home, but into contempt abroad; for the King of *France* underſtanding his unworthy courſes, proceeds more violently in his invaſions than before, getting *Falais*, *Damfront*, and all the good Towns of *Normandy*, but only *Roan*. And at laſt, though *Roan* was a Town ſtrongly fortified with Walls, and more ſtrongly with the faithful hearts of the Inhabitants; yet finding no hope of ſuccour from King *John*, it was forced for want of Victuals to ſubmit it ſelf to the King of *France*. Whoſe Example all the other Cities followed, and ſo all *Normandy* returned to the ſubjection of the *French*, after three hundred and ſixteen years that *Rollo* the *Dane* had firſt poſſeſt it.

Prince Arthurs Mother accuſeth King John of murthering her Son to the King of France.

King John excuſeth.

Fifth Norman Duke by King John.

It was now the year 1205. and the ſixth of King *John's* reign, about which time, the two props of his Eſtate, or rather indeed, the two bridles of his intemperancy dyed, his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, whoſe vertues had oftentimes qualified the vices of her Son; and *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who repented him at his death of nothing more, than that he had been an Inſtrument of bringing him to the Crown. 1205.

And now K. *John* being a ſubſtantive of himſelf, hath a device in his head to make his Subjects as willing to give him money as he was to have it. For knowing the great diſcontentment they all had for their loſſes in *France*, he gives it out, that he would preſently raiſe an Army for recovery of thoſe loſſes, if he might have money to go about it: whereupon, never was money given with more alacrity. And as ſoon as he had it, he inſtantly went to *Portſmouth*, and there took Shipping before it was poſſible for his Lords and others to be in readineſs to accompany him; and ſailing forward ſome certain leagues into the Sea, upon a ſudden he returns back again, and then laies the fault upon his Lords, that had not followed him: and for this backwardneſs of theirs, impoſed afterwards great Fines upon them, by which means he got money no leſs by pretence of his not going, than he had done before by pretence of his going. About this time died *Geoffery Fitz-Peter* Juſtitiar of *England*, who while he lived kept the King in ſome awe; in ſo much, as hearing he was dead, he ſwore by the feet of God, that now at length he was King of *England*, and with great rejoycing ſaid to ſome Lords about him: Now when this man comes into Hell, let him ſalute the Archbiſhop *Hubert*, whom certainly he ſhall find there. But *Philip* King of *France*, intending to leave the *Engliſh* nothing on that ſide the Sea, invaded *Chinon*, and takes it; and in it the valiant Captain *Roger Lacy*, which had given a period to King *Philips* Victories, had not *Guido*, the husband of *Conſtantia* Prince *Arthur's* Mother, revolted to King *John*. Who with his aſſiſtance once again levies an Army, beſiegeth Mount *Auban*, a Caſtle thought impregnable; and within fifteen dayes takes it, which *Charles* the Great could not get with his ſeven years ſiege: where ſo great a number of *French* Lords were taken priſoners, that King *John* ſent a Catalogue of their names into *England*, for a memorial of ſo great a Victory. After this, he taketh the ſtrong Town of *Angiers*, and utterly defaceth it; for which afterward he was ſorry, as being the Town where he was born. But now when the two Kings were ready to meet, and to give battel, interceſſion was made by friends of both ſides, and thereupon a Peace concluded for two years, and King *John* returned into *England*.

King John's device to get money of his Subjects.

King John glad of Geoffery Fitz-Peters death.

King John aſſiſted unexpectedly.

He was born at Angiers in France.

A peace between the two Kings.

King

King *John* passeth into *Ireland* and reduceth it to obedience.

King *John* being returned, performs no leſs worthy Acts at home, than he had done in *France*; for firſt he invades the Borders of *Scotland*, and brings *Alexander* King of *Scots* to do him homage; and then underſtanding many of the *Iriſh* to be revolted, he paſſed over to *Dublin*, and reduceth them to his obedience; and then placing *John* Biſhop of *Norwich* Governour there, he returns into *England*: where paſſing through *Wales*, he ſubdueth certain Rebels there, and takes eight and twenty Children of the beſt Families for pledges of their future loyalty; but not long after, hearing they grew mutinous and rebelled again, he was ſo incenſed, that he would not go to dinner, till he had ſeen thoſe twenty eight Children to be all hanged before his face. So inconſiderate a thing is the deſire of revenge, that it makes no difference between innocency and guiltineſs; though indeed a thing oftentimes muſt be done for example, which conſidered in it ſelf, would be forborn.

He ſubdueth the *Welch* rebels and takes 28. pledges of them. Upon their rebelling again he hangs up all their pledges.

1214.

It was now the year 1214. and the fourteenth of King *John*'s reign, when he going to *Angiers*, ſtrongly repairs it, and the Province of *Poitou* revolted to him: which *Lewis* King *Philip*'s Son underſtanding, comes upon them with a mighty Army, and uſes much ſeverity upon the Authors of the revolt, takes priſoners, *Reynold* Earl of *Bologne*, and *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, with many other of King *John*'s Captains, and defeated his whole Army. Whereof when King *John* was certified he grew in a manner deſperate, and as a man dejected, makes a new Truce upon any conditions with the King of *France*, and returns into *England*: where he finds a worſe buſineſs ready to entertain him. For the Lords of the Realm having often required their antient Rights and Liberties; and finding nothing but deluſions, endure no longer to be abuſed: but meeting at St. *Edmundsbury*, they there confer how they may find a remedy to redreſs this evil, and at laſt concluded to go to the King themſelves in perſon, and make their demands; whereof a Charter was produced, that had been formerly granted in King *Henry* the firſt's time. Whereupon coming to the King after *Chriſtmas*, lying then in the New Temple, and acquainting him with their Demands, he gives them this fair Anſwer, that within a few dayes he would give them ſatisfaction; and cauſeth the Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *Ely*, with *William Marſhal*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, to paſs their words for him that it ſhould be performed. But the King meaning nothing leſs than to do as he ſaid, falls preſently a levying of Souldiers, which the Lords underſtanding, they all did the like; and going to the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, deliver him a Copy of their Demands, and required the Kings Anſwer: But the Biſhop ſhewing it to the King, and humbly intreating him to give the Lords a ſatisfactory Anſwer, he ſwore a great Oath, they might as well demand the Kingdom; and that he would dye before he would yield to any ſuch demands. Whereupon the Lords (knowing now what they were to truſt to) fall to beſiege *Northampton*, and after that, *Bedford*, which is yielded to them; and withal they are ſent to by the *Londoners* to ſignifie their readineſs to joyn with them. At this time the King was at *Windſor* providing an Army, but hearing the *Londoners* were joyned with the Lords, he thought it no good way to proceed by force, but rather by fraud: and thereupon ſends to the Lords, that if they would come to him to *Windſor*, he would grant their demands. The Lords coming thither, but in a military manner, (for they durſt not truſt his word) the King ſaluted them all kindly, and promiſed to give them ſatisfaction in all they demanded; and ſo in a Meadow between *Windſor* and *Staines*, called *Running Mead*, he freely conſented to confirm their former Liberties: and was content ſome grave perſonages ſhould be choſen to ſee it performed. But the next day, when it ſhould be done, he gets him gone to *Southampton*; and from thence to the Iſle of *Wight*; where adviſing with his Council, what in this caſe was fitteſt to be done; It was concluded he ſhould ſend to the Pope, to acquaint him with this mutiny of the Lords, and to require his help: while the King in the mean time lived skulking up and down in corners, that no man might know where to find him: or which is worſe (as ſome write) roving about and practiſing Piracy. And now the Lords begin to ſuſpect fraud, when ſhortly after the Kings meſſengers who were *Walter* and *John*, Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Norwich*, return with the Popes Decree; which was that the King's grant to the Lords ſhould be void. With this Decree, the King after three months that he had ſtayed in the Iſle of *Wight*, coming back to *Windſor*, acquaints the Lords; but they accuſing the Meſſengers for falſe informing the Pope, and the Pope alſo for making a Decree without hearing both ſides, betake them to Arms, and ſware by the holy Altar to be revenged for this ludification and injurious dealing. The King finding the Lords nothing moved with the Popes Decree, ſends again unto him, to acquaint him with it; who mightily incenſed to have his Decree ſo ſlighted, adjudgeth them all to be held as enemies of Religion: and gives power to *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and to the Abbot of *Reading* to Excommunicate them. In the mean time the King had ſent the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Chancellour of *England*, and others with his Seal, to hire Souldiers from the parts beyond the Seas; who returning ſhortly after, bringeth along with him out of *Poitou* and *Gaſcony*, *Savery de Malcon*, *Geoffry* and *Oliver Boteville*, Brothers; and under their conduct ſo great a rabble, that with theſe Forces, within half a year the King had gotten all the Caſtles of the Barons, to the borders of *Scotland*. And now he divides his Army, committing part of it to his Brother *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, and others to ſet upon *London*; and with the other part he goes himſelf into *Yorkſhire*, where moſt of the Lords had poſſeſſion, which in moſt cruel manner he deſtroyed with fire and Sword. The Lords being thus on all ſides diſtreſſed, reſolved upon a courſe, neither honourable nor ſafe; yet ſuch as neceſſity made ſeem both: they ſend to *Philip* King of *France*, requiring him to ſend over his Son *Lewis* to their aid, and promiſing they would ſubmit themſelves to be governed by him, and take him for their Soveraign. To this motion of the Lords, King *Philip* was as forward as themſelves; which King *John* underſtanding, ſends

King *John*'s Army defeated by the *French*, and thereupon a Truce. The Lords require their ancient Liberties.

They deliver him a copy of their demands.

The King reſolutely refuſeth to grant them.

The King promiſeth to grant his Lords their demands.

He ſends to the Pope for help.

The Lords take Arms.

King *John* with the aid of ſtrangers gets all the Barons Caſtles.

The Lords ſend for the K. of *France* his Son *Lewis* to come and be their King.

sends again to the Pope, requiring him to use his authority to stay the King of *France* from coming.* But King *Philip*, though much regarding the request of the Pope; yet nothing so much as the acquest of *England*, with all speed provides an Army: and with a fleet of six hundred sail, sends over his son *Lewis*: who passing into *England*, landeth at *Sandwich*, whither many of the Lords and others resort unto him; and giving Oaths of Allegiance, joyn themselves with him. King *John* at that time was at *Dover*, but not daring to stay there for fear of the enemy, he commits the Castle to *Hubert Burgh*, and goeth himself to *Canterbury* and from thence to *Winchester* in the manner of a flight: which Prince *Lewis* understanding, went straight to *London*, and by a plausible Oration makes that City sure unto him: and thither came to him the King of *Scots* with an Army of choice Souldiers, as also the Earls, *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, with many others. And now Prince *Lewis* passeth all the Countrey over without resistance, but not without infinite outrages committed by his Souldiers, which was not in him to hinder: and then coming to *Norwich*, he takes that City easily, but *Dover* cost him a longer siege, as being defended by the valiant and loyal Captain *Hubert Burgh*. In this mean while King *John* finding his enemies imployed in these difficult sieges, sends about and gathers a rabble of all raskal people to him; and with them runneth over all the Countrey, spoiling and killing in most barbarous manner. And now was the Kingdom made the Stage of all the miseries of rapine and cruelty, two Armies in it on foot at once, each of them seeking to prey upon the other, and both of them upon the Countrey. But the King coming to *Walpoole* in *Norfolk*, where the Washes were to be passed over, he sendeth one to search where the Foord was passable, and there himself with some few passed over; but the multitude, with all the carriages, passing without order, they cared not where, were all drowned: with which disaster, the King through anguish of mind fell into a Feaver, whereof within a few dayes he died. And here was an end of all the troubles of this King: In whom it is observable, that loving his ease so well as he did, he should run voluntarily into such troubles, especially at home, upon so small occasions as he did; but it should seem there is no greater hindrance to men for accomplishing their will, than their own wilfulness.

1216. Prince *Lewis* cometh to *England*, and is received by the Lords: And by the City of *London*.

King *John* through anguish of mind falls sick and dies.

Of his Taxations.

TO speak of his Taxations, it may not unproperly be said that it was but one continued Taxation all his reign through; yet to divide it into two parts: his first was the Taxation of three shillings upon every Plough-land through the Kingdom, to pay the thirty thousand Marks, for his Neece *Blanches* Portion; and to mend this Taxation, he seizeth upon all the Temporalties of his Brother *Geoffry* Archbishop of *York*, for opposing it; and for a continuation, he makes a progress shortly after, into all the North-parts, where he exacts great Fines of offenders in his Forests. Very shortly after, solicited by the Popes Legat, he grants a Subsidy of the fortieth part of all his Subjects Revenues for one year, to succour the *Holy Land*. Shortly after this, he chargeth his Earls and Barons with the losses he sustained in *France*; and thereupon Fines them to pay the seventh part of all their Goods: neither spared he the Church, or the Commons in this Imposition. Before this year is ended, another Levy is made at a Parliament in *Oxford*, wherein is granted two Marks and a half of every Knights Fee, for Military aid; neither are the Clergy exempted from paying their part. And before another year is out another Imposition is laid of the thirteenth part of all moveables and other Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity. It may be reckoned among his Taxations, that when the Monks of *Canterbury* had displeased him about the Election of their Archbishop, he seised upon all their Goods, and converted them to his own use: and presently after this, upon the like displeasure he deputes many Bishopricks, Abbeys and Priories into the hands of Lay-men, and confiscates all their Revenues. To these may be added, that he took eleven thousand Marks of Silver, of the King of *Scots*, for granting him Peace. Add to these also great sums of money exacted and gathered from the *Jews*, among whom there was one that would not be ransomed, till the King caused every day one of his great teeth to be pulled out by the space of seven dayes; and then he was content to give the King ten thousand Marks of silver that no more might be pulled out, for he had but one left. Add to these, that at his return out of *Ireland*, he summoned all the Prelates of the Kingdom to appear before him; of whom he extorted for their redemption the sum of an hundred thousand pounds sterling. Add lastly to these that at his return out of *Wales*, he exacts of every Knight that attended him not in that expedition, two Marks.

A Jews teeth pulled out.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE was the first that appointed the Forms of Civil Government in *London*, and other Cities, endowing them also with their greatest Franchises. The first that caused sterling money to be here coined. The first that ordained the honourable Ceremonies in Creation of Earls. The first that settled the rates and measures for Wine, Bread, Cloth, and such other necessaries of Commerce. The first that planted *English* Laws and Officers in *Ireland*. The first that enlarged the Royal style with the Lord of *Ireland*, and both annexed that Kingdom, and fastened *Wales* to the Crown of *England*.

Sterling money when first.

English Laws when first planted in *Ireland*.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

AFter the death of *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Monks of that Covent secretly in the night, elected one *Reginald* their Sub-prior to succeed him; and caused him to go to *Rome* for Confirmation: but afterward doubting how the King would take it, being done without his knowledge, they crave leave of the

the King to chuſe a fit man, the King is content to allow them the election, but requires himſelf to have the Nomination, and thereupon commends unto them *John Grey* Biſhop of *Norwich*, whom he ſpecially favoured, and accordingly the Monks elect him. But the matter being afterward referred to the Pope, which of theſe two elections ſhould ſtand good, after many allegations of both ſides, the Pope to ſhew himſelf indifferent to both, diſallows them both, and nominates a third man, one *Stephen Langton*, Cardinal of St. *Chryſogone*, an *Engliſh* man born, and a man of great Learning. The Monks admit him, but the King oppoſeth it. And now as it were, a Prize began to be played between the two Swords, the Spiritual and the Temporal: but he that uſed the Spiritual Sword, proved ſo much the better Fencer, that he diſarmed the other, and took away his Temporal Sword from him. It is true, in the firſt Venue, the King gave the Pope as good as he brought; for as the Pope threatned the King to Excommunicate him, and to interdict the Kingdom; ſo the King threatned the Pope to nullifie his authority, and to baniſh the Clergy men out of the Realm. In the ſecond Venue, as the Pope acted as much as he had threatned, (for he interdicted the Kingdom:) So the King performed as much as he had ſpoken, (for he drove the Monks out of their Cloiſters) yet at laſt when *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate came into *England*, and made appear to the King in what great danger he ſtood; Firſt, of the King of *France*, by Invaſion; and then of his own Subjects, by Rebellion; for both which, there was no other help but reconcilement with the Pope; he ſo touched him to the quick, that he made him leave his great words, and fall to asking forgiveneſs. So as taking off the Crown from his head, he laid it down at *Pandulphus* feet, to be diſpoſed of, as the Pope ſhould pleaſe. And *Pandulphus* ſtuck not to take up his Crown, and to keep it three or four dayes in his hands before he reſtored it; and did not then neither, but upon condition that he and his Succeſſors ſhould hold the Kingdom of the See of *Rome*, at the annual Tribute of a Thouſand Marks. And all thoſe three or four dayes, in which *Pandulphus* kept the Crown, it might be truly ſaid the Kingdom was without a King. And upon this, no doubt it was that *Peter* an Hermite in a Prophetical Rapture had given out ſome time before, that by *Aſcenſion* day, there ſhould be no King of *England*. Which though in ſome ſort it was true, yet becauſe in ſome ſort it was not true; and it was in the Prerogative of the King to make his own interpretation, it coſt the poor Hermit and his Son their lives, and they remain as a pillar of Salt, to make men take heed of *Ludere cum Sanctis*, and of playing the Criticks in matters of State.

But by this means the Kingdom was releaſed of the Interdiction, which had continued ſix years, three months, and fourteen dayes: During all which time, there was no publick exerciſe of Religion; no Churches open, no Eccleſiaſtical Sacraments adminiſtred, but only to them that are in danger of death, and baptiſm to children; all that died were buried like Dogs in Ditches and corners, but only ſuch as had purchaſed or procured licence from the Pope.

Contention between the Pope and the King about election of a Biſh.

The King ſurrenders his Crown to the Pope.

Four the Hermites prediction of no King to be in England by a certain day.

The Kingdom Interdicted ſix years together.

In this Kings reign, Saint *Dominick* continued his Preaching ten years together againſt the *Albigenſes*; ſo called becauſe they began firſt in the City of *Alba*. Alſo in his time Saint *Francis* renounced the World; and when a Prieſt to whom he offered it, would not take his money, he caſt it away, and entred into a vow of perpetual poverty. Alſo in this Kings time, was held the *Lateran* Council, under Pope *Innocent* the third, in which was eſtabliſhed the Popes power over Princes, and in matters of Faith, Auricular Confeſſion, and Tranſubſtantiation.

Auricular confeſſion and Tranſubſtantiation eſtabliſhed.

Of his Irreligion.

I Need not relate a Speech of his, though very unchriſtian, that having been a little before reconciled to the Pope, and then taking an overthrow in *France*, in great anger he cryed out, That nothing had proſpered with him ſince the time he was reconciled to God and the Pope. Nor another ſpeech of his, which though ſpoken merrily, was in good earneſt very irreligious, that being on a time a hunting, at the opening of a fat Buck, he ſaid; See how this Deer hath proſpered, and how fat he is, and yet I dare ſwear he never heard Maſs. It is ſufficient to relate one act of his, (if it be true which ſome write) that being in ſome diſtreſs, he ſent *Thomas Hardington*, and *Ralph Fitz-Nichols*, Knights, in Embaſſage to *Miramumalim* King of *Africk* and *Morocco*, with offer of his Kingdom to him, upon condition he would come and aid him; and that if he prevailed, he would himſelf become a Mahometan, and renounce the Chriſtian Faith. Though ſome there be that ſay, All theſe were but falſe criminations charged upon him by Monks that did not love him. But though we believe not theſe things of him: yet to ſuffer his Kingdom to ſtand interdicted ſo many years together, upon ſo ſmall occaſion as he did, was certainly no good ſign of Religion in him. Yet one act he did, wherein he ſhewed a reſpect to Religion, by the honour he did to a Religious man. For *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, lying very ſick, he not only went to viſit him; but being dead was one of the three Kings, (the other two were *William* King of *Scotland*, and the King of *South-Wales*) that carried his Herſe upon their ſhoulders, till they delivered it to the Peers, and the Peers afterward to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to carry it into the Quire.

M. Pariſ. fol. 243.

King John helps to carry Hugh Biſhop of Lincoln to burying.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

YEt did this King leave more Works of Piety behind him, than all his Subjects that were in his time. For he founded the Abbey of *Bowley* in the New Foreſt in *Hampſhire*: Alſo an Abbey of black Monks in the City of *Wincheſter*, and the Monaſtery of *Farindon*, and the Monaſtery of *Hales-Owen* in *Shropſhire*: he re-edified *Godſtow* and *Wroxel*, and enlarged the Chappel of *Knaresborough*. Now for his Subjects, only *Richard Prior* of *Bermondſey* builded an Houſe againſt the Wall of the ſaid Houſe of *Bermondſey*, called Almary or Hoſpital of Converts and Children, in honour of St. *Thomas*.

The Stone bridge of London finished.

In this Kings time St. *Mary Overies* in *Southwark* was begun to be builded, and the Stone Bridge over the *Thames*, was by the Merchants of *London* finished. Also *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Founded a Monastery at West *Derham* in *Norfolk*, which upon the dissolution came to the Family of the *Derhams*, who hold it to this day.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

FRom the First year of the Reign of King *Richard* the First, the City of *London* had been governed by two Bayliffs; but the King in his Tenth year taking displeasure against them for denying his Purveyers Wheat, caused them to be imprisoned, till 35 of the chief Citizens repaired to him, and acquainting him what small store the City had, how the Commons were ready to make insurrection about it, he was then satisfied; and moreover at their suit, granted them to have a Mayor and two Sheriffs to be yearly chosen nine dayes before *Michaelmas*; which Order hath continued, though with some alteration in the time of their Election, to this day. Also in this Kings time, five and thirty of the most substantial Citizens of *London*, were chosen out, and called the Council of the City. He caused the Laws of *England* to be executed in *Ireland*, and money to be coyned there according to the weight of *English* money.

The Common Council of London, when first ordained.

Of his Wives and Children.

KIng *John* lived to have three Wives. His first was *Alice* Daughter of *Hubert* Earl of *Morton*, who left him a Widower without issue. His second was *Avice* Daughter and Heir of *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, by whom no issue neither; divorced from her by reason of Consanguinity in the third degree. His third Wife was *Isabel* Daughter and Heir of *Aymer* Earl of *Angoulesme*, affianced before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*. By this Wife he had two Sons, *Henry* and *Richard*, and three Daughters, *Jone*, *Eleanor*, and *Isabel*: *Henry* succeeded him in the Kingdom; *Richard* was Earl of *Cornwal*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had Issue *Henry* and *John*, that dyed without issue; also *Edward* Earl of *Cornwal*, and others. *Jone* his eldest Daughter married to *Alexander* the Second, King of *Scots*, dyed without issue. *Eleanor* the second Daughter (married to *Simon* Earl of *Leicester*) had issue, *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almarick*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Eleanor*. *Henry* slain without issue. *Simon* Earl of *Bigorre*, and ancestour to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almarick* first a Priest, after a Knight. *Guy* Earl of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Progenitor of the *Mountfords* in *Tuscany*, and of the Earls of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Richard*, remaining privily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford* to *Wellesbourn*, was ancestour of the *Wellesbourns* in *England*. *Eleanor*, born in *England*, brought up in *France*, married into *Wales*, to Prince *Lewis ap Griffith*. *Isabel*, his youngest Daughter, married to the Emperour *Frederick* the second, had issue, *Henry*, appointed to be K. of *Sicily*, and *Margaret* Wife of *Albert Lantgrave* of *Thurin*. She dyed in Childbed, after she had been Empress six years. He had also two natural Sons, *Geoffry Fitz-Roy*, and *Richard*, that married the Daughter and Heir of *Fulbert de Dover*, (who built *Childham* Castle) and had issue by her, of whom some Families of good account are descended. Also one base Daughter named *Jone*, married to *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales*.

The Family of the [illegible], from whence descended.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of stature indifferent tall, and something fat, of a sowre and angry countenance; and concerning his conditions, it may be said, that his Nature and his Fortune did not well agree: For naturally he loved his ease, yet his Fortune was to be ever in action. He won more of his enemies by surprizes than by battels, which shews that he had more of Lightning in him than of Thunder. He was never so true of his word as when he threatned, because he meant alwayes as cruelly as he spake, not alwayes as graciously; and he that would have known what it was he never meant to perform, must have looked upon his promises. He was neither fit for Prosperity nor Adversity: For prosperity made him insolent, and adversity dejected; a mean fortune would have suited best with him. He was all that he was by Fits; Sometimes doing nothing without deliberation, and sometimes doing all upon a sudden: Sometimes very Religious, and sometimes scarce a Christian. His unsatiableness of money was not so much, as that no man knew what he did with it; gotten with much noise, but spent in silence. He was but intemperate in his best temper, but when distempered with sickness most of all, as appeared at his last; when being in a Feaver, he would needs be eating of raw Peaches, and drinking of sweet Ale. If we look upon his works, we must needs think him a worthy Prince; but if upon his Actions, nothing less: For his works of Piety were very many, as hath been shewed before; but as for his actions, he neither came to the Crown by Justice, nor held it with Honour, nor left it in Peace. Yet having had many good parts in him, and especially having his Royal Posterity continued to this day, we can do no less but honour his memory.

King John's intemperance.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

ONe Casualty we might count disastrous, if it had not had relation to our selves: for *Hugh de Bones* coming to aid King *John* with Threescore thousand out of *Britain* and *Flanders*, by misfortune at Sea were all drowned, to whom the King had granted *Norfolk* and *Suffolf* for the people he had brought with him to inhabit. In this Kings time were great Thunders and Lightnings, and showers with hail-stones as big as Goose-Eggs. Fishes of strange shape were taken in *England*, armed with helmets and shields, and were like unto armed Knights, saving that they were far greater in proportion. About *Maidstone* in *Kent* a certain Monster was found strucken with the Lightning, which Monster had a head like an Ass,

Hail-stones as big as Goose-eggs.

A strange Monster.

Ass, a belly like a man, and all other parts far differing from any other creature. Also in *Suffolk* was taken a Fish in form like to a man, and was kept six months upon Land with raw flesh and fish; and then, for that they could have no speech of it, they cast it into the Sea again.

Of his Death and Burial.

WHen Prince *Lewis* of *France* was come into *England*, and was received by the Lords and by the *Londoners*, King *John* with an Army went into the *North*-parts; and coming to *Walpool*, where he was to pass over the *Washes*, he sent one to search where the water was passable, and there himself with some few passeth over, but the multitude with all his Carriages and Treasure passing without order they cared not where, were all drowned. With the grief of which disaster, and perhaps distempered in his body before, he fell into a Feaver, and was let blood; but keeping an ill diet, (as indeed he never kept good) eating green Peaches, and drinking sweet Ale, he fell into a loosness, and grew presently so weak, that there was much ado to get him to *Newark*, where soon after he dyed. Though indeed it be diversly related; *Caxton* saith, he was poysoned at *Swinesheads* Abbey by a Monk of that Covent; the manner and cause this. The King being there, and hearing it spoken how cheap Corn was, should say, He would ere long make it dearer, and make a penny loaf be sold for a shilling. At this speech the Monk took such indignation, that he went and put the poyson of a Toad into a Cup of Wine, and brought it to the King, telling him there was such a cup of Wine as he had never drank in all his life: and therewithal took the assay of it himself, which made the King to drink the more boldly of it; but finding himself presently very ill upon it, he asked for the Monk, and when it was told him, that he was fallen down dead; Then (saith the King) God have mercy upon me, I doubted as much. Others say the poyson was given him in a dish of Pears. But the Physitian that dis-bowelled his body found no sign of poyson in it, and therefore not likely to be true. But howsoever the manner of his death be uncertain, yet this is certain, that at this time and place he dyed, on the 19 day of *October*, in the year 1216. when he had reigned seventeen years and six moneths; lived one and fifty. He was buried, his bowels at *Croxton* Abbey, his body at *Worcester*, under the High Altar, wrapped in a Monks Cowl, which the superstition of that time accounted sacred, and a defensative against all evil spirits.

King John thought by some to be poysoned.

A Monks Cowl of great vertue.

Of the Prices of things in his time.

NEither is this unfit to be recorded in Chronicles, to the end comparison may be made between the time past and the present: as in the time of King *Henry* the Second, a Quarter of Wheat was sold for twelve pence, a Quarter of Beans or Oats for a grost. Neither is the price of silver it self much less altered; for an ounce of silver was then valued at twenty pence, which is now valued at least at five shillings. Whereof Philosophers must tell the reason; for seeing scarcity makes things dear, why should not plenty make them cheap?

Of Men of special Note in his time.

IN Military matters there were many famous Men in his time, as *Robert Fitz-Roger*, and *Richard Mount-Fitchet*, with many others; but chiefly two, whose acts make them specially memorable: the one was *Hubert Burgh*, whom King *John* had left Governour of *Dover*-Castle; of whom it is related, that when the Prince *Lewis* of *France* came to take the Town, and found it difficult to be taken by force, he sent to *Hubert*, whose Brother *Thomas* he had taken Prisoner a little before; that unless he would surrender the Castle, he should presently see his Brother *Thomas* be put to death with exquisite torments before his eyes: but this threatning moved not *Hubert* at all, who more regarded his own loyalty, than his Brothers life. Then Prince *Lewis* sent again, offering him a great sum of money; but neither did this move, but he kept his loyalty as inexpugnable as his Castle. The other was *Robert Fitz-Water*, of whom it is related, That King *John* being with an Army in *France*, one of his Knights in a great bravery, would needs make a challenge to any of the *French* Camp, that durst encounter him in a Combat; when presently comes forth this *Rob. Fitz-Water*, and in the encounter threw Horse and Man down to the ground: whereof when King *John* heard, By Gods tooth (saith he) he were a King indeed that had such a Champion; whereupon some that stood by, said to him, He is, Sir, a servant of your own, it is *Robert Fitz-Water*, whom you have banished. Whereupon his Sentence of banishment was presently reversed, and the King received him, as he well deserved, into special favour. In matter of Literature also also there lived many famous men in this Kings Reign; as *Geoffey Vinesanse*, *Simon Fraxinus*, *alias Ash*, *Adam Dorensis*, *John de Oxford*, *Colman* surnamed the Wise, *Richard Canonicus*, *William Peregrine*, *Alane Tewksbury*, *Gervasius Dorobernensis*, *John Hanwil*, *Nigel Worker*, *Gilbert Holland*, *Benet de Peterborough*, *William Parvus* a Monk *of Newburg*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Hubert Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander Theologus*, *Gervasius Tilburiensis*, *Gyraldus Cambrensis*, *Johannes Devonius*, *Walter Mapis*, *Radulphus de Diceto*, *Gilbert Legly*, *Mauricius Morganius*, *John de Fordeham*, *William Leicester*, *Joceline Brakeland*, *Roger* of *Crowland*, *Hugh White*, *alias Candidus*, who wrote an History, intituled, *Historia Petroburgensis*; *John de* Saint *Omer*, *Adam Barking*, *John Gray*, an Historiographer, and Bishop of *Norwich*, *Walter* of *Coventry*, *Radulphus Niger*, and lastly *Simon Thurvay*, who for his pride in Learning, but more for his Blasphemies against *Moses* and *Christ*, became at last so utterly ignorant, that hardly he could read a letter of the Book. One yet remains that must not be forgotten, *Hugo Carthusianus* Bishop of *Lincoln*, whose Miracles, as *Matthew Paris.* writes, made him famous in those dayes: and the Works he hath left behind him, famous in these.

Hubert though a most loyal Servant to King *John*.

Robert Fitz-Water wins his valour.

Simon Thurvay of a great Scholar becomes an Idiot.

In his tenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was firſt Major.
Peter Duke, *Thomas Neal*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Major.
Peter le Joſue, *William Blounde*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Major.
Adam Whitley, *Stephen le Graſs*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Major.
John Fitz-Peter, *John Garland*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Major.
Randolph Eyland, *Conſtantine Joſue*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Roger Fitz-Alwyn was Major.
Martin Fitz-Alice, *Peter Bate*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixteenth year,
Roger Fitz-Alwyn was Major.
Soloman Baſing, *Hugh Baſing*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventeenth year,
William Hardel was Major.
John Travers, *Andrew Newland*, Sheriffs.

The

The LIFE and REIGN of KING HENRY THE THIRD.

Of his coming to the Crown, and of Acts done in his Minority.

An. Dom. 1216.

KING *John* being dead, his eldest Son *Henry* was next to succeed: who being but Nine years old, though he were capable of having his Right; yet he was scarce capable of understanding his right; especially there being another at that time, to whom a great part of the Kingdom had sworn Allegiance. But those Lords who had been constant to the Father, notwithstanding his faults, were more tender of the Son, who was altogether innocent, and whose gracious aspect gave no small hope of a better disposition. Amongst all which Lords, there was none so eminent in worthiness, none so near him in Alliance, as *William Marshal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, who had married his Aunt; and he drawing the rest of the Lords together, with a solemn Oration, in behalf of the young Prince, so confirmed them, and so ordered the matter, that on the twenty eighth day of *October*, in the year 1216. he was Crowned at *Glocester*, by *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Joceline* Bishop of *Bathe*, in the presence of *Guallo* the Popes Legate, and many Lords and Bishops. Where besides the Oath usually taken by all Kings at their Coronation, to bear reverence and honour to God, and to his holy Church, and to do right and justice to all his people, he did homage besides to the Church of *Rome*, and to Pope *Innocent*, for his Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*; and took his Oath for the true payment of the Thousand Marks which his Father had granted to the Church of *Rome*. This done, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, by a general consent was assigned Protector of the Realm during the Kings minority. In which place the first thing he did, was to give notice of the new Kings Coronation to all the Countries round about; and to proclaim pardon to all offenders that within a time limited should come and submit themselves to him. In the mean time Prince *Lewis* of *France*, who at his hearing of King *John*'s death, thought himself then sure of enjoying the Kingdom quietly, and that he should need to fear no more opposition; now that he hears of the new Kings Crowning, and that so solemnly, and with so unanimous a consent, he begins to think himself in worse case than before: and to grow jealous of the *English* Lords that had adhered to him, what they would do in this new world. And indeed a conflict was already grown in their minds, which of the two obligations should be the greater; either that of their Oath to Prince *Lewis*: or that of their Allegiance to King *Henry*. They could not but think it extream ungratefulness to forsake Prince *Lewis*, whom they had themselves invited to come; and they could not but think it extream undutifulness to stand out in opposition against King *Henry* their natural Soveraign. And that which added no small weight to this scale, was a discovery lately made by the Viscount *Melon* a *French* Lord, at the time of his death, who confessed, as a matter of conscience, That Prince *Lewis* had vowed, if once he got the Kingdom, utterly to extirpate all the *English* Nobility, and to admit none but *French* to any place of Dignity. Neither was it perhaps the least cause that moved many to leave the party of Prince *Lewis*, that *Guallo* the Popes Legat had threatned to Excommunicate him, and as many as should adhere unto him. But whether any of these Reasons, or any other were their motives, certain it is, that many of them, of whom were principal, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warren*, *Salisbury*, and *William* the eldest Son of the Protector, shrunk from Prince *Lewis*, and went to King *Henry*, as thinking no obligation so great as Allegiance: And many again continued constant to Prince *Lewis*, as thinking no obligation so great as an Oath. And now Prince *Lewis*, to cast the dice of fortune, before his Enemies, though they had gotten them a Head, should gather to a head, and draw more Forces together, staying himself at *London*, sent his Lieutenants with an Army of Twenty thousand, to take in as many Towns as they could; and many they took with small opposition: but coming to *Lincoln*, where though they had the Town it self, yet the Castle stood out, and had been defended by a Noble Lady a whole year before, they found such resistance, that their proceedings was there arrested. For thither came presently *William* the Protector, with his Son *William*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, and *Chester*; the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers*, and *Albemarle*, *William de Albinet*, *William de Cantilup*, *Falcasius*, *Thomas Basset*, *Rob. Vipont*, *Brent de Lisle*, *Geoffry Lacy*, and many other Barons, with all the power of the young King; who with wonderful violence assault the City. At which time it was propounded by the *French*, to sally forth and give them Battel, but conceiving their Army to be greater than indeed it was (for the *English* had set double Ensigns to every Company, which made a shew

King Henry is crowned.

The Lords doubt to whom they would adhere.

Many Lords shrink from Prince Lewis.

a shew of twice as many as they were) they forbear that course, and kept themselves within the Town: by which means being cooped up, and straitned in place, so as they could not make use of their Forces, as otherwise they might, they were in conclusion all defeated; and all the principal men of the *English* that had adhered to Prince *Lewis* were taken prisoners: as namely, *Saer*, Earl of *Winchester*, *Henry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gaunt*, lately made Earl of *Lincoln* by Prince *Lewis*; *Robert Fitz-Water*, *Richard Mount-Fitchet*, *William Mowbray*, *William Branchamp*, *William Maudet*, *Oliver Harcourt*, *Roger de Cressey*, *William Colvile*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Ropesley*, *Ralph Chenduit*, Barons; besides four hundred Knights, or men at Arms. Only the Earl of *Perch* their General, being compassed about, and willed to render himself, swore he would never become a prisoner to any *English*: and thereupon was run through the sight of his Helmet into the Brains, and instantly died. This was a main blow to Prince *Lewis*, and the last of his Battels in *England*; and because the City was very rich in Merchandise, the *English* in derision called it *Lewis* Fair. But Prince *Lewis* was not yet discouraged, for he had sent to King *Philip* his Father to send him new supplies out of *France*; and new supplies were indeed sent: but *Hubert de Burgh*, Governour of *Dover*, being as vigilant as he was valiant, watched their coming, and in a Sea-fight defeated them all, of whom but few escaped. And now this blow at Sea was so much greater than that at Land, that where that made him only doubt, this made him despair, at least made him malleable, and fit to be wrought upon by composition. Whereupon it was at last concluded, that Prince *Lewis* should have fifteen thousand Marks for the charges he had been at, and abjure his claim to any interest in the Kingdom; and withal to work his Father for restitution of such Provinces in *France* as appertained to this Crown: and that when himself should be King, he should resign them in a peaceable manner. On the other part, King *Henry* takes his Oath; and from him the Legate *Guallo*, and the Protector, to restore unto the Barons of the Realm, and other his Subjects all their Rights and Priviledges, for which the discord began between the late King and his People. After this Prince *Lewis* is honourably attended to *Dover*, and departs out of *England* about *Michaelmas*, above two years after his first arrival.

The chief men that adhered to Prince *Lewis* are taken prisoners.

Lewis Fair.

1217. Prince *Lewis* supplies defeated at Sea.

Prince *Lewis* is recommended with his depart the Realm.

Prince *Lewis* departs.

And now the Kingdom is come to unity within it self, one King and one People; and for a year or two there was but little to be done, only some few there were, whom the corruption of the times had engendred, and who being born in a storm, could not live in a calm; of whom the principal were the Earl of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Vipount*, *Fowke de Brent*, *Brian de Lisle*, and *Hugh de Baliol*. Who bustling about, got possession of Castles: with what intention all men knew, but with what hope of effecting their intention, no man could imagine: for being but a handful of men to the Body of the Realm, they were easily suppressed; and either brought to acknowledge their faults, or else punished for not acknowledging them. It was

Some Lords stand out still.

now the fourth year of King *Henry*'s Reign; at which time *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Protector of the Realm died, and was buried in the new Temple at *London*, in whose place came the Bishop of *Winchester*. And now was the King the second time Crowned, and had granted him by Parliament for Escuage, two Marks of Silver, of every Knights Fee, for the Affairs of the Kingdom, and recovery of his Transmarine Dominions which is now designed: and *Malleon de Saveroy*, the *Poictovin*, with *William Long-Sword*, Earl of *Salisbury*, sent over to try the affections of that People, whom they find for the most part inclinable to the obedience of this Crown: but the King of *France* being required peaceably to deliver them, made answer, That having gotten them by the Sword, by the Sword he would hold them. But now the King being come to some years of understanding, was in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in mind by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of the Oath he had taken for the confirmation of the Liberties of the Kingdom; which though oppugned by some (and especially by *William Brewer*, and *Hubert de Burgh*, whom the King had now made his chief Justiciar) as having been an Act of constraint: yet the King then again ratified, and twelve Knights or other Legal men of every Shire, by Writs, were charged to examine what the Laws and Liberties were, which the Kingdom enjoyed under his Grandfather, and that they should return them by a certain day: and here the King by Parliament resumeth into his hands such Alienations as had been made by his Ancestors of any Crown Land. The next year after, another Parliament is held at *Westminster*, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all the Moveables, both of the Clergy and Laity, for the recovery of those parts in *France*, with-held from the Crown by *Lewis*, now King, contrary to his Oath and Promise made here in *England* at his departure; which though it concerned the Honour and Dignity of the Kingdom, and the Estates of most of the Nobility; yet would it be yielded to, but upon confirmation of their Liberties, which in the end was obtained, in the same words and form as King *John* had granted them in the two Charters before: and twelve Knights are chosen in every Shire to dispart the old Forests from the new, and the new to be laid open and ploughed, and improved, to the great comfort and benefit of the Subject; and two years they were accordingly enjoyed.

An. Reg. 4. 1220.

The Protector dieth. In his place the Bishop of *Winchester* is chosen.

King *Henry* is the second time crowned.

King *Henry* confirms the Liberties of the Kingdom.

He resumeth crown Land.

An. Reg. 9. 1225.

He confirms the two Charters granted by King *John*, *magna charta*, and *Charta Foresta*.

Of his Acts after he came to be of Age.

IT was now the Tenth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, and being about Nineteen years of age, he claimed to take the government of the Kingdom into his own hands, and no longer to be under a Protector; and now will presently appear the difference between a Prince that is ruled by good Counsel, and a Prince that will do all of himself, and take no advice. For thirteen years he was ruled by a Protector, all passed as it were in a calm, without noise or clamour; but as soon as he took upon him the Government himself, there grew presently storms and tumults; no quietness either to the Subject or

An. Reg. 10. 1226.

He takes the Government upon himself.

or to himself: nothing but grievances all the long time of his Reign. For at the Parliament now holden at *Oxford*, as soon as he was Crowned again, he presently cancels and annuls the Charter of the Forests, as granted in his Nonage; and therefore he not bound to observe it: and then not using any longer the Seal which the Protector had used, he makes a new, and causeth Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would enjoy any benefit of Grants under his Seal should come and have them signed by his new Seal; by which course he drew much money from many: and this was the first grievance.

He annuls the Charters which he granted before.

He makes a new Seal.

Shortly after, he commits the keeping of *Barkhamstead* Castle, to one *Walleran* a *Dutchman*, which Castle belonged to his Brother *Richard* of *Cornwal*; but when Earl *Richard* required to have the possession, as of right he ought, it was then plotted by *Hubert Burgh* Chief Justice, and the Kings chief Counsellour, to commit him to prison; which the Earl understanding, or at least suspecting, flies presently to *Marlborough*, where he finds *William* Earl Marshal his vowed Friend, with whom he hastens to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earls of *Chester*, *Gloucester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwick*, and divers other Barons; who all confederate together, and send to the King, That unless he restore the Castle to his Brother, and to them the Liberties of Forests, which he had lately cancelled at *Oxford*, they would seek to recover them by the Sword. Hereupon King *Henry* to pacifie his Brother, not only renders the Castle to him, but gives him besides all that his Mother had in Dower; and also great possessions which the Earl of *Britain*, and the Earl of *Boleign* lately deceased, had in *England*: but to the Petition of the Lords he made a Dilatory answer: and this was another grievance.

The Lords conspire against King Henry, and why.

Not long after King *Henry* is perswaded by *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*, who had married his Mother, to make a Journey into *France*, for recovery of his right there: but the Earl perswaded it for ends of his own, which to have discovered, had been no way to compass them: He must therefore lay some colours upon his work; and it was colour enough that the action would be of great benefit to the King, if it might succeed; and the likelihood of succeeding was most apparent, by reason of the great inclination of the people to King *Henry*, and their great averseness from King *Lewis*. Upon these colours King *Henry* undertaking the action, raiseth great sums of money from the Clergy, and from the *Londoners*, for redemption of their Liberties, and takes the third part of all the Goods of the *Jews*: but when he returned home a year after, without having done any thing but spent his Treasure and his time; and that which was more worth than both these, the lives of many Noble-men and others; this was another grievance.

King Henry makes a Journey into France, but without success.

And now King *Henry* bringing many *Poictovins* over with him, who had served him in his Wars, he was to reward them here; which he could not do, but by displacing and spoil of his Officers. First therefore he calleth *Ralph Britton* Treasurer of his Chamber to account, and grievously fines him for defrauding him in his Office. Then likewise is *Hubert de Burgh*, Chief Justiciar, and his chief Counsellor, called to account for such Treasure as passed his Office; who being further charged with crimes of Treason, flies to the Church of *Merton* for sanctuary: from whence when the King commanded him to be drawn out by violence, the Bishop of *London* hearing of it, commanded him to be returned back to Sanctuary, upon pain of Excommunication: but the King commanding him to be kept from sustenance, hunger at last enforced him to render himself to the Kings mercy: all his goods which were very great, confiscate. Also *Walter* Bishop of *Carlile* is thrust out of his Office of Treasurer, and *William Raden* Knight, from his place of Marshal of the Kings House; and all the chief Counsellors, Bishops, Earls, and Barons of the Kingdom are removed as distrusted; and only strangers preferred to their rooms. Of which course, *Peter de Rupibus* a *Poictovin*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and one *Peter de Rivalis*, the Kings special Favourite, were said to be the Authors: and this was another grievance.

He displaceth many of his great Officers.

Strangers placed in their rooms.

Nine years had thus passed, with divers grievances in his Government, and being now about eight or nine and twenty years old, a Consultation was had for a fit Wife for him. There was propounded a Sister of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, but it was not thought fit the King should marry the younger Sister, when *Hubert de Burgh* had married the elder: he therefore takes one of his own choosing, and marries *Eleanor*, daughter to *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*; by which match he neither had portion by his Wife, nor strength of alliance by Friends; or if any were, it was all made vain by distance; only he had by her a number of poor kindred, who to his great cost lay hanging upon him: yet was the Marriage solemnized with as great charges as if he had been to have Mountains with her: and this was another grievance.

An. Reg. 19. 1235.

King Henry marries to more charge than benefit.

And now is the score of these grievances called upon to be paid; for the Lords could no longer endure so many indignities, to see themselves slighted, and only strangers advanced, as *Fouke de Brent*, who held the Earldoms of *Nottingham*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, and others the like: and to see their persons exposed to danger, and their estates to ruine; for which no remedy could be, but only the Kings confirming their Charter of Liberties: wherein it is strange to observe upon what different grounds the King and the Lords went. It seems the King thought that to confirm that Charter, were to make himself to be less than a King; and the Lords thought, that as long as it was denied, they were no better than slaves: and as the King could endure no diminution, so the Lords could endure no slavery; but the King might keep his own with sitting still, the Lords could not recover their own but by motion. And seeing their strength must be in their number, by commotion, hereupon they confederate together; and of this confederacy, *Richard*, now Earl Marshal, upon the death of his Brother *William*, is chief; who repair to the King, and boldly shew him his errour, and require satisfaction. Hereupon the King sends presently

The Lords confederate again for their Charters.

The Lords summoned to a Parliament, refuse to come.

They threaten to set up a new King.

The Lords proclaimed Out-laws, and their Estates seized on.

Earl Marshal, by a train drawn in over a, is there by treachery slain.

The Bishops threaten to excommunicate the King.

The King calls home the Lords, and removes strangers.

ſently over for whole Legions of *Poictovins*, and withal ſummons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refuſe to come. After this a Parliament is called at *Weſtminſter*, whither likewiſe they refuſe to come, unleſs the King would remove the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the *Poictovins* from the Court: and more than this, they ſend him word, that unleſs he did this, they would expel both himſelf and his evil Councellours out of the Land, and create a new King. Upon this threatning, Pledges are required of the Nobility for ſecuring their Allegiance, and Writs are ſent out to all who held by Knights-ſervice to repair to the King at *Gloceſter* by a certain day; which the Earl Marſhal and his aſſociates refuſing, the King without the judgement of his Court and their Peers, cauſeth them to be proclaimed Out-Laws, ſeiſeth upon all their Lands, which he gives to his *Poictovins*; and directs out Writs to attach their bodies whereſoever in the Kingdom. But now of theſe confederate Lords the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* won the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Lincoln* with a thouſand Marks; and the King had ſo pleaſed his Brother the Earl of *Cornwal*, that he likewiſe left them. Whereupon they withdrew into *Wales*, and confederate with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*; whither alſo came *Hubert de Burgh*, eſcaped out of Priſon, and joyns with them; taking intermutual Oaths, that no one without other ſhould make their accord. Hereupon the King goeth himſelf in perſon into *Wales*, where not prevailing, he returns to *Gloceſter*, implores new Forces of ſtrangers, but all without ſucceſs. At laſt a Frier is imployed to perſwade the Earl Marſhal to ſubmit himſelf to the King, but all in vain; till at length a train is laid to draw him over into *Ireland*, to defend his ſtate there, being ſeiſed upon by the King; where by treachery circumvented he loſt his life, *Militiæ flos temporum modernorum*, ſaith *Matth. Paris.* Yet the King diſavows the ſending of any ſuch Commiſſion into *Ireland*, proteſting he never knew thereof; and layes the fault upon his Officers. An eaſie way for Princes, never to be found in any fault.

After two years affliction, a Parliament is aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the Biſhops admoniſh the King by his Fathers example, to be at unity with his people, and to remove from him ſtrangers, and to govern the Kingdom by Natives of the Realm, and by the Laws: otherwiſe they would proceed by Eccleſiaſtical cenſure, both againſt his Counſellours and himſelf. The King ſeeing no way to ſubſiſt but by temporizing, conſents to call home thoſe Lords out of *Wales*; reſtores them to their places and poſſeſſions; removes all ſtrangers from about him; and calls his new officers to account. Hereupon the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave* take Sanctuary; but afterward by mediation they obtained with great Fines their Liberty, dearly paying for their two years greatneſs. After this a Parliament is again called, which the King would have to be kept in the Tower, whither the Lords refuſing to come, another place of more freedom is appointed; in which Parliament, order is taken for removing all Sheriffs from their places, upon complaint of corruption: and here the King diſplaceth his Steward, and offers to take from the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, then Chancellour, the great Seal, which he refuſeth to deliver, as having received it by the Common-Council of the Kingdom: and now *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave*, are received again into grace, by which may appear the viciſſitude of fortune in Princes favours. After this, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, another Parliament is held at *London*, where the King requires the thirteenth part of all the moveables as well of the Clergy as Laity; which being directly oppoſed, the King promiſeth by Oath, never more to injure the Nobility, ſo they would but relieve him at that preſent. After four dayes conſultation, the King promiſing to uſe only the Counſel of his natural Subjects, and proteſting againſt the Revocation lately propounded, and freely granting the inviolable obſervation of their Liberties, under pain of Excommunication, a Subſidy is granted him; but ſo, that four Knights be appointed in every Shire to receive and deliver the ſame, either to ſome Abbey or Caſtle, where it may be ſafely kept; that if the King fail in performance of his Grants, it may be reſtored to the Countrey from whence it was collected. And now the King to make a ſhew of true reconciliation for his part, ſuddenly cauſes the Earls *Warren* and *Ferrers* with *John Fitz-Geoffry* to be ſworn his Councellours: yet was neither of the points either for removing of ſtrangers, or for diſpoſing the money obſerved afterward by the King; for the money he made bold to take at his pleaſure: and for ſtrangers they were ſo far from removing, that they were drawn nearer to him. For now *William Valentine*, Uncle to the Queen, is grown the moſt inward man with him, and nothing done but by his counſel; alſo the Earl of *Provence*, the young Queens Father, a poor Prince, had a good ſhare of the money that was collected: and *Simon de Mountford*, a *French* man born, is entertained by the King, and preferred ſecretly in marriage to *Eleanor* the Kings Siſter, Widow of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, the great Marſhal, and is made Earl of *Leiceſter*, by right of his Mother *Avice*, Daughter of *Blanchman* Earl of *Leiceſter*. Which courſes ſo incenſe the Nobility, that it put them out into a new commotion; and *Richard* the Kings Brother becomes one of the party, whom the other Lords make their ſpokeſman to the King, to aggravate his breach of promiſe, and to acquaint him with all the diſorders of the Kingdom; with whoſe remonſtrance the King is ſo moved, that after he had tryed the *Londoners*, and found them alſo to partake with the Lords, he calls a Parliament at *London*, whither the Lords came armed for their own ſafety. Where after long debating the King taking his Oath to refer the matter to certain grave men of the Kingdom, Articles are drawn, ſealed, and publickly ſet up to the view of all, with the Seals of the Legate, and divers great men: but before it came to be effected, the Earl of *Cornwal*, by the working of *Simon Mountford*, hath his edge rebated, and is brought to be unwilling to meddle in the matter any more; which the other Lords ſeeing

The Chancellour refuſeth to deliver the Seal.

Anno Dom. 1237. *An. Reg.* 21.

The King grants their Liberties, and thereupon hath a Subſidy granted, but with conditions.

But the conditions not performed.

The Lords thereupon confederate again.

They come Armed to the Parliament.

ing

ing, they also grew cold, and so for that time it rested, and no more was done in it. About this time, a certain fanatick fellow had got into the Kings Chamber in the night, having a naked knife in his hand, with a resolved purpose to kill him: but finding him not there, (for the King lay that night with the Queen) he then went looking about to find him out: but being taken, and confessing who were his accomplices, he was afterward drawn in pieces with wild Horses. So provident a care hath God to protect his Anointed.

An. Reg. 22. 1238.

The King opposes the Lords.

And now is the Kings turn to play his part in using his Authority, which he fails not to do to the uttermost; for upon a small occasion he causeth the Gates of *Gilbert* now Earl of *Pembroke* (the third son of *William* the great Marshal) to be shut against him at *Winchester*: whereupon the Earl retires into the North. Also *Simon Norman*, Master of the Kings Seal, and his greatest Favourite, is thrown out with disgrace, and his Brother *Geoffry* a Knight Templar, is put out of the Council; both of them for not yielding to pass a Grant from the King made unto *Thomas* Earl of *Flanders*, the Queens Uncle, of four pence upon every sack of Wool. And now that load enough is laid upon those of the Laity, comes a new load to be laid upon the Clergy. For the Pope nothing dainty to make use of the Power he had in the King, sends over three hundred *Romans*, requiring to have the first Benefices that should be vacant, bestowed upon them: which seemed so unreasonable a request, and to the Clergy of *England* so damageable, that it made *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to give over all, and betake himself to a voluntary exile in the Abbey of *Pontiniac* in *France*; yet to shew his respect to the Pope, gave him eight hundred Marks before his departure. And to lay more weight upon the Clergy, great sums are also required of them for maintenance of the Popes War against the Emperour; which though the Clergy opposed, and shewed many good reasons of their oppositions both to the King and the Legate: yet by promises or threatnings, they were won or forced to yield unto it. And now comes the Earl of *March*, and once again solicits the King to make another journey into *France*; which being yielded to by the King, and assented to in Parliament, and aid presently was demanded towards it: but this demand was not only opposed, but all the Kings Taxations and Aids before granted, were now repealed; and thereupon an absolute denial to grant any more. Upon this, the King comes to the Parliament himself in person; earnestly, and indeed, humbly craving their aid for this once: but all prevailed not, they had made a vow to the contrary; and the King is driven to get what he could of particular men, of whom partly by gift, and partly by loan, he gets so much, that he carries over with him thirty Barrels of Sterling money. This expedition had no better success than the former; for after a whole years stay, the King was driven to make a dishonourable Truce with the King of *France*, and return home. At his return he put the *Jews* to another redemption, and the *Londoners* to another exaction; and to help on his charge, his Wifes Mother, the Countess of *Provence*, comes now to visit him, who bringing her Daughter *Sanchia* with her, a marriage is solemnized between her and *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, whose Wife was lately dead, and he returned from the Holy Wars. The old Countess at her return, is presented with many rich gifts, having besides received an annual pension of four thousand Marks out of *England*, for five years past, in consideration of a pact made, that King *Henry* after her decease should have the Earldom of *Provence*: but shortly after her return, she disappoints him of that, and bestows it upon her youngest Daughter *Beatrix*, married to *Charles* the *French* Kings Brother, who was after King of *Naples* and *Sicilie*; so as this Countess lived to see all her four Daughters Queens: *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, coming after to be elected King of the *Romans*. Upon these profusions, a consultation is had for new supplies, and no way thought so fit as by Parliament; hereupon a Parliament is again assembled at *Westminster*, whither the King comes again himself in person, urging his necessities; yet nothing would be granted without the assurance of reformation and due execution of the Laws. And here they desire to have it ordained, That four of the most grave and discreet Peers should be chosen as Conservators of the Kingdom, and sworn of the Kings Council, both to see Justice administred, and the Treasure issued, and these or two of them at least, should ever attend about the King. Also that the Lord Chief Justiciar, and the Lord Chancellor should be chosen by the general voices of the States assembled, or else be one of the number of those four. Besides they propound, That there might be two Justices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer, and one Justice for the *Jews*; and those likewise to be chosen by Parliament. But while these things were in debating, comes one *Martin*, a new Legat from the Pope, with a larger Commission than ever any before, to exact upon the State; but at the same time, Letters coming from the Emperour *Frederick*, to entreat that the Pope might have no more supplies out of *England*, the Popes Mandate is rejected, and his Agent *Martin* disgracefully sent home. This business took up so much time, that nothing else was done in this Parliament, but only an Aid granted to the King for the marriage of his Daughter to *Alexander* King of *Scots*, Twenty shillings of every Knights Fee, and that with much ado, and repetition of his former Aids.

The Pope sends over 300 *Romans* to have the first Benefices vacant.

The King once again makes a Journey into *France*.

He comes to the Parliament to demand a Subsidy, but is denyed.

He returns out of *France* without success.

The King again in person demands a Subsidy, but is denyed, without granting the Lords demands.

That the Chief Justice and Lord Chancellour should be chosen by the Parliament.

The Popes Legate for money rejected.

Aid to marry the Kings daughter granted.

The Winter following he assembles another Parliament, wherein he moves for an Aid upon a design he had upon *Wales*, and to pay his debts, which were urged to be so great, that he could not appear out of his Chamber for the infinite clamour of such, to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax and other necessaries of his house; but they all to his face, refused to grant him any thing. Whereupon other violent courses are taken, an ancient Quarrel is found out against the City of *London*, for which they are commanded to pay fifteen thousand Marks; and *Passelewe* the Clerk is imployed, with others, in a most peremptory Commission, to enquire of all such Lands as had been inforested, and either

The King shewes his necessity and requires relief, but is denied.

Hereupon he raiseth money by violent courses.

to fine the occupiers thereof at their pleasure, or else to take it from them and sell the same to others; wherein such rigour was used, that multitudes of people were undone. But now to shew the King the estate of his Kingdom, and the oppression of Popes, inquiry was made of the Revenues which the *Romans* and *Italians* had in *England*; which were found to be annually sixty thousand Marks; being more than the yearly Revenues of the Crown. Which so moved the King, that he caused the same to be notified, with all other exactions, to the General Council now assembled at *Lions*. And this (with the ill usage of his Agent *Martin*) so vexed the Pope, that he is said to have uttered these words, It is time to make an end with the Emperour, that we may crush these petty Kings; for the Dragon once appeased, or destroyed, these lesser Snakes will soon be trodden down. But upon the Popes rejecting the consideration of these grievances of *England*, and despising the Kings message (who he said began to *Frederize*) it was absolutely here ordained under great penalty, That no contribution of money should be given to the Pope by any Subject of *England*: And the King for a time assents unto it. But being of an irresolute and wavering nature, and afraid of threats, he soon gave over what he undertook, so as the Pope continued his former rapine; and though he had promised never to send any more Legates into *England*, yet sent he other Ministers under the title of Clerks, that had as great power as Legats, and effected as much.

The King assents that no more contribution be given to the Pope. But soon revokes.

And now for the other part of the State, new occasions also of complaint were offered. *Peter* of *Savoy*, Earl of *Richmond*, comes into *England*, bringing with him certain Maids to be married to young Noblemen of this Countrey, the Kings Wards, of whom *Edmund* Earl of *Lincoln* hath one, and *Richard de Burgh* another; and the same year three of the Kings Brothers by the Mother, *Guy de Lusignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar Clark*, are sent over to be provided of Estates in *England*. Also *Thomas* of *Savoy* (sometimes Earl of *Flanders*, by right of his Wife) comes with his Sister *Beatrix*, Countess of *Provence*, the Queens Mother, who are again feasted, and gifted; for whom the King is taxed the next Parliament in *Candlemas* Term, and besides sharply reprehended for his breach of promise, having Vowed and Declared by his Charter never more to injure the State in that kind: also for his violent taking up of Provision of Wax, Silk, Robes, and especially of Wine, contrary to the will of the sellers, and many other grievances they complain of. All which the King Patiently hears, in hope to obtain his desire; but yet nothing is effected: and the Parliament being prorogued till *Midsummer* following, and the King growing more obdurate than before, it afterward brake up in discontent. But the Parliament not supplying him, he is advised to furnish his wants with sale of his Plate, and Jewels of the Crown, being told, that though they were sold, yet they would revert again unto him; and having with great loss received money for them, he asks who had bought them: answer is made, the City of *London*. That City (said he) is an inexhaustible Gulph, If *Octavius* Treasure were to be sold, they surely would buy it. In his two and fortieth year, a Parliament was held, which by some was called, *Insanum Parliamentum*, the mad Parliament; for that, as this Parliament to which the Lords came with great Retinues of armed men) many things were enacted contrary to the Kings pleasure, and his Royal Prerogative.

The King furnisheth his wants with sale of his Plate and Jewels.

And now to vex them, he appoints a Fair to be kept at *Westminster*, forbidding under great penalty, all exercise of Merchandize within *London*, for fifteen dayes, and all other Fairs in *England*; and namely that of *Ely*: but this Novelty came to nothing; the inconvenience of the place, as it was then, and the foulness of the weather, brought more affliction than benefit to the Traders. That *Christmas* also he requires New-years-Gifts of the *Londoners*, and shortly after writes unto them his Letters imperiously deprecatory to aid him with money; and thereby gets of them Twenty thousand pounds, for which the next year after he craves pardon of them. And notwithstanding his continual taking up all Provisions for his house, yet he lessens his house-keeping in no honourable manner. And then seeing he could get nothing of the States together, he calls unto him, or writes unto every Nobleman apart, declaring his poverty; and how he was bound by Charter in a debt of Thirty thousand pounds to those of *Burdeaux*, and his *Gascoyns* (who otherwise would not have suffered him to depart home) at his last being in *France*: but failing herein of Temporal Lords, he addresseth his Letters to the Prelates, of whom he finds as little relief; by much importunity and his own presence, he got of the Abbot of *Ramsey* a hundred pound, but the Abbot of *Burrough* had the face to deny him, though the King told him, It was more Alms to give money to him, than to a Beggar that went from door to door. The Abbot of Saint *Albans* yet was more kind, and gave him Threescore Marks. To such lowness did the necessity of this indigent King (through his profusion) bring him. The *Jews* ever exposed to his will, feel the weight of these his wants. One *Abraham*, found a Delinquent, redeems himself for seven hundred Marks, and *Aaron* another *Jew* protests, the King had since his last being in *France* taken from him at times, Thirty thousand Marks of Silver, besides two hundred Marks of Gold given to the Queen.

He tryes to get money of particular men. But fails in it.

The Jews most of all taxed.

But now the Lords assemble again at *London*, and press him with his promise made unto them, That the chief Justiciar, Chancellour and Treasurer, should be appointed by the General Council of the Kingdom; but by the absence of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, (which was thought to be done of purpose) they return frustrate of their desire. And now the Bishoprick of *Winchester* falling void, the King sends presently to the Monks of the Cathedral Church, to elect his Brother *Athelmar*; and because he would not be denied, he goes thither himself in person, and there enters the Chapter-house as a Bishop or Prior, gets up into the Presidents Chair, begins a Sermon, and takes his Text, *Justice and Peace have kissed each other*; and thereupon useth these words: To me and other Kings

The King preacheth to have his Brother *Athelmar* chosen Bishop of *Winchester*.

King; who are to govern the People, belongs the rigour of Judgement and Justice; to you who are men of Quiet and Religion, Peace and Tranquillity; and this day I hear you have (for your own good) been favourable to my request, with many such like words; whereby the Monks finding the earnestness of his desire, held it in vain to deny him, and *Athelmar* is elected: but with this reservation, if the Pope allow it. Shortly after follows the memorable Case of Sir *Henry de Bathe*, a Justiciar of the Kingdom, and a special Counsellour to the King, who by corruption had attained to a mighty Estate, and is said, in one Circuit to have gotten Two hundred pound Land *per annum*. He is accused by Sir *Philip Darcy* of falshood in the Kings Court; and the King is so incensed against him, that in the Parliament at this time holden in *London*, Proclamation is made, That whosoever had any Action or Complaint against *Henry de Bathe*, should come and be heard. One of his Justiciars accused him of acquitting a Malefactor for a bribe. The King seeing *Hen. de Bathe's* Friends to be many and strong, breaks out into a rage, protesting, That whosoever would kill *Henry de Bathe*, should be acquitted for the deed. But afterward by intercession of the Earl of *Cornwal*, and the Bishop of *London*, the King becomes pacified, and Sir *Henry* is released, paying Two thousand Marks; and after is restored to his former place and favour. The King keeping his *Christmas* at *York*, the Marriage is solemnized between *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his Daughter; to the Feast of which solemnity it is said the Archbishop gave six hundred fat Oxen, which were all spent at one Meal: and besides, the Feast cost him four thousand Marks.

Henry de Bathe chief Justice fined for corruption. Yet afterward restored to his place.

A sumptuous Feast.

About this time the Pope solicits King *Henry* to undertake the Cross, and so doth *Alphonsus* King of *Castile*, offering to accompany him in Person, to rescue the King of *France*, who was now held Prisoner by the *Souldan*; and because a Ransome collected for him in *France* was by tempest cast away at Sea, the Captive King offers to restore *Normandy* to the King of *England*, so he would come to his rescue. Upon this solicitation of the Pope, and the grant of a tenth of the Clergy and Laity for three years to come, the King undertakes the Cross; rather it seems, to get the money, than with any purpose to perform the Journey: which had it been collected (saith *Paris*) would have amounted to six hundred thousand pounds, to the utter impoverishing of the Kingdom. And now the King by Proclamation calls the *Londoners* to *Westminster*, and there causeth the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Coicester* to declare his intentions, and to exhort the people to undertake the Cross and attend him: but few are moved by their perswasions, only three Knights of small note, whom thereupon the King in open view, imbraceth, kisseth, and calls his Brethren, checking the *Londoners* as ignoble Mercenaries; and there himself takes his Oath for performing it, and to set forth upon *Midsummer* day next. In taking his Oath, he layes his right hand on his breast, according to the manner of a Priest; and after on the Book, and kist it as a Lay-man. About this Tenth (granted by the Pope, but not by the People) a Parliament is called at *London*, where the Bishops are first dealt withal, (as being a work of piety) and they absolutely refuse it; then the Temporal Lords are set upon, and they answer as the Bishops, which put the King into so great a rage, that he drove out all that were in his Chamber, as if he had been mad. Then he falls to perswade them apart, sending first for the Bishop of *Ely*, and deals with him in all kind manner, recounting the many favours he had done him. The Bishop replies, disswading him from the Journey by Example of the King of *France*; and to that purpose useth many good reasons: which the King hearing, in great passion commanded his Servants to thrust him out of door, perceiving by this what was to be expected of the rest, and thereupon falls upon his former violent courses. And first the City of *London* is compelled to the Contribution of a Thousand Marks; and the *Gascoyners* being upon revolt, unless speedy succour be sent them, general Musters are made, and commandment given, That whosoever could dispend Thirteen pounds *per annum*, should furnish out a horseman. This occasions another Parliament, wherein it seems, the State began wisely to consider, that all their oppositions did no good, the Kings turn must be served one way or other. Therefore they agreed to relieve him rather by the usual way, than force him to those extravagant courses which he took; but yet so, as the Reformation of the Government, and the ratification of their Laws and Liberties, might once again be solemnly confirmed. And after fifteen dayes consultation, to satisfie the Kings desire for his holy Expedition, a Tenth is granted by the Clergy, and Scutage, three Marks of every Knights Fee by the Laity; and thereupon those often confirmed Charters are again ratified: and that in the most solemn and ceremonial manner, that State and Religion could possibly devise. The King with all the great Nobility of *England*, all the Bishops in their reverent Ornaments with burning Candles in their hands, assemble to hear the terrible sentence of Excommunication against the infringers of the same. And at the lighting of those Candles the King having received one in his hand, gives it to the Prelate that stood by, saying, It becomes not me, being no Priest, to hold this Candle, my heart shall be a greater testimony; and withal laid his hand spread upon his Breast all the time the sentence was read; which was thus pronounced, *Authoritate Dei Omnipotentis, &c.* Which done, he causeth the Charter of King *John* his Father, granted by his free consent, to be openly read. In the end, having thrown away their Candles, which lay smoaking on the ground, they cryed out, So let them who incur this Sentence, be extinct, and have no better favour than these snuffs: and the King with a loud voice said, As God help me, I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King Crowned and Anointed, inviolably observe all these things: and therewithal the Bells rung out, and the people shouted for joy.

King Henry undertakes the Cross.

But can get no money.

Thereupon falls again to violent courses.

For preventing whereof the Parliament grants him a Subsidy.

But upon condition to confirm their Charters.

Which are confirmed with the greatest solemnity that could be devised.

Yet was not all so quieted by this Grant, but that there were grievances still, whereof the first falls upon his Brother *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwal*: for the King having seven and twenty

years before given him the Province of *Gascoine*, now that he had a Son of his own, he would take it from his Brother, and give it to his Son; and the Earl refusing to deliver his Charter, it is plotted to imprison him; but he escaping out of *Burdeaux*, comes over into *England*. The King to win the Nobility of *Gascoine* to turn to him, promiseth them Thirty thousand Marks, which they accept, so as he bindeth himself by Oath and Charter to perform it. This distress of theirs the King takes in ill part, and thereupon sends *Simon Mountford* Earl of *Leicester*, a stern man, to be their Governour, who with his insolent Government, so discontents them, that after three years suffering, they send the Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, with other great men, to complain of his Insolencies. Whereupon *Mountford* is sent for, and because the Lords took part with him, the King takes part with the *Gascoiners*, which *Mountford* took so ill, that he upbraids the King with breaking his promise: To whom the King in great rage replyed, That no promise was to be kept with an unworthy Traitor. At which word *Mountford* riseth up, protesting that he lyed; and were he not protected by his Royal Dignity, he would make him repent those words. The King commands his Servants to lay hold on him, but the Lords would not permit it. Yet after this great affront to the King, is *Mountford* sent over again into *Gascoine*, though with a more limited Authority; and shortly after the King with a Fleet of Three hundred Ships goes thither himself, and soon composeth all differences in the Countrey.

Mountford giveth King *Henry* the lye to his face.

Yet soon reconciled.

But now the King of *Spain* pretends a Title to *Aquitane*; and to take him off, King *Henry* sends to treat of a Marriage between Prince *Edward* and his Sister *Eleanor*: which being accepted by the King of *Spain*, the Marriage is solemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spain* Knights the Prince, and quits his claim to *Aquitane* for him and his Successours for ever: and King *Henry* invests the Prince and Wife in it, and gives unto him besides, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristow*, *Stamford*, and *Grantham*: and from hence it came that ever after this, the Kings eldest Son was immediately upon his birth Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Chester*. After this King *Henry* prepares to return home, and well he might, having spent in this and his former Journeys into those parts, the sum of seven and twenty hundred thousand pounds; more than all the Lands if they had been sold, were worth: which when the King was told, he is desired there might be no words made of it for his credit. And now being to return, he is desirous, with the King of *France*'s leave to pass through *France*: and coming to *Paris* with a Thousand Horse, where he stayed eight dayes, is there most royally feasted by the King of *France*; and he as royally feasts the King of *France* again. But it is the *Londoners* and the *Jews* that are like to pay for all. For coming home about *Christmas*, when the *Londoners* presented him with a hundred pounds in money, and afterwards with two hundred pounds in plate, it was so slighted, and so ill taken, that a hole was presently found in their cost, for an escape of a Prisoner, which cost them Three thousand Marks: Yet was not this enough, but he takes good Fleeces from the *Jews*, and then lets them out to Farm, to his Brother *Richard*, for a great sum of money, and he to make what more of them he could.

King *Henry*'s eldest Son *Edward* marries *Eleanor* the King of *Spains* Sister.

The Kings eldest Son immediately Prince of *Wales* from this time.

King *Henry* spent seven and twenty hundred thousand pounds in his Journeys to *France*.

The King lets the *Jews* out to Farm.

Yet after all this he complains of his Debts, which he saith are at least Three hundred thousand Marks, which must needs be the heavier to him, because he had diminished his own means, by the allowance of Fifteen thousand Marks *per annum* to his Son the Prince. The only hope is in the Parliament, but a Parliament being called, they fall presently upon their old grievances, complaining upon the King for breach of Charter, and renewing their claim, to have the chief Justiciar, the Chancellour, and Treasurer, to be chosen by themselves: so nothing was done for the King at this time, and the Parliament being Prorogued till *Michaelmas* after, as little then, by reason many of the Peers came not, as not being summoned according to the tenour of *Magna Charta*. And now while the King was using means to wind himself out of debt, there happened occasions to put him further in; for now *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy*, the Queens Brother, being at War with the City of *Thurin*, must be supplyed with money towards it, by the King of *England*. Now the Elect Bishop of *Toledo*, the K. of *Spain*'s Brother, comes into *England*, and must be sumptuously Feasted, and have great gifts presented him. Now *Eleanor* the Princes Wife, arrives with a multitude of *Spaniards*, and must all be entertained at the Kings charge, and have no small Presents given them at their departure. Now comes *Rustandus* from the Pope, with power to collect the Tenth of the Clergy, for the Popes use and the Kings, and to absolve him from his Oath of the Holy War, so he would come to destroy *Manfred*, Son to the Emperour *Frederick*, now in possession of the Kingdom of *Sicilie*, and *Apulia*. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed upon him, besides a rich Prebend in *York*: but the Pope by too much seeking his profit, loseth credit and all; for the Clergy slights him, and will give him nothing: and when he would have borrowed of the Earl of *Cornwal* five hundred Marks, the Earl answered, He liked not to lend his money to one, upon whom he could not distrain. But King *Henry*'s greatest charge was his purchasing a Kingdom for his Son *Edmund*; for now comes the Bishop of *Bononia* from the Pope, with a Ring of Investiture to Prince *Edmund*, in the Kingdom of *Sicilie*, which he pretends to be at his disposing: and King *Henry* takes it in so good earnest, that after this he calls his Son *Edmund* by no other name than King of *Sicilie*. But all this was done by the Pope, but to angle away King *Henry*'s money, as indeed upon this hope he had drawn the King into the engagement of an hundred and fifty thousand Marks. For to draw the King on, it was given out, That the Pope had defeated all *Manfred*'s Forces, and was thereby in possession of the Kingdom; when the truth was, that *Manfred* had defeated the Popes Forces, and was thereby himself established in the Kingdom.

The Parliament requires to have the choosing of the chief Justice, Chancellour, and Treasurer.

The Earl of *Cornwal* likes not to lend the Pope money, and why.

The Pope promiseth to make the Kings younger Son King of *Sicilie*.

The year 1257. the King keeps his *Christmas* at *Winchester*, where new grievances arise. The Merchants of *Gascoine*, having their Wines taken from them by the Kings Officers without satisfaction,

satisfaction, complain to their Lord the Prince, he to his Father; and his Father having been informed before-hand by his Officers, that their clamour was unjust, as relying upon the Princes favour, he falls into a great rage with the Prince, and breaks out into these words; See! now my Blood, and my Bowels impugn me: but afterwards pacified, he gives order the Injuries should be redressed. And now the Princes followers themselves come to be a grievance, who relying upon their Master, commit many outrages, and spoil and wrong men at their pleasure; and the Prince himself is not altogether free, of whom it is said, that meeting a young man travelling by the way, he caused one of his ears to be cut off, and one of his eyes to be put out. And many such pranks plaid by him and his followers in *Wales*, made the *Welch* break out into open Rebellion, which the Prince would fain have suppressed, but there was no mony to be had towards the doing it. And now the King falls to shifts, he comes into the Chequer himself, and there laies penalties upon Sheriffs, that return not their moneys in due time; then he falls upon measures of Wine and Ale, upon Bushels and Weights, and something he gets; but *London* is his best Chequer, and every year commonly, he hath one quarrel or other to the *Londoners*, and they are sure to pay. And now falls out an accident, seeming of great honour, but certainly of no profit to the Kingdom. *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal* the Kings Brother is elected King of the *Romans*; for although *Alphonsus* King of *Spain*, the great Mathematician were his Competitor, yet Earl *Richard's* money wrought more than his Learning, and the Archbishop of *Colen* comes over to fetch him, and Crowned he is at *Aquisgrane*. This Earl of *Cornwal* is reported able to dispend a hundred Marks a day, for ten years, besides his Revenues in *England*. But now a man that payes dear for an Office, looks that his Office should pay him again: so Earl *Richard* having given infinitely to compass his advancement, looked to help himself again by the place; and this, and the desire he had to revenge himself upon those that had opposed his Election, made him take such violent courses that he came soon to be dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to return into *England*, a poorer King than he went out an Earl.

Disorders committed by the Prince and his followers.

The Earl of *Cornwal* is chosen King of the *Romans*.

The Earl of *Cornwal's* great estate.

He returns into *England* in a poor estate.

Acts done in the Contention between the King and his Barons.

NOw King *Henry* very proud to have his younger Son a King as well as his Brother, calls a Parliament, wherein he brings his Son *Edmund* clad in *Sicilie* habit; and tells the Parliament, That for advancing this Son of his to the Kingdom of *Sicilie*, he had bound himself under a covenant of losing his Kingdom, in the sum of an hundred and forty thousand Marks: and hoped they would not think much to aid him with money for so great an advancement. But the Parliament stood firm to their usual condition of *Magna Charta*; so as that might be confirmed they were content to give Two and fifty thousand Marks: but this gave the King no satisfaction. The year after, another Parliament is holden at *London*, wherein upon the Kings pressing them again for means to pay his debts to the Pope, the Lords tell him plainly, they will not yield to give him any thing for any such purpose; and give their reasons, and withall repeat their own grievances, his breach of promise, the insolency of his Brothers, and especially *William de Valence*, who had given the lye to the Earl of *Leicester*, and no right done him in it; and many such things. Which the King hearing, and not able to deny, humbles himself, and tells them how he had often by ill counsel been seduced; but promiseth by his Oath which he took on the Tomb of St. *Edward*, to reform all those errours. But the Lords not well knowing how to deal in this business, as being divided between a desire to satisfie the King, and a desire to be satisfied themselves; and knowing withal the variableness of the Kings nature, they get the Parliament to be adjourned to St. *Barnabies* day, and then to assemble at *Oxford*. In which mean time the Earls, *Gloucester*, *Leicester*, *Hereford*, the Marshal, *Bigot*, *Spencer*, and other great Men, confederate, and provide by Arms to effect their desire; and here is the foundation laid of those bloody Wars that ensued between King *Henry*, and his Barons.

King *Henry* can get no money of the Parliament to make his son *Edmund* a King.

The Lords confederate again.

And now the King being put to his shifts for money, gets the Abbot of *Westminster* to put his Seal, and that of his Covent to a Deed Obligatory, as a surety for two hundred Marks, making account, that by his example, others would be drawn to do the like; but his trusty servant *Simon Passeleve*, being imployed to other Monasteries, and telling them amongst other reasons, to perswade them, That the King was Lord of all they had; They only answered, They acknowledged indeed the King to be Lord of all they had, but yet so, as to defend, not to destroy the same; and this was all he could get of them. The Prince also in no less want than his Father, is driven to morrgage his Town of *Stamford*, *Brahan*, and many other things, to *William de Valence*, a *Poictovin*, whereby appeared the disorder of the time, when the Prince was in want, and strangers had such plenty. And now is the Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, whither the Lords come attended with large Trains; and here they begin with the expostulation of the former Liberties, requiring that the chief Justiciar, the Chancellour, and Treasurer may be ordained by publick choice; and that the Twenty four Conservators of the Kingdom may be confirmed, Twelve by the election of the Lords, and Twelve by the King: some write there were but Twelve in all, and were called, The *Douze Peers*, the Twelve Peers, who ruled all things at their pleasure without controlment. The King, seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, swears solemnly again to the confirmation of them; and causeth the Prince to take the same Oath. But the Lords left not here, the Kings Brethren, the *Poictovins*, and other strangers must presently be removed: and this also, though with some little opposition, was at last concluded: and thereupon the Kings Brethren and their followers are despoiled of all their fortunes, and exiled by proscription under the

King Henry useth shifts to get money.

The Liberty of the Subject.

The Lords require that the Chief Justice, the Chancellour and Treasurer may be chosen by Parliament.

The King and Prince swear unto it.

The Poictovins are removed.

the Kings own hand directed to the Earls of *Hereford* and *Surrey*. But now ſickneſs and mortality happening to many great ones, it is imputed to poyſons, ſuppoſed to have been prepared by thoſe ſtrangers proſcribed. The Earl of *Gloceſter* in a ſickneſs ſuddenly loſt his hair, his teeth, his nails; and his Brother hardly eſcaped death: which made many to ſuſpect their neareſt ſervants, and their Cooks. *Walter Scoyny* the Earls Steward, is ſtrictly examined, committed to Priſon, and afterward without confeſſion, is upon preſumptions only, executed at *Wincheſter*. *Elias* a converted *Jew*, is ſaid to have confeſſed That in his houſe the poyſon was confected; but it was when he was a *Jew*, and not a Chriſtian. Every man that had received any wrong by thoſe ſtrangers, now put up their complaints, and are heard. *Guido de Rochfort*, a *Poictovin*, to whom the King had given the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, is baniſhed, and all his Goods confiſcate. *William Buſſey*, Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Tower of *London*, and moſt reproachfully uſed. *Richard Grey*, whom the Lords had made Captain of *Dover* Caſtle, is ſent to intercept whatſoever the *Poictovins* conveyed that way out of *England*: and much Treaſure of theirs, and of the Elect of *Wincheſter* is by him taken, beſides great ſums committed to the new Temple are found out, and ſeiſed for the King.

And now the chief Juſticiar *Hugh Bigot*, Brother to the Earl Marſhal (choſen this laſt Parliament by publick voice) procures that four Knights in every Shire ſhould enquire of the oppreſſions of the poor, done by great Men: and certifie the ſame, that redreſs might be made. Alſo order was taken againſt corrupting of Juſtice: when yet notwithſtanding this pretended care of the publick, it is noted by the Writers and Records of that time, how the Lords were themſelves but as *totidem tyranni*, enforcing the ſervices of the Kings Tenants that dwelt near them. But to make their cauſe the more popular, it was rumoured that the King ſtood upon it, that his neceſſity might be ſupplyed out of the Eſtates of his people, whether they would or no: which the King hearing, ſends forth Proclamation, declaring how certain malitious perſons had falſly and ſeditiouſly reported, That he meant unlawfully to charge his Subjects, and ſubvert the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, and by theſe falſe ſuggeſtions averted the hearts of his people from him: and therefore deſires them not to give credit to ſuch perturbers; for that he was ready to defend all Right, and Cuſtomes due unto them: and that they might reſt of this ſecured, he cauſed his Letters to be made Patents. But now *Montford*, *Gloceſter*, and *Spencer*, inforce the King to call a Parliament at *London*, where they get the authority of the Twenty four to be eſtated wholly upon themſelves, and they alone to diſpoſe of the cuſtody of the Caſtles, and other buſineſſes of the Kingdom: and here they bind the King to loſe their Legal obedience whenſoever he infringed this Charter.

The Lords themſelves tyranize.

The liberty of the Subject.

Four and twenty choſen to be Governours of the Kingdom: but *Montford* and *Gloceſter* get all the authority to themſelves.

At this time intelligence was given to the Lords, That *Richard* King of the *Romans* had a purpoſe to come into *England*, and the Lords ſuſpecting he would come with power to aid the King his Brother, take order for guarding the Ports, with intent to hinder his landing: but finding his Train to be but ſmall, for he was accompanied only with his Queen, two *German* Earls and eight Knights, upon his promiſe to take their propounded Oath, they admit him to Land, but would neither permit the King (who came thither to meet him) nor himſelf to enter into *Dover* Caſtle. At *Canterbury* they bring him into the Chapter houſe, where the Earl of *Gloceſter* ſtanding forth in the midſt, calls out the Earl, not by the name of King, but *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*; who in reverent manner coming forth, taking his Oath in theſe words; *Hear all men, that I* Richard, *Earl of* Cornwal, *do here ſwear upon the holy Evangeliſts, that I ſhall be faithful and diligent to reform with you the Kingdom of* England, *and be an effectual Coadjutor to expel all Rebels and diſturbers of the ſame; and this Oath will inviolably obſerve, under pain of loſing all the Land I have in* England: *So help me God.* But though this Earl came home both weak and poor, yet upon his return the King takes heart, and ſeeks all means to vindicate his power, and firſt ſends Meſſengers ſecretly to *Rome*, to be abſolved from his enforced Oath. And to have the more aſſurance from the King of *France*, he makes an abſolute reſignation of all his Right to the Duchy of *Normandy*, and the Earldoms of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Tourene* and *Main*; in regard whereof the King of *France* gives him Three hundred thouſand pounds (ſome ſay Crowns) of *Anjovin* money, and grants him to enjoy all *Guyen*, beyond the River of *Garoune*, all the Countrey of *Xaintoigne* to the River of *Charente*, the Countrey of *Limouſin* and *Quercie*, for him and his Succeſſours, doing their homage to the Crown of *France*, as Duke of *Aquitain*.

Sworn to aſſiſt the Lords.

King Henry ſends to Rome to be abſolved of his oath.

He reſigns his right in Normandy for a ſum of money.

And now was the King of *France* made Arbiter of the difference between King *Henry* and his Barons, who gives ſentence againſt the Barons concerning the Proviſions of *Oxford*; but of their ſide concerning King *John's* Charter: by which nice diſtinction, though he did but leave the matter as he found it: (for thoſe Proviſions as the Lords pretended, were grounded upon that Charter) yet did his ſentence draw many away from the party of the Barons, amongſt whom was *Henry* ſon to the Earl of *Cornwal*, *Roger Clifford*, *Roger de L'eisbourn*, *Haimo L'eſtrange*, and many others. But the Earl of *Leiceſter*, notwithſtanding this revolt, recovers the Town and Caſtle of *Gloceſter*, conſtrains the Citizens to pay a thouſand pound for their redemption, goes with an Army to *Worceſter*, poſſeſſeth himſelf of the Caſtle, thence to *Shrewsbury*, and comes about to the Iſle of *Ely*, ſubdues the ſame, and grows exceeding powerful. The King doubting his approach to *London*, falls to treat of a Peace, and a Peace is concluded upon theſe conditions; That all the Caſtles of the King ſhould be delivered to the keeping of the Barons; the Proviſions of *Oxford* ſhould inviolably be kept; All ſtrangers by a certain time ſhould avoid the Kingdom, except only ſuch as were licenſed to ſtay. The Prince had fortified *Windſor* Caſtle; but *Leiceſter* coming to beſiege it, he treats with him for Peace, which

The King of *France* is made Arbiter of the difference between the King and his Barons.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* takes many Caſtles.

The King concludes a Peace with his Barons.

Richard King of the *Romans* returning.

which is refused, and the Castle is rendred to him.

Many Lords return to the King for peace, but are denyed.

The King at this time, to win time, convokes another Parliament at *London*, wherein he won many Lords to take his part; as namely the Prince *Richard* his Brother, *Henry* his Son, *William Valence*, with the rest of his Brothers lately returned; and with them the King marcheth to *Oxford*, whither divers Lords of *Scotland* repair to him, as *John Commin*, *John Baliol*, Lords of *Galloway*, *Robert Bruce*, and others: also many Barons of the North, *Clifford*, *Piercy*, *Basset*, and others. From *Oxford* he goes to *Northampton*, where he took prisoners, *Simon Montfort* the younger, with fourteen other principal Men; thence to *Nottingham*, making spoils of such possessions as pertained to the Barons in those parts. And now the Kings side grows strong, which the Earls of *Leicester* and *Gloucester* seeing, they write to the King, protesting their Loyalty; and how they opposed only such as were enemies to him and the Kingdom, and had belyed them. The King returns answer, That themselves were the perturbers of him and his State and sought his and the Kingdoms destruction; and therefore defies them. The Prince likewise, and the Earl of *Cornwal* send Letters of defiance to them. Yet the Barons continue to mediate a Peace, and send the Bishops of *London* and *Worcester*, with offer of Thirty thousand Marks to the King, for the damages done in these Wars, so as the Statutes of *Oxford* may be observed; but this offer is not accepted.

The Earl of *Leicester*'s Stratagem.

The Earl seeing no remedy, but it must be put to a day, takes his time to be earlier ready than was expected; and supplies his want of strength with policy, placing on the one side of a Hill near *Lewis*, where the Battel was fought, certain Ensigns without men, in such sort, as they might seem afar off to be squadrons of Succours to second those he brought to the encounter: whom he caused all to wear white Crosses, both for their own notice, and the signification of his cause, which he would have to be thought for Justice. Here the fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earl of *Cornwal*, and his Son *Henry*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Hereford*, with all the *Scottish* Lords, are taken prisoners; and of the *English*, five and twenty Barons and Bannerets: only the Earl *Warren*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Lusignan*, the Kings Brother, with *Hugh Bigot* Earl Marshal, save themselves by flight: five thousand (some say twenty thousand) are slain in the battel. A year and half is *Simon Montford* in possession of his prisoner, carrying the King about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten all the strongest Castles in the Kingdom.

The Earl of *Leicester* takes the King, the Prince, and divers other Lords prisoners.

Variance between the Earls of *Leicester*, and *Gloucester*.

And now comes *Erinnys* and sets debate between the two great Earls of *Leicester* and *Gloucester*, about their Dividend. *Leicester* is taxed to do more for his own particular than the common good; his Sons also presuming upon his greatness, grew insolent: whereupon *Gloucester* discontented, forsakes that side, and betakes him to the Prince, who lately escaping out of the Castle of *Hereford*, had gotten a power about him to try the fortune of another Battel. The revolt of this Earl being great in it self, was greater by its example; for now many others revolted likewise; and the Earl of *Leicester*, seeing the improvement of the Princes Forces, who was now with his Army about *Worcester*, though he saw his own disadvantage, yet inhabits in a Plain near *Evesham* to encounter him; and noting the manner of the approach of the Princes Army, said to those about him, These men come bravely on, they learn it not of themselves, but of me. And seeing himself likely to be beset, and overlaid with multitude, he advised his friends *Hugh Spencer*, *Ralph Basset*, and others to shift for themselves; which when they refused to do, Then (saith he) let us commend our Souls to God, for our Bodies are theirs: and so undertaking the main weight of the battel, perished under it, and with him are slain his Son *Henry*, eleven Barons, with many Thousands of common Souldiers. And thus ended *Montford* the great Earl of *Leicester*, highly honoured in his life, and more highly should have been after his death, if the people might have had their will, who talkt of Miracles enough to make him a Saint.

Gloucester joyns with the Prince.

Montf. the great Earl of *Leicester* slain.

Miracles reported of him being dead.

And now is King *Henry* by this victory of his son, at liberty; who together repair to *Winchester*, where a Parliament is convoked, and all who adhered to Earl *Montford*, are dis-inherited, and their estates conferred on others, at the Kings pleasure; the *Londoners* also have their Liberties taken from them. But though the death of *Montford* gave a great wound to the party of the Barons; yet it was not mortal, at least not mortal presently; for there remained reliques that kept it alive a good while after. *Simon* and *Guy de Montford* Sons of the Earl of *Leicester*, and other of the Barons, take and defend the Isle of *Ely*. The Castle of *Killingworth* held out half a year, till their Victuals failed; and then yielded upon conditions to have their lives and goods saved: and many others there were, resolute and desperate persons, strongly knit and fastned together, though now shortly upon dissolving. For after the Parliament at *Westminster*, the King with an Army going against them, and being at *Northampton*, *Simon* and *Guy de Montford* submit themselves to him: but when the Earl of *Gloucester* opposed the restoring them to their estates, they were fain to fly the Kingdom, and make their fortunes in other Countreys, as indeed they did; the younger in *Italy*, the elder in *France*, where they were propagators of two great Families. Their Mother was banisht shortly after the battel of *Evesham*. A Lady of eminent note, as being the Daughter and Sister of a King, and yet of more note for her patient bearing of adversity, or rather for her making a benefit of Adversity; for by this means she took her self to the veil of Piety, and died a Nun at *Montarges* in *France*. About this time a great slaughter was made of *Jews* in *London*: and the quarrel was, because a Jew would have forced a Christian to give him more than two pence a week for the use of twenty shillings; two pence only being then allowed by the Law.

Montf.'s Sons flye the Kingdom.

Three years after this, the dis-inherited Barons held out, till at length, conditions of render are propounded; but here the Council are divided in opinion: *Mortimer* and others stated in the possessions of the disinherited, are against restauration, alledging it were injustice to take

take from them the rewards of their service. *Gloceſter* and twelve ordained to deal for the peace of the State, are earneſt for reſtauration; alledging, It were hard meaſure to grant them their lives, and not their livelihoods: but not prevailing, in great diſcontentment *Gloceſter* retires from Court, ſends Meſſengers to warn the King to remove ſtrangers from his Council, and obſerve the Proviſions at *Oxford*, as he promiſed at *Eveſham*: otherwiſe that he ſhould not marvel if himſelf did what he thought fit. Hereupon *John de Warren*, Earl of *Surrey*, and *William de Valentia*, are ſent to the Earl of *Gloceſter*; who though they could not perſwade him to ſubmit to the King: yet thus much they got of him under his hand and Seal, that he would never bear arms againſt the King, or his Son *Edward*, but only defend himſelf and purſue *Roger Mortimer*, and his other enemies. And now a Parliament is convoked at *Bury*, wherein many demands are made by the King and the Legat, and all for money from the Clergy, but all denied, that nothing but denials are done in this Parliament. After this, the Legat imployes Solicitors to perſwade the diſ-inherited Lords which held the Iſle of *Ely*, to return to the faith and unity of the Church, and to the Peace of the King, according to the form propounded at *Coventry*. To which the Lords make anſwer, That they never oppoſed the unity of the Church, but the avarice of Church-men that were put in authority; and that they never oppoſed the King, but for the good of the Kingdom: and then required, that the Proviſions at *Oxford* might be obſerved, and pledges be given them for their ſecurity. Hereupon the year after, the King prepares a mighty Army, and Prince *Edward* with Bridges entring the Iſle of *Ely*, ſhuts them up, ſo that he conſtrains them at laſt to yield. Alſo the Earl of *Gloceſter* coming to *London* with an Army, is by the Legat once again perſwaded to render himſelf to the King; and upon forfeiture of twelve thouſand Marks, if ever he ſhould raiſe any commotion again, is reconciled. Now remains *Lewellin* and the *Welch* to be chaſtened for aiding of *Simon Mountford*; but the King going againſt them with an Army, they give him Two and thirty pounds ſterling, and ſo make their peace; And here was an end of the firſt Wars between the Kings of *England* and their Barons.

The Kings ſons *Edward* and *Edmund*, undertake the Holy War.

The next year after the Popes Legat *Othobon*, ſigns with the Croyſado both the Kings Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and divers Noble-men induced to undertake the Holy War by the ſolicitation of him and the King of *France*; who notwithſtanding his former calamities endured in that action, would once again adventure it. And becauſe Prince *Edward* wanted means to furniſh himſelf out, the King of *France* lends him Thirty thouſand Marks upon a mortgage of *Gaſcoyn*. And now whileſt this preparation is in hand, King *Henry* labours to eſtabliſh the Peace of the Kingdom, and to reform the exceſſes which the War had bred: and the ſame year aſſembles his laſt Parliament at *Marleborough*, where the Statutes of that Title were enacted. Near two years it ſeems to have been after the undertaking the Croſs, before Prince *Edward* ſet forth; but then taking his Wife *Eleanor* with him, though young with child, he ſet forward, and in the voyage, when many of his people ſeemed deſirous to leave him, and return home, he is ſaid to have ſtrucken his breaſt, and ſworn, That if all his followers forſook him, he would yet enter *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, though but only with his Horſe-keeper *Fowin*. Shortly after *Richard* King of the *Romans* died, and the year following King *Henry*.

The Statutes of *Marleborough*.

Prince *Edward* reſolutions to the Holy War.

Of his Taxations and wayes for raiſing of Money.

NEver Son was more like a Father in any thing, than King *Henry* was like his Father King *John*, in this point, for raiſing of money; for he trod directly in all his ſteps, if he added not ſomething of his own. King *John* had great Subſidies granted him by Parliament, for any great action he undertook, ſo had King *Henry*. King *John* reſumed the Lands aliened from the Crown, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* made benefit of the vacancy of Biſhopricks, and Abbeys, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* took great Fines of many for crimes not proved, but only ſuppoſed, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* made benefit of a new Seal, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* extorted great ſums from the *Jews*, ſo did King *Henry*. And one way more he had to get money, which perhaps his Father had not; and that was by begging, as he told the Abbot of *Borough*, It was more Alms to give money to him, than to the Beggar that went from door to door. Indeed Taxations in this Kings Reign may be reckoned amongſt his annual Revenues, for ſcarce any year paſſed without a Parliament; and ſeldom any Parliament without a Tax: or if any ſometimes without, it was then cauſe of the greater Taxation ſome other way; as when he took of the *Londoners* for having aided the Barons, Twenty thouſand Marks.

King *Henry* gets money by begging.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN this Kings Reign were ratified and confirmed the two great Charters of *Magna Charta* and *Charta de Foreſta*. Alſo in his time were enacted the Statutes called of *Merton*, of *Oxford* and of *Marleborough*. Alſo ſtealing of Cattel, which before was but pecuniary, he made capital: and the firſt ſuffered for the ſame, was one of *Dunſtable*, who having ſtoln twelve Oxen from the Inhabitants of *Colne*, and being purſued to *Redburn*, was by a Bayliff of St. *Albans*, according to the Kings Proclamation, condemned and beheaded. And it may ſeem ſtrange, that in theſe times ſo much blood ſhould be ſhed in the field, and none upon the Scaffold; for till the twenty fixth year of the King, that one *William Maraiſe*, the ſon of *Geoffry Maraiſe*, a Noble man of *Ireland*, being condemned for Piracy and Treaſon, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered, there is no example of that kind of puniſhment to be found in our Hiſtories. Particularly in this Kings Reign was made that Statute, by which the Ward and marriage of the Heirs of Barons within age is given to the King. Alſo in this Kings Reign the Pleas of the Crown were pleaded in the Tower of *London*. All Wears in the *Thames* are in this Kings time ordained to be pluckt up and deſtroyed. Alſo the Citizens

Wardſhips of Barons given to K. *Henry*.

Citizens of *London* are allowed by Charter, to pass Toll-free through all *England*, and to have free Warren about *London*: also to have and use a common Seal. Also it is ordained that no Sheriff of *London* should continue in his Office longer than one year, which they did before for many. In the five and twentieth year of this King, were Aldermen first chosen within the City of *London*, which then had the rule of the City, and of the Wards of the same, and were then yearly changed, as now the Sheriffs are. It was in this Kings time allowed to the City of *London* to present their Mayor to the Barons of the Exchequer to be sworn: which before was to be presented to the King, wheresoever he were. In his time the clause *Non obstante* (brought in first by the Pope) was taken up by the King in his grants and writings. Also in this Kings time, *William* Bishop of *Salisbury*, first caused that custome to be received for a Law, whereby the Tenants of every Lordship are bound to owe their suit to the Lords Court, of whom they hold their Tenements. Also in the 32 year of this Kings Reign, the Wharf of *London* called *Queen-Hithe*, was let to farm to the Citizens for fifty pounds the year, which is since grown scarce worth fifteen. In this Kings time a Proclamation was set forth, that all such as might dispend fifteen pound in Land, should receive the order of Knight-hood; and those that would not, or could not, should pay their Fines.

Aldermen of *London* when first ordained.

Suit of Court when first brought up.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

AFfairs of the Church for matter of Doctrine, were never more quiet than in this Kings Reign; for now all Heresies accounted of the time, especially the *Albigenses*, were in a manner suppressed by the Arms of the King of *France*, not without the vote of the King of *England*, who forbore to make war upon them in tenderness to his service. But for matter of manners they were never more turbulent; for now Abbeys were fleeced, Sanctuaries violated, Clergy-men outraged, Bishops themselves not spared. And all for greedines of money, or for revenge.

Othobone, the Popes Lenate here in *England*, lying at the Abbey at *Oseney*, there happened a difference between his servants and the Scholars at *Oxford*, in which contention a brother of his was slain, and the Legat himself fain to flie into the Steeple for the safeguard of his life. Whereupon afterwards being gotten thence by the Kings safe conduct, he thundered out curses against the Scholars, and interdicted the University; so as the Colledges grew desolate, and the Students were dispersed abroad into other places, for the space of half a year: till the Monks of *Oseney*, and the Regent Masters of *Oxford* were fain to go bare-footed and bare-headed through *London*, as far as *Durham* house, where the Legate lay, and there upon their humble submission, and great Mens intercession, they were absolved, and the University restored to its former estate. But of this *Othobone*, it may not be impertinent to relate a little further: that going afterward out of *England*, he came by degrees, after the death of *Innocent* the fifth, to be Pope of *Rome* himself, by the name of *Adrian* the fifth, and dyed within fifty daies after his election. Amongst the affairs of the Church may be reckoned the Ulcers of any member of the Church: such a one as in this Kings time broke out most loathsome. For one procuring five wounds to be made in his body, in resemblance to five wounds in Christ's body, took upon him to be Christ; and had gotten a Woman, that took upon her to be the Virgin *Mary*: who continuing obstinate in their madness, were adjudged to be immured and shut up between two walls, to the end (no doubt) the contagion of their filthiness should spread no further. In this Kings time a little novelty was brought in by Pope *Innocent* the fourth, who ordained that Cardinals should wear red Hats: something perhaps for mystery, and something for distinction. Also in this Kings time, the *Grecians* forsook their obedience to the Church of *Rome*; and the Archbishop of *Antioch* claims to have precedence and authority above the Bishop of *Rome*, because the Apostle *Peter* had first governed the Church of *Antioch* seven years together. Also in the fifth year of this King, the Friers Minors (as some write) came first into *England*; but it is not like they came so soon, for they were Gray Friers of the order of St. *Francis*: and St. *Francis* had no grace till Pope *Honorius* the third, which was some years after. And it is miraculous which is related here of St. *Francis*, that fifteen daies before his death appeared wounds in his hands and feet, like to those which Christ received there upon the Cross; and that as soon as he was dead, there remained not so much as any marks of the said wounds upon him.

Othobone the Popes Legat in fear at *Oxford*.

He interdicteth the University and how pacified.

One takes upon him to be Christ.

Cardinals red Hats, when first used.

Friers Minors when first in *England*.

Works of piety by this King, or by others in his time.

THis King caused a chest of Gold to be made for laying up the Reliques of King *Edward* the Confessour, in the Church of *Westminster*. He builded a Church for converted *Jews* in *London*: also an Hospital at *Oxford*, for Passengers, and diseased persons: also the new Conventual Church and the Chapel of our Lady at *Westminster*, whereof he laid himself the first stone: also the house of *Black Friers* in *Canterbury*. In his time, *Ela* Countess of *Salisbury* founded the Abbey of *Lacock* in *Wiltshire*: *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, founded *Hails*, a Monastery of Cistercian Monks near to *Winchcomb* in *Glocestershire*: *Reginald de Mohun*, Earl of *Somerset*, and Lord of *Dunster*, found. d the Abbey of *Newham* in *Devonshire*: *Ranulph* the third Earl of *Chester*, and Lord of little *Britain*, builded the Castles of *Chartley*, *Beston*, and the Abbey of *De la Cross*: Sir *John Mansel* the Kings Chaplain, founded a house of Regular Canons near to *Rumney* in *Kent*: *William de Albineto* Earl of *Arundel*, founded the Priory of *Wimondham*: *William Brune*, a Citizen of *London*, and *Rosia* his Wife, founded the Hospital of our Lady without *Bishopsgate* in *London*: And *Isabel* Countess of *Arundel* founded the Nunnery of *Marran*, near to *Linne*. *Friers Minors* first arrived at *Dover*, nine in number; whereof five remained at *Canterbury*, and there builded the first Covent of *Friers Minors*, that ever was in *England*; the other four came to *London*, who encreasing in number, had a place assigned them in Saint *Nicholas Shambles*; which *John Iwyn*, Mercer of *London*, appropriated to the use of

the said Friers, and became himself a Lay-brother. Also in this Kings time the new work of Saint *Paul's* Church in *London* was begun. If it

A Jew falling into a Privy would not be taken out on the Sabbath day.

were piety in the *Jew*, who falling into a Privy upon a Saturday, would not be taken out that day, because it was the *Jews* Sabbath: it was as much piety in the Earl of *Gloucester*, that would not suffer him to be taken out the next day, because it was the Christian Sabbath; and when the third day was come, he was taken out dead. Whose piety was the greater? A strange accident upon an act of piety, is related in this Kings time; which if true, is a Miracle; if not true, is yet a Legend, and not unworthy to be

Charity rewarded from Heaven.

read: that in a time of dearth, one man in a certain Parish, who allowed poor people to relieve themselves with taking corn upon his ground, had at Harvest a plentiful crop, where others that denyed them had their corn all blasted, and nothing worth. In this Kings time also, *Hugh Balsamus* Bishop of *Ely* founded St. *Peter's* Colledge in *Cambridge*. *Hubert de Burgh* Earl of *Kent*, was buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers in *London*, to which Church he gave his Palace at *Westminster*, which afterward the

St. Peter's Colledge in Cambridge by whom founded.

White-Hall to whom it anciently belonged.

Arch-bishop of *York* bought, and made it his Inn; since commonly called *York* place, now *White-Hall*.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

AT one time there fell no Rain in *England* from the first of *March* to the *Assumption* of our Lady; and at another time there fell so much Rain, that *Holland* and *Holdernes* in *Lincolnshire* were overflowed and drowned. In the 17 year of his reign, were seen 5 Suns at one time together; after which followed so great a dearth, that people were constrained to eat Horsefleth, and barks of Trees: and in *London* 20000 were starved for want of food. Also in his time the Church of St. *Mildred* in *Canterbury*, and a great part of the City was burnt. Also the Town of *Newcastle* upon *Tine* was burnt, Bridge and all. And though it may seem no fit place to tell it, yet here or no where it must be told; that in this Kings time there was sent by the King of *France*, the first Elephant that ever was seen in *England*.

The first Elephant brought into England.

In this Kings time, *Mat. Paris* relates of a maid in *Leicestershire*, that being exactly watched, was found in seven years together, neither to eat nor drink, but only that on Sundays she received the Communion, and yet continued fat and in good liking: which if it be true, we may well believe that in the Resurrection, our life may be maintained without meat or drink. Also in this Kings time, there was found a plentiful Mine of Tinn in *Germany*, which before this time was never known to be any where found but only in *Cornwal*, which much abated the price of Tinn in *England*. In his time also the Sea by the space of four or five dayes, flowed not up to her usual height, which was never known to happen at any time before. Also in his time a Child was born in *Kent*, that at two years old cured all diseases. Also in his 56 year a Lamb was yeaned at *Greenwich* beside *London*, that had two perfect bodies and but one head. Also in his time a child was born in the Isle of *Wight*, who at 18 years old, was scarce grown to be three foot high; and therefore brought to the Queen, she carryed him about with her as a Monster of Nature.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE married *Eleanor*, the second of the five daughters of *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, who lived his Wife 57 years, his Widow 19, dyed a Nun at *Aimsbury*, and was buried in her Monastery. By her he had six sons and three daughters: of his sons, the four youngest dyed young, and were buried, three of them at *Westminster*, and the fourth in the New Temple by *Fleetstreet*. His eldest son *Edward*, surnamed *Longshanke*, of his tall and slender body, succeeded him in the Kingdom. His second son *Edmund*, surnamed *Crouchback*, of bowing in his back, (as some say) but more likely of wearing the sign of the Cross, (anciently called a *Crouch*) upon his back, which was usually worn of such as had vowed voyages to *Hierusalem*, as he had done. He was invested titular King of *Sicilie* and *Apulia*, and created Earl of *Lancaster*; on whose person originally the great contention of *Lancaster* and *York* was founded. He had two wives, the first was *Avelin* daughter and heir of *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, by whom he left no issue. The second was Queen *Blanch* daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*, brother of St. *Lewis* K. of *France*) widow of *Henry* of *Champaigne* K. of *Navarre*: by her he had issue three sons and one daughter. His eldest son *Thomas*, who after his father was Earl of *Lancaster*, and having married *Alice* daughter and heir of *Henry Lacie* Earl of *Lincoln*, was beheaded at *Pomfret* without issue. His second son *Henry* Lord of *Monmouth*, who after his brothers death was Earl of *Lancaster*, and father of *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*: his third son *John*, who dyed unmarried. His daughter *Mary* married to *Henry* Lord *Piercie*, mother of *Hen.* the first Earl of *Northumberland*. This *Edmund* dyed at *Bay* in *Gascoin*, in the year 1296 when he had lived fifty years, whose body half a year after his death, was brought over into *England*, and entombed at *Westminster*. Of King *Henries* three daughters, the eldest *Margaret* was married to *Alexander* the third, K. of *Scotland*, by whom she had issue, two sons, *Alexander* and *David*, who dyed both before their father, without issue; and one daughter *Margaret* Q. of *Norway*, wife of K. *Ericke*, and mother of *Margaret* the heir of *Scotland* and *Norway*, that dyed unmarried. The second daughter of King *Henry* was *Beatrice*, born at *Burdeaux*, married to *John* the first Duke of *Britain*, and had issue by him, *Arthur* Duke of *Britain*, *John* Earl of *Richmont*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* married to *Philip* son of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*, *Eleanor* a Nun at *Aimsbury*, and *Mary* married to [illegible]ny, Earl of St. *Paul*, she deceased in *Britain*, and was buried at *London*, in the Quire of the Gray-Fryers within *Newgate*. The third daughter of K. *Henry*, named *Katherine*, dyed young, and lies buried at *Westminster*, in the space between the Chapels of K. *Edward* and St. *Benet*.

Edmund Crouchback the first author of the house of Lancaster.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of stature but mean, yet of a well compacted body and very strong, one of

of his eye-lids hanging down, and almoſt covering the black of his eye. For his inward indowments, it may be ſaid, he was wiſer for a man, than for a Prince; for he knew better how to govern his life than his Subjects. He was rather Pious than Devout, as taking more pleaſure in hearing Maſſes than Sermons, as he ſaid to the King of *France*, He had rather ſee his friend once, than hear from him often. His mind ſeemed not to ſtand firm upon its Baſis, for every ſudden accident put him into paſſion; He was neither conſtant in his love, nor in his hate; for he never had ſo great a Favourite whom he caſt not into diſgrace, nor ſo great an Enemy whom he received not into favour. An example of both which qualities was ſeen in his carriage towards *Hubert de Burgh*, who was for a time the greateſt Favourite, yet caſt out afterward in miſerable diſgrace; and then no man held in greater hatred; yet received afterward into grace again. And it is memorable to hear with what crimes this *Hubert* was charged at his arraignment, and ſpecially one: That to diſſwade a great Lady from marriage with the King, he had ſaid the King was a ſquint-eyed Fool, and a kind of Leper, deceitful, perjured, more faint-hearted than a Woman, and utterly unfit for any Ladies company. For which, and other crimes laid to his charge in the Kings Bench, where the King himſelf was preſent, he was adjudged to have his Lands confiſcate, and to be deprived of his Title of Earl; yet after all this was reſtored to his eſtate again, and ſuffered to live in quiet. He was more deſirous of money than of honour, for elſe he would never have ſold his Right to the two great Dukedoms of *Normandy* and *Anjou* to the King of *France* for a ſum of money. Yet he was more deſirous of honour, than of quietneſs; for elſe he would never have contended ſo long with his Barons about their Charter of Liberty, which was upon the matter but a point of honour. His moſt eminent vertue, and that which made him the more eminent, as being rare in Princes, was his continency; for there is nothing read, either of any baſe children he had, or of any Concubine he kept.

A ſtrange affront to a King.

Of his Death and Burial.

THough he had lived a troubleſome life, yet he died a quiet death; for he had ſettled Peace in his Kingdom, and in his conſcience. For being at St. *Edmunds Bury*, and finding himſelf not well at eaſe, he made the more haſte to *London*, where calling before him his Lords, and ſpecially *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, he exhorted them to be true and faithful to his ſon Prince *Edward*, who was at that time far from home; and therefore had the more need of their care, which conſiſted chiefly in their agreement one with another. And then his ſickneſs increaſing, he yielded up his ſoul to God, on the ſixteenth day of *November*, in the year 1272. when he had lived threeſcore and five years, reigned ſix and fifty, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*, which he had newly built.

1272.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Martial men famous in his time there were many, but three ſpecially who obſcured the reſt: the firſt was *William Marſhal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, memorable for the great care he had of King *Henry* in his minority, and more memorable for the little care that Deſtiny had of his poſterity; for leaving his five Sons behind him, they all lived to be Earls ſucceſſively, yet all died without iſſue: So as the great Name and numerous Family of the *Marſhals* come wholly to be extinct in that Generation. And this happened (if we may believe *Matthew Paris*) by reaſon of a curſe of an *Iriſh* Biſhop, from whom he had taken two Manors belonging to his Biſhoprick; and neither he, nor all his ſons, upon any intreaties would be gotten to reſtore them. The ſecond was *Richard de Clare* Earl of *Gloceſter*, who in a Battel againſt *Balwyn de Gisnes*, a valiant *Flemming*, imployed by King *Henry*, himſelf alone encountred twelve of his enemies; and having his horſe ſlain under him, he pitcht one of them by the leg out of the ſaddle, and leapt into it himſelf, and continued the fight without giving ground, till his Army came to reſcue him. An act, that may ſeem fitter to be placed among the Fictions of Knights Errant, than in a true Narration. The third was *Simon Montford*, a man of ſo audacious a Spirit, that he gave King *Henry* the lie to his face; and that in preſence of all his Lords, and of whom it ſeems, the King ſtood in no ſmall fear. For paſſing one time upon the *Thames*, and ſuddenly taken with a terrible ſtorm of Thunder and Lightning, he commanded to be ſet on ſhore at the next ſtairs, which happened to be at *Durham* Houſe, where *Montford* then lay; who coming down to meet the King, and perceiving him ſomewhat frighted with the Thunder, ſaid unto him, Your Majeſty need not fear the Thunder, the danger is now paſt: No *Montford* (ſaid the King) I fear not the Thunder ſo much as I fear thee. Of men famous for ſanctity of life, there were likewiſe many in his time, but three more eminent than the reſt, *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and *Thomas* Arch-Deacon of *Hereford*; all three either Canonized, or at leaſt thought worthy to be Canonized for Saints. To theſe may be added *Robert Groſs-head* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who tranſlated the Teſtaments of the twelve Patriarchs, out of Greek into Latine; which through envy of the Jews, never came to the knowledge of Saint *Hierome*, wherein are many Prophecies of our Saviour Chriſt. Of men famous for Learning there were likewiſe many in his time; of whom ſome left works behind them for Teſtimonies of their knowledge in divers kinds, as *Alexander Hales*, a Frier minor, who wrote many Treatiſes in Divinity; *Ralph Coggeſhal*, who wrote the Appendix to the Chronicle of *Ralph Niger*; *Ranulph Glanvile*, the Earl of *Cheſter*, the third and laſt of that name, who compiled a book of the Laws of *England*; *Hen. Bracton*, who wrote the book commonly called by his name, *de Conſuetudinibus Anglicanis*: and beſides theſe, *Hugh Kirkſtead*, *Richard* of *Ely*, *Peter Henham*, *John Gyles*,

The name and Family of the *Marſhals* is ſo deſolately extinct.

The notable valour and activity of *Richard de Clare*, Earl of *Gloceſter*.

The audacious ſpirit of *Simon Montford*.

Bracton wrote a book of the Law.

Gyles, and *Nicholas Fernham*, excellent Phyſitians; *Richard* ſurnamed *Theologus*, and *Robert Bacon*, two notable Divines; *Stephen Langton*, *Richard Fiſaker*, *Simon Stokes*, *John* of *Kent*, *William Shirwood*, *Michael Blaunpain*, *John Godard*, *Vincent* of *Coventry*, *Alberick Veer*, *Richard Wich*, *John Baſing*, *Roger Waltham*, *William Seningham*, and others.

The Majors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings Reign.*

In his firſt year,
William Hardel was Major.
John Travers, *Andrew Newland*, Sheriffs.

In his Second year,
Robert Serl was Major.
Thomas Bokerell, *Ralph Holyland*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Robert Serl continued Major.
Benet Senturer, *William Blundivers*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Robert Serl continued Major.
John Wail, *or Veil*, *Joſue le Spicer*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Robert Serl continued Major.
Richard Wimbledon, *John Wail* or *Veil*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
Robert Serl continued Major.
Richard Renger, *John Veil*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventh year,
Robert Serl continued Major.
Richard Joyner, *Thomas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Richard Renger was Major.
William Joyner, *Thomas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Richard Renger continued Major.
John Trevers, *Andrew Bokerell*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Richard Renger continued Major.
John Trevers, *Andrew Bokerel*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Richard Renger continued Major.
Roger Duke, *Martin Fitz-Williams*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Roger Duke was Major.
Stephen Bokerel, *Henry Cocham*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Major.
Stephen Bokerel, *Henry Cocham*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Major.
William Wincheſter, *Robert Fitz-John*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Major.
Richard Walter, *John de Woborn*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixteenth year,
Andrew Bokerel was Major.
Michael of *St. Helen*, *Walter de Enſield*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventeenth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Major.
Henry de Edmonton, *Gerard Bat*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Major.
Simon Fitz-Mary, *Roger Blunt*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Major.
Ralph Aſhway, *John Norman*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Major.
Gerard Bat, *Richard* or *Robert Hardel*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty firſt year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Major.
Henry Cobham, *Jordan Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſecond year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Major.
John Tolaſon, *Gervais* the Cordwainer, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Richard Renger was Major.
John Codrai, *John Whitehall*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year,
William Joyner was Major.
Reymond Bongy, *Ralph Aſhwy*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
Gerard Bat was Major.
John Giſors, *Michael Tony*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſixth year,
Reymond Bongy was Major.
Thomas Dureſm, *John Voyl*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſeventh year,
Reymond Bongy continued Major.
John Fitz-John, *Ralph Aſhwy*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Ralph Aſhwy was Major.
Hugh Blunt, *Adam Baſing*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Michael Tony was Major.
Ralph Foſter, *Nicholas Bat*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
John Giſors was Major.
Robert Cornhill, *Adam* of *Bewley*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty firſt year,
John Giſors continued Major.
Simon Fitz-Mary, *Lawrence Frowick*, Sheriffs.

In

In his thirty second year,
Peter Fitz-Alwin was Major.
John Voil, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Michael Tony was Major.
Nicholas Fitz-Josue, Geoffry Winchester, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Roger Fitz-Roger was Major.
Richard Hardel, John Tolason, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
John Gisors was Major.
Humfrey Bat, William Fitz-Richard, Sheriffs.

In his thirty sixth year,
Adam Basing was Major.
Lawrence Frowick, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year,
John Tolason was Major.
William Durham, Thomas Wimbourn, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,
Richard Hardel was Major.
John Northampton, Richard Pichard, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ninth year,
Richard Hardel continued Mayor.
Ralph Ashwy, Robert of *Limon*, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Stephen Doe, Henry Walmond, Sheriffs.

In his forty first year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Michael Bokerel, John the *Minor*, Sheriffs.

In his forty second year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Richard Otwel, William Ashwy, Sheriffs.

In his forty third year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Robert Cornhil, John Adrian, Sheriffs.

In his forty fourth year.
John Gisors was Major.
John Adrian, Robert Cornhil, Sheriffs.

In his forty fifth year,
William Fitz-Richard was Major.
Adam Browning, Henry Coventry, Sheriffs.

In his forty sixth year,
William Fitz-Richard, continued Major.
John Northampton, Richard Pichard, Sheriffs.

In his forty seventh year,
Thomas Fitz-Richard was Major.
John Taylor, Richard Walbroke, Sheriffs.

In his forty eighth year,
Thomas Fitz-Richard continued Major.
Robert de Mountpeter, Osbert de Suffolk, Sheriffs.

Yet *Fabian* saith, that from this 48 year to the end of his Reign, there were no Majors of *London*, but only Guardians of the City.

In his forty ninth year,
Thomas Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Richard was Major.
George Rokesley, Thomas de Desford, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,
Thomas Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Richard continued Major.
Edward Blunt, Peter Anger, Sheriffs.

In his fifty first year.
William Richards was Major.
John Hind, John Walraven, Sheriffs.

In his fifty second year,
Alen de la Souch was Major.
John Adrian, Lucas de Batencourt, Sheriffs.

In his fifty third year,
T. Wimbourn, Custos, Sir *Stephen Edward*.
Walter Harvey, William Duresm, Sheriffs.

In his fifty fourth year,
Hugh Fitz-Ottonis, Custos of *London*, and Constable of the *Tower*.
Thomas Basing, Robert Cornhil, Sheriffs.

To this time the Major and Sheriffs had been chosen, but now the King grants the choice of them to the City it self.

In his fifty fifth year,
John Adrian was Major.
Walter Potter, Philip Taylor, Sheriffs.

In his fifty sixth year,
John Adrian continued Major.
Gregory Rocheſty, Henry Walleis, Sheriffs.

In his fifty seventh year,
Sir *Walter Harvey* was Major.
Richard Harris, John de Wodeley, Sheriffs.

The

The LIFE and REIGN of KING EDWARD THE FIRST. Surnamed of WINCHESTER.

Of his coming to the Crown.

AS soon as King *Henry* was dead and buried, the great Lords of the Land caused his eldest Son Prince *Edward* to be proclaimed King: and assembling at the new Temple in *London*, they there took order for the quiet Governing of the Kingdom till he should come home. For at this time he was absent in the Holy Land, and had been there above a year when his Father died. But we cannot bring him home without telling what he did, and what he suffered in all that time, and in his return. For at his first coming thither he rescued the Great City of *Acon* from being surrendred to the Souldan; after which out of envy to his Valour, one *Anzazim* a desperate *Saracen*, who had often been employed to him from their General, being one time, upon pretence of some secret message, admitted alone into the Chamber, with a poisoned Knife gave him three wounds in the body, two in the arm, and one near the arm-pit, which were thought to be mortal, and had perhaps been mortal, if out of unspeakable love the Lady *Eleanor* his Wife had not sucked out the poison of his wounds with her mouth; and thereby effecting a cure, which otherwise had been incurable. It is no wonder, that love should do wonders, which is it self a wonder. And now being disappointed of aids that were promised to be sent him, and leaving Garrisons in fit places for defence of the Countrey, he with his Wife *Eleanor* takes his journey homewards. And first passing by *Sicilie*, was there most kindly received by *Charles*, King of that Island, where he first heard of his Fathers death; which he took more heavily far, than he had taken the death of his young Son *Henry*, whereof he had heard a little before. At which when King *Charles* marvelled, he answered, that other Sons might be had, but another Father could never be had. From hence he passeth through *Italy*, where much honour is done him both by the Pope, and other Princes; and then descends into *Burgoigne*, where by the Earl of *Challoun*, a stout man at arms, he is challenged at a Turnament, with a pretence to solemnize his presence: but with a purpose indeed to disgrace his person. And though Prince *Edward* in many respects might justly have refused it; yet the nobleness of his mind would not suffer him to pass by any occasion of shewing his Valour: and in this encounter he so foiled the Earl, as he made it appear, that Fame had been no lyar in the report it had made of him. And here a great part of his *English* Nobility met him, from whence he passed into *France*, where the King *Philip* his near Cousin (as being Sisters Sons) entertains him with great solemnity; and graceth his solemnity with so much courtesie, that it won Prince *Edward* voluntarily to do him homage for the Territories he held in *France*: and this voluntariness in Prince *Edward* won the King of *France* again to grant quietly unto him all the Lands in *France* that belonged to him; and so these two great Kings by reciprocal courtesie, effected that which their Predecessours by force could never effect. From hence he passeth through *Aquitain*, and having there taken homage of his Subjects, and set all things in order, he set sail and arrived in *England*, above a year after the death of his Father; a long time for plotting of mischief, and a strong temptation to plotters of mischief, if all causes of quietness had not concurred: but such was the worthiness of Prince *Edward*'s person, and such the undoubtedness of his Title, that as there could be no Competitor, so there would be no oppugner. And indeed the Divine Providence had shewed a special care over him from his Childhood; whereof one or two Examples will not be unfit to be related. One was this, that being yet but young, and playing one time at Chess with a Friend, in the midst of his Game, without any apparent occasion, he removed himself from the place where he sate, when suddenly there fell from the roof of the house, a great stone, which if he had stayed in the place but never so little, had beaten out his brains. Another example of the Divine Providence over him, (though it happened afterwards) was this: Having prepared a great Fleet of Ships for a Journey into *Flanders*, and being at *Winchelsey*, where the Ships were to meet; it happened, that riding about the Harbour, his horse frighted with the noise of a Wind-mill, which the wind drove violently about, scrambled up and leapt over the Mud-wall of the Town, so as neither the King nor the Horse was to be seen, but every one judged the King could not chuse but be thrown and killed: yet such was the Divine Providence over him, that the Horse lighted

Prince *Edward* poysoned in the Holy-Land.

The poyson sucked out of his wounds by his Wife.

He takes the death of his Father more heavily than of his Son.

Prince *Edward* his valour.

Reciprocal courtesies between King *Edward* and the King of *France*.

King *Edward* protected by the Divine hand from his childhood.

lighted upon his feet, and the King keeping the Saddle returned safe. And under the wing of this Divine Providence, he had now passed all the dangers of this tedious Journey; and being safely come to *London*, was on the fifteenth day of *August*, in the year 1274. Crowned at *Westminster*, together with his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, by *Robert Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, where five hundred great Horses were let loose for any that could take them; and yet the outward solemnity was not more great than the inward joy was universal; every man rejoycing, not only at a change, which of it self is pleasing: but at a change so much for the better as this was like to be.

1274. He is Crowned.

Of his Acts done after he was Crowned.

THE Acts of this King after he was Crowned, may not unfitly be divided into five parts: His Acts with his Temporal Lords; His Acts with his Clergy: then with *Wales*; then his Acts with *Scotland*: and lastly with *France*. And first concerning his Lords, he gave them good contentment in the beginning of his reign by enlarging their liberties, and granting them easier Laws; for which purpose he called a Parliament, wherein were made the Statutes called of *Westminster* the first: so as he had no difference with them, till toward the end of his Reign, as shall be shewed hereafter. In the next place, concerning his Acts with his Clergy, he began with them betimes; for having lived to be of good age, three or four and thirty years old, in his fathers reign, he observed in that time, that their power was too predominant, and therefore thought fit to clip their wings: at least to keep them farther from growing: which he did by these means. First, in the sixth year of his Reign, he deprived many chief Monasteries of their Liberties, and took from the Abbot and Covent of *Westminster*, the return of Writs granted them by the Charter of his Father, King *Henry* the third. The next year after he got to be enacted the Statute of *Mortmain*, to hinder the increase of their Temporal possessions. In the second Statute of *Westminster*, he defaulked the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Judges; and growing more upon them, he required the moiety of all their Goods, as well Temporal as Spiritual, for one year. Then calls he a Parliament of his Nobles at *Salisbury*, without admittion of any Churchmen in it. And it is worth the noting, that *Marchian* his Treasurer, acquainting him that in Churches and Religious Houses, there was much Treasure to be had, if it might be taken, he made no scruple of it, but caused it to be taken and brought into his Exchequer. But finding his Prelates not well contented with it, to please them again, he bids them ask something of him, wherein they should see how much he favoured them. And they asking of him to repeal the Statute of *Mortmain*, that had been made so much to their hinderance, He answered, that this was a Statute made by the whole body of the Realm, and therefore was not in his power, who was but one Member of that Body, to undo that which all the Members together had done. And perhaps whatsoever they should have asked else, he would have had an answer to redeem his offer. And thus much concerning his Clergy.

He gives contentment to his Lords.

He abates the power of the Clergy.

The Statute of *Mortmain* enacted.

A Parliament without any Clergy-men admitted.

The King cannot undo a Statute.

In the next place are the *Welch*, who had themselves begun with the King. For their Prince *Leolyn* being summoned to attend at his Coronation, refused to come; and afterwards at more leasure, being required to come and do him homage, he stood upon terms of safe conduct, pretending doubt to be used, as his Father *Griffin* had been: who upon hard usage in the *Tower*, seeking to make escape, fell from the Walls and brake his neck. But indeed it was alwayes a custom with this Nation, at every change of Princes in *England*, to try conclusions, hoping at one time or other, to have a day of it; and to change their yoke of Bondage into Liberty: for which they were never better provided than now, (especially which is the greatest matter in War) having a valiant Prince to their Leader. But there happened an accident which took off their edge at this time. For the Lady *Eleanor*, a Daughter of the late Earl *Simon Montford*, whom Prince *Leolyn* extreamly loved, passing out of *France* into *Wales*, was by the way upon the Sea taken by *English* Ships, and brought to King *Edward*; and for the love of her, Prince *Leolyn* was content to submit himself to any conditions; which besides subjection of his State, was to pay fifty thousand pounds sterling, and a thousand pounds *per annum* during his life. And upon these conditions the marriage with his beloved Lady was granted him, and was solemnized here in *England*; whereat the King and Queen were themselves present. Three years *Leolyn* continued Loyal, and within the bounds of obedience; in which time *David*, one of his Brothers, staying here in *England*, and found by the King to be of a stirring spirit, was much honoured by him, Knighted and matched to a rich widow, daughter of the Earl of *Derby*; and had given him by the King besides, the Castle of *Denbigh*, with a thousand pounds *per annum*: though (as it was afterwards found) he lived here but in the nature of a spy. For when Prince *Leolyns* Lady was afterward dead, and that he (contrary to his Conditions formerly made) brake out into Rebellion, then goes his Brother *David* to him, notwithstanding all these favours of the King; and they together enter the *English* Borders, surprize the *Castles* of *Flint* and *Ruddlan*, with the person of the Lord *Clifford*, sent Justiciar into those parts: and in a great Battel overthrew the Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Surrey*, with the slaughter of Sir *William Lindsey*, Sir *Richard Tanny*, and many others. King *Edward* advertised of this Revolt and Overthrow, being then at the *Vizes* in *Wiltshire*, prepares an Army to repress it; but before his setting forth, goes privately to his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, lying at the Nunnery of *Amsbury*, with whom whil'st he conferred, there was one brought into the Chamber, who feigned himself (being blind) to have received his sight at the Tomb of King *Henry* the third. Assoon as the King saw the man, he remembred he had seen him before, and knew him to be a most notorious lying Villain, and wished his Mother in no case to believe him: but his Mother, who much rejoyced

Prince *Leolyn* delayes to do his homage.

For the love of his Lady he submits himself.

She dead, he falls into rebellion.

An Impostor discovered by the King.

to

to hear of this Miracle, for the glory of her Husband, finding her Son unwilling that his Father ſhould be a Saint, grew ſuddenly into ſuch a rage againſt him, that ſhe commanded him to avoid her Chamber: which the King obeys; and going forth, meets with a Clergy-man, to whom he tells the ſtory of this Impoſtor, and merrily ſaid, He knew the juſtice of his Father to be ſuch, that he would rather pull out the eyes (being whole) of ſuch a wicked wretch, than reſtore them to their ſight. In this mean time the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had gone of himſelf to Prince *Leolyn*, and had laboured to bring him and his Brother *David* to a re-ſubmiſſion, but could effect nothing; for beſides other reaſons that ſwayed Prince *Leolyn*, the conceit of a Propheſie of *Merlin*, that he ſhould ſhortly be Crowned with a Diadem of *Brute*, ſo over-weighed him, that he had no ear for peace, and ſhortly after no head. For after the Earl of *Pembroke* had taken *Bere* Caſtle, which was the ſeat of Prince *Leolyn*, he was himſelf ſlain in Battel; and his head cut off by a common Souldier, was ſent to King *Edward*, who cauſed the ſame to be crowned with Ivy, and to be ſet upon the *Tower* of *London*. And this was the end of *Leolyn*, the laſt of the *Welch* Princes, betrayed (as ſome write) by the men of *Buelth*. Not long after his Brother *David* alſo is taken in *Wales*, and judged in *England* to an ignominious death; firſt drawn at a Horſe tail about the City of *Shrewsbury*; then beheaded, the trunk of his Body divided, his heart and bowels burnt, his head ſent to accompany his Brother's on the *Tower* of *London*, his four quarters to four Cities, *Briſtow*, *Northampton*, *York*, and *Wincheſter*. A manifold Execution, and the firſt ſhewed in that kind to this Kingdom, in the perſon of the Son of a Prince, or any other Noble-man that we read of in our Hiſtory. It is perhaps ſomething which ſome here obſerve, that at the ſealing of this Conqueſt, King *Edward* loſt his eldeſt Son *Alphonſus*, of the age of 12 years, (a Prince of great hope) and had only left to ſucceed him, his Son *Edward* lately born at *Carnarvan*, and the firſt of the *Engliſh*, intituled Prince of *Wales*, but no Prince worthy of either *Wales* or *England*. And thus came *Wales* to be united to the Crown of *England*, in the eleventh year of this King *Edward*'s Reign; who thereupon eſtabliſhed the Government thereof, according to the Laws of *England*, as may be ſeen by the Statute of *Rutland*, in the twelfth year of his Reign.

1282. Prince *Leolyn* deceived by a Propheſie ſet on his out and is ſlain. The laſt of the *Welch* Princes. His Brother *David* ignominious death. *Wales* united to the Crown of *England*.

The work of *Wales* being ſettled, King *Edward* paſſeth over into *France*, upon notice of the death of *Philip the Hardie*, to renew and confirm ſuch conditions as his ſtate in thoſe parts required, with the new King *Philip* the fourth, intituled *Fair*; to whom he doth homage for *Aquitain*, having before quitted his claim to *Normandy* for ever. After three years and a half being away in *France*, he returns into *England*; and now in the next place comes the buſineſs with *Scotland*, and will hold him work at times as long as he lives, and his Son after him. *Alexander* the third, King of *Scots*, as he was running his Horſe, fell Horſe and Man to the ground, and brake his neck, and died immediately; by reaſon whereof (he leaving no iſſue, but only a Daughter of his Daughter *Margaret*, who died alſo ſoon after, there fell out preſently great contention about ſucceſſion. Ten Competitors pretend Title, namely, *Erick* King of *Norway*, *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Anandale*, *John de Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, *John de Haſtings*, Lord of *Abergavenny*, *John Cummin* Lord of *Badenaw*, *Patrick de Dunbarre*, Earl of *March*, *John de Veſcie*, *Nicholas de Sules*, *William de Roſs*; all or moſt of them deſcending from *David* Earl of *Huntington*, younger Brother to *William* K. of *Scots*, and great Uncle to the late King *Alexander*. This title King *Edward* takes upon him to decide, pretending a Right of Superiority from his Anceſtors, over that Kingdom, and proving it by authority of old Chronicles, as *Marianus Scotus*, *William* of *Malmsbury*, *Roger de Hoveden*, *Henry* of *Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*, and others; which though the *Scottiſh* Lords who ſwayed the *Inter-regnum* oppoſed, yet are they conſtrained for avoiding of further inconveniences, to make him Arbiter thereof, and the ten Competitors bound to ſtand to his award. Two are eſpecially found, between whom the right lay, *John de Baliol*, Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*; the one deſcended from an elder Daughter: the other from a Son of a younger daughter of *Alan*, who had married the eldeſt Daughter of this *David*, brother to King *William*. The controverſie held long. Twelve of either Kingdom learned in the Laws, are elected to debate the ſame at *Berwick*, all the beſt Civilians in the Univerſities of *France* are ſolicited to give their opinions; all which brought forth rather doubts than reſolutions. Whereupon King *Edward* the better to ſway this buſineſs by his preſence, takes a journey Northward; where being come as far as *Lincolnſhire*, he loſt his beloved Wife Queen *Eleanor*, and thereupon went back to ſee her Funeral performed at *Weſtminſter*. That done he returns preſently to his *Scottiſh* buſineſs. And now ſix years were paſſed ſince the death of King *Alexander*, and yet nothing concluded in this controverſie; whereupon King *Edward* deals privately with *Bruce*, (who had the weaker title, but the more friends) and promiſeth him if he would ſwear fealty and homage to the Crown of *England*, he would inveſt him in that of *Scotland*. But *Bruce* anſwers, he was not ſo deſirous to rule, as thereby to infringe the liberties of his Countrey. Whereupon with the like offers he ſets upon *Baliol*, who having better right, but leſs love of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdom than Honour, accepts the condition; and thereupon is Crowned King at *Scone*, hath fealty done him by all the chief Nobility, except *Bruce*; comes to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, where King *Edward* then lay; and there with many of his Nobles, ſwears fealty, and doth homage to him as his Soveraign Lord. Which act done to ſecure him, overthrew him; for being little beloved before, hereby he became leſs. Such as ſtood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility tender of the preſervation of their Countreys Liberty) took ſtomach againſt him; and not only for this, but ſhortly after for his injuſtice in the caſe of the Earl of *Fife*, one of the ſix Governours in the time of the *Inter-regnum*,

The Competitors for the Crown of *Scotland*. King *Edward* arbiter in whom is the Right. 1291. King *Edward*'s Queen *Eleanor* dyeth. King *Edward* arbitrateth the Crown to *Baliol*.

regnum, who had been slain by the Family of *Alberneth*; the Brother of which Earl prosecuting Law before King *Baliol*, in his High Court of Parliament, and having no right done him (King *Baliol* giving judgement of the side of the *Albernethi*) he appeals to the Court of the King of *England*. Whereupon *Baliol* is summoned, appears, sits with King *Edward* in his Parliament, till his cause was to be heard, and then is cited by an Officer to arise, and to stand in the place appointed for pleading; then he craves to answer by a Procurator, but is denied, and thereupon descends to the ordinary place, and defends his cause himself. Which indignity (as he took it) so incenseth him, that he returns home with a breast full charged with indignation, meditates revenge, renews the ancient League with *France*, confirms it with marriage of his Son *Edward* to a Daughter of *Charles*, Brother to King *Philip*, glad in regard of late offences taken against the King of *England*, to embrace the same: which done, *Baliol* defies King *Edward*, renounceth his Allegiance, as unlawfully done, being not in his power, without consent of the State, to do any such act. Hereupon brake out the mortal dissention between the two Nations, which consumed more Christian Blood, and continued longer than ever quarrel we read of did, between any two people in the world. For he that began it could not end it, but it lasted almost three hundred years, and was never throughly abolished, till the late blessed Union wrought by him, in whom Wisdom and Vertue, Right and Power concurred all to make it firm. And now the fatal Chair in which the Kings of *Scotland* used to be inaugurated, seems to recover its secret operation according to ancient Prophecie, That whithersoever that Chair should be removed, the Kingdom should be removed with it: and this Chair King *Edward* caused to be brought out of *Scotland* to *Westminster*, and to be placed there amongst the Monuments, where it still continues. But now King *Baliol* being summoned to appear at *New-Castle*, and refusing to come, King *Edward* enters *Scotland* with an Army consisting of four thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, besides five hundred horse and one thousand foot of the Bishop of *Durham*. *Berwick* is first won, with the slaughter of fifteen thousand *Scots*, (our Writers say more) and after that, the Castles of *Dunbar*, *Roxborough*, *Edenburgh*, *Sterling*, and St. *Johns-Town*: and King *Baliol* sues for Peace, submits himself, takes again his Oath of Fealty to King *Edward* as his Soveraign Lord. Which done, a Parliament for *Scotland* is held at *Berwick* where the Nobility likewise did homage to him, confirming the same by their Charter, under their hands and seals; only *William Douglass* refuseth, content rather to endure the misery of a Prison, than yield to the subjection of the King of *England*. But King *Baliol* notwithstanding his submission, is sent Prisoner into *England* after his four years Reign in *Scotland*; and King *Edward* returns home, leaving *John Warren*, Earl of *Sussex* and *Surrey*, Warden of all *Scotland*, *Hugh Cressingham* Treasurer, and *Ormesley* Chief Justice, with Commission to take in his name, the Homages and Fealties of all such as held Lands of that Crown. But this continued not long, for King *Edward* being absent in *France*, the *Scots* fell upon the Officers he had left, slew Sir *Hugh Cressingham* with six thousand *English*, recovered many Castles, and regained the Town of *Berwick*; and all by the animation and conduct of one *William Walleys*, a poor private Gentleman, though Nobly descended) Who seeing his Country without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in captivity, or subjection) assembles certain of as poor and desperate estate as himself, and leads them to attempt upon whatsoever advantages they could find to annoy the *English*, and having therein good success, it so increased both his courage and company, that he afterward came to be the general Guardian of the whole Kingdom: and was in possibility to have absolutely redeemed his Country from the subjection of the *English*, if the speedy coming of King *Edward* had not prevented him. For now King *Edward*, to bring his work near together, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to *York*, where they continued above six years; and thither he calls a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knights service, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptory day: where there assemble three thousand men at Arms on barded horses, and four thousand other armed men on horse without bards, with an Army of Foot answerable, consisting most of *Welch* and *Irish*, besides five hundred men at Arms out of *Gascoign*. And with this power he makes his second expedition into *Scotland*; the Earls of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, with the Earl of *Lancoln*, led his Vant-guard at the famous Battel of *Fonkirk*, where the shouts of the *Scots* were so great, that King *Edward*'s horse frighted withal, cast him off, and brake two of his ribs, which notwithstanding he gets up again, goes on, and gets victory; wherein are reported to be slain two hundred Knights, and forty thousand Foot of the *Scots*: but *William Walleys*, with some few, escaped to make more work. And here again that Kingdom might seem as if quite overthrown. Most of the Estates of the Earls and Barons of *Scotland* (with their Titles) that had stood out, were bestowed on the *English*; and a Parliament is called at S. *Andrews*, where all the great men of the Kingdom, except only *Walleys*, once again swear Fealty to the King of *England*. It seems swearing of Fealty was with the *Scots* but a ceremony without substance, as good as nothing; for this is now the third time they swore Fealty to King *Edward*: yet all did not serve to make them Loyal. For not long after comes the news of a new King made and Crowned in *Scotland*. *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, son to that *Bruce* who was competitor with *Baliol*, escaping out of *England*, becomes Head to the confused Body of that Kingdom; and perceiving *John Cummyn* (who had a Title himself) to go about to bewray his intentions to King *Edward*, he finding him at *Dunfrays*, sets upon him, and Murthers him in the Church. Whereof as soon as King *Edward* heard, he sends *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lords *Clifford* and *Piercy* with a strong power to revenge the death of *Cummyn*, and to relieve his Wardens of *Scotland*; who upon *Bruce*'s revolt, were all retired to *Berwick*, whilst himself prepares an Army to follow: wherein to be the more nobly attended, he caused Proclamation to be

Baliol is incensed against King *Edward*, and why.

The fatal Chair of *Scotland* brought into *England*.

Baliol sues for peace, and submits himself.

Baliol is sent prisoner into *England*.

William Walleys opposeth King *Edward*.

The Exchequer and Courts of Justice removed to *York*.

1298.

The Battel of *Fonkirk*.

The *Scots* swear fealty to King *Edward*.

Robert Bruce attempts for the Crown.

made, That whosoever ought by their Paternal succession, or otherwise had means of their own for service, should repair to *Westminster*, at the Feast of *Penteccost*, to receive the Order of Knighthood, and a Military ornament out of the Kings Wardrobe. Hereupon three hundred young Gentlemen, all the sons of Earls, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the day appointed, and receive Purples, Silks, Sindons, Scarfs, wrought with Gold or Silver, according to every mans Estate. For which train (because the Kings house was too little, by reason a part of it had been lately burnt) room is made, and the Apple-trees cut down at the new Temple for their Tents, where they attire themselves, and keep their Vigil. The Prince (whom the King then likewise Knighted, and gave him the Duchy of *Aquitain*) kept his Vigil with his Train at *Westminster*; and the next day he girded these three hundred Knights with the Military Belt, in such manner as he himself had received it. Which done, the King before them all, makes a Vow, that alive or dead, he would revenge the death of *Cummyn* upon *Bruce*, and the perjured *Scots*; Adjuring his Son and all the Nobles about him, upon their Fealty, that if he died in his journey, they should carry his Corpse with them about *Scotland*, and not suffer it to be interred, till they had vanquished the Usurper, and absolutely brought the Country to subjection. The Prince and all the Nobles promise upon their faith, to imploy their utmost power to perform his Vow: and herewithal he sets forth with a potent Army, presently after *Whitsontide*, and makes his last expedition into *Scotland*, in the four and thirtieth year of his Reign; at which time he made above two hundred Knights.

The order of Knighthood imposed upon men of means.

King Edward makes a Journey into *Scotland* to revenge the death of *Cummyn*.

1306. The Earl of *Pembroke*, with that power sent before, and aid of the *Scottish* party, had before the King arrived in *Scotland*, defeated in a battel near St. *Johns-Town*, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his person; but he escaping in disguise, and sheltring himself in obscure places, was reserved for greater Battels: his Brothers *Nigel*, *Bruce*, and shortly after, *Thomas*, and *Alexander* a Priest, were taken and executed after the manner of Traitors at *Berwick*. And now King *Edward* had done for fighting, all was now for Executions; and indeed his desire of revenge made him inexorable, and vow to spare none of what degree soever. The Earl of *Athol* (though of Royal Blood, and allied unto him) was sent to *London*, where all his preferment was, to have a higher pair of Gallows than the rest. The wife of *Robert Bruce*, taken by the Lord *Ross*, is sent prisoner to *London*, and his daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*. The Countess of *Boughan*, who had been aiding at *Bruce's* Coronation, is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out upon the Wall of *Berwick* for people to gaze on. But though *Bruce's* party was thus dejected, and himself at this time appeared not, but shifted privily from place to place in a distressed manner, (attended only with two Noble Gentlemen, who never forsook him in his misfortunes, the Earl of *Lenox* and *Gilbert Hay*) yet gives he not over, but gathers new Forces, with which he suddenly assails the Earl of *Pembroke* at unawares, gives him a great defeat, and within three daies after chaseth the Earl of *Glocester*, into the Castle of *Aire*, where he besieged him, till by the Kings forces he was driven again to his former retire. Whereupon King *Edward* who had spent his Winter at *Carlile*, in *July* following, with a fresh Army enters *Scotland* himself; but falling into a Dysentery or Bloody Flux at *Burrough* upon the Sands he ended his life. And thus ended King *Edward's* troubles with *Scotland*, but not *Englands* troubles, which are more to come than yet are past.

He defeats the *Scotish* Army.

The Countess of *Boughan's* ignominious punishment.

King Ed. wars enters *Scotland*, and there dieth.

But though this business of *Scotland* never left King *Edward* till his dying day, yet it had been upon him but as an Ague, sometimes putting him into violent heats, and sometimes leaving him in a quiet temper with such a vicissitude, that when he had quietness with *Scotland*, he had troubles with *France*, whereof the time is now to speak. It is well known that *Philip* King of *France*, father of the present King, and *Edward* King of *England* were near Cousins, the Sons of two Sisters; and it hath been shewed before at King *Edward's* returning from the Holy-land, and passing through *France*, what extraordinary kindness and mutual courtesie, passed between them, that one would have thought neither they nor theirs should ever have fallen out; and perhaps never should, if they had been private men, and not Princes. For private men may easily continue friends, as having none to consider but themselves; but Princes hardly, as having besides themselves, their Subjects to consider. And though they be the Subjects oftentimes that make the quarrel, yet they are the Princes that must maintain it. And besides, between Princes there can never be but jealousies, and where jealousies are, every trifle makes a quarrel. And this was the case of these two Kings. Certain of the King of *Englands* Subjects had upon the Coast of *Normandy*, done spoil to some Subjects of the King of *France*: and this difference of the Subjects made a difference between the Kings, while each of them standing in defence of his own, fall out themselves; and for a beginning the King of *France* summons King *Edward*, as owing homage to that Crown, to appear and answer it in his Court. And King *Edward*, though voluntarily before he had done it in a way of courtesie, yet being now imperiously commanded, he refuseth it; upon which refusal, all his Territories in *France* are condemned to be forfeited, and an Army is presently sent to seise upon the same, led by *Charles le Valois*, and *Arnold de Nesle*, Constable of *France Burdeaux* with divers other places of importance, are taken from him. And now King *Edward* well knowing what danger it was to have so powerful an adversary, endeavours first to strengthen himself with friends abroad, seeks to match his son *Edward* with a daughter of *Gay* Earl of *Flanders*, marries one of his daughters to the Duke of *Barre*, who pretended title to *Champaigne*; another to *John* Duke of *Brabant*; sends fifteen thousand pound sterling to *Adolph de Nassaw*, the Emperour, for recovery of certain Lands which he claimed in *France*; and with all these and many other confining Princes, he sets upon the King of *France*, and then sends over his brother *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Richmond*, with eight and twenty Banners, seven hundred men at Arms,

The Kings of *England* and *France* fall out, and why.

and a Navy of three hundred and sixty sail. In the mean time the King of *France* having had intelligence of the intended alliance between King *Edward*, and *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, sends for the said Earl (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his Wife and Daughter, to make merry with him at *Paris*; where instead of feasting him, he makes him prisoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he sought (being his Vassal) to match her with his capital Enemy. The Earl excuseth it the best he could; and by much mediation is released himself, but not his Daughter. Whereupon the Earl, presuming upon aid from King *Edward*, takes Arms and defies the King of *France*. Who thereupon comes with an Army of sixty thousand against him; which caused King *Edward* with all speed possible to relieve this distressed Earl: and so leaving the Government of the Kingdom in his absence, to the Bishop of *London*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lords *Raynold*, *Gray*, and *Clifford*, with five hundred sail, and eighteen thousand men at Arms, he passeth over into *France*. But finding the Country distracted into many popular factions, and the King of *France* daily getting upon them (having already won *Lile*, *Douay*, *Courtray*, *Burges*, and *Dam*) and the Emperour *Adolph* failing to send him aid as he had promised, he fell into great perplexity; and having staid the whole Winter at *Gaunt*, where by reason of many outrages committed by his Souldiers, he was so affronted by the *Gauntois*, that his own person was not without some danger. He thereupon in the Spring of the year concludes a Truce with the King of *France* for two years, takes his Sister *Margaret* to wife, and affianceth the daughter of the same King to his Son Prince *Edward*; and so returns into *England*. And these were all the troubles King *Edward* had with *France*.

A Truce is concluded between them. King *Edward* marries his Son *Edward* to a daughter of the King of *France*.

But now must something be spoken of the Troubles with his Lords at home, whereof this was the beginning. In a Parliament at *Salisbury*, the five and twentieth year of his Reign, the King requires certain of his Lords to go to the Wars in *Gascoin*; which needed a present supply, by reason of the death of his Brother *Edmund*: but the Lords make all their excuses, every man for himself: Whereupon the King in great rage threatned they should either go, or he would give their Lands to others that should. Upon this *Humphrey Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, High Constable, and *Roger Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*, Marshal of *England*, make their Declaration; That if the King went in person they would attend him, otherwise not. Which answer offended the King more, and being urged again, the Earl Marshal protested he would willingly go thither with the King, and march before him in the Vantguard, as by right of inheritance he ought to do: But the King told him plainly, He should go with any other, though he went not himself in person. I am not so bound (saith the Earl) neither will I take that Journey without you. The King swore, By God, Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang. And I swear by the same Oath (said the Earl) I will neither go nor hang; and so without leave departs. Shortly after the two Earls assemble many Noblemen, and other their friends to the number of thirty Bannerets; so as they were fifteen hundred men at Arms, well appointed, and stood upon their guard. The King like a prudent Prince, who knew his times, prosecutes them not as then; but lets the matter pass, in regard that his business called him presently into *Flanders*. When being ready to take ship, the Arch-bishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons, send him a Roll of the grievances of his Subjects, concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and other Impositions, with his seeking to force their services by unlawful courses: To which the King sends answer, That he could not alter any thing without the advice of his Council, who were not now about him: and therefore required them, seeing they would not attend him in his Journey, (which they absolutely refused to do, though he went in person, unless he had gone into *France* or *Scotland*) that they would yet do nothing in his absence prejudicial to the peace of the Kingdom: and that at his return, he would set all things in good order to their contentment. But having taken his Journey, and being held there with long delaies, to his exceeding great expences, he was forced to send over for more supply of Treasure; and thereupon gave order for a Parliament to be held at *York*, by the Prince, and (because of his minority, for he was then but sixteen years of age) by such as had the managing of the Kingdom in his absence: and to the end he would not be disappointed of aid, he condescends to all such Articles as were demanded, concerning the great Charter: promising from thenceforth never to charge his Subjects otherwise than by their consents in Parliament, and to pardon all such as had denied to attend him in this Journey. After this, in the 27 year of his Reign, a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, wherein the promised confirmation of the two Charters, and the allowance of what disafforestation had heretofore been made was earnestly urged, and in the end with much ado granted; and that with omission of the clause, *Salvo Jure Coronæ nostræ*, which the King laboured to have inserted, but the people by no means would agree; and the perambulation of the Forests of *England* was then committed to three Bishops, three Earls and three Barons. But some years after, in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, King *Edward* began to shew his resentment of the stubborn behaviour of his Nobles towards him in times past; and so terrifies *Roger Bigot*, Earl Marshal, that to recover his favour the Earl made him his Heir, in possession; (though he had a Brother of his own, living) reserving only to himself a thousand pounds *per annum*, during his life. Of others likewise he got great summs for the same offence. The Earl of *Hereford* escaped his fine by death; but the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, (whom he accused to have disturbed his Peace in his absence) he sends over to Pope *Clement* the fifth, (who succeeded *Boniface*) that he might be crusht with a double power. This Pope was Native of *Burdeaux*, and so the more regardful of the Kings desire, and the King the more confident of his favour; which to entertain and increase, King *Edward* sends him a whole furnisht of all Vessels for his Chamber of clean Gold: which great gift so wrought with the Pope, that he untied the King from the Covenant made with his Subjects concerning their Charters,

The Lords refuse to attend the King, unless he went himself in person.

King *Edward* condescends to the Lords demands.

King *Edward* confirms the two Charters.

Is released of his grant by the Pope.

confirmed unto them by his laſt three Acts of Parliament, and abſolved him from his Oath. A ſafe time for Princes, when they might tye themſelves by any Obligation to their Subjects, and afterward for a bribe to the Pope be untied again.

His Taxations and waies for raiſing Money.

IF Taxations may ſuffer degrees of compariſon, it may not unfitly be ſaid of theſe three laſt Kings, That King *John* was in the Poſitive; his Son *Henry* the Third, in the Comparative; and this King *Edward* in the Superlative. For not only he far exceeded the two former, but he hath left a ſpell to all that come after, for ever coming near him: But then under the name of Taxations, we muſt include the waies he took for raiſing of profit: but firſt in the way of Parliament. In the firſt year of his Reign was granted him a Tenth of the Clergy for two years, beſides a fifteenth of them and the Temporalty. In his fifth year, a twentieth of their goods towards the *Welch* Wars. In his ſeventh the old money was called in, and new coined; in regard it had been much defaced by the *Jews*, for which 297. were at one time executed in *London*: and this brought in profit of no ſmall value. In his eleventh year, he had a thirtieth of the Temporalty, and a Twentieth of the Clergy, for his Wars in *Wales*. In the thirteenth, Eſcuage, forty ſhillings of every Knights Fee. In his fourteenth year he had a Thouſand Marks of certain Merchants fined for falſe weights. In his nineteenth, the eleventh part of all moveables of the Clergy, and ſhortly after a Tenth for ſix years. In his twentieth, *William Marchian*, then Lord Treaſurer of *England*, perceiving great riches to be in Churches and Religious Houſes, put it ſo into the Kings head, that they were all brought into the Kings Treaſury. In the eighth year of his Reign he ſent out his Writ *Quo Warranto*, to examine by what Title men held their Lands, which brought him in much Money; till *John* Earl of *Warren*, being called to ſhew his Title, drew out an old ruſty Sword, and then ſaid he held his Land by that, and by that would hold it to death: which though it made the King deſiſt from his project, yet he obtained at that time a fifteenth part of the Clergy. In his ſeventeenth year he fined all his Judges for corruption: Sir *Ralph de Hengham* Chief Juſtice of the Kings Bench, in ſeven thouſand Marks; Sir *John Lovetot*, Juſtice of the Common Pleas, in three thouſand Marks: Sir *William Brompton*, in ſix thouſand Marks: Sir *Solomon Rocheſter*, in four thouſand Marks: Sir *Richard Boyland*, in four thouſand: Sir *Walter Hopton* in two thouſand: Sir *William Saham*, in three thouſand: *Robert Lithbury* Maſter of the Rolls, in one thouſand: *Roger Leiceſter*, in one thouſand: *Henry Bray*, Eſcheator, and Judge for the *Jews*, in one thouſand: but Sir *Adam Stratton* chief Baron of the Exchequer, in four and thirty thouſand: and *Thomas Wayland* (found the greateſt Delinquent, and of the greateſt ſubſtance) had all his Goods and whole Eſtate confiſcated to the King, and himſelf baniſhed out of the Kingdom. In his eighteenth year he baniſhed the Jews; of whom there was at that time above fifteen thouſand in the Kingdom, who had all their Goods confiſcate, leaving them only means to bear their charges in going away.

The Earl of *Warren* oppoſeth the Writ of *Quo Warranto*.

The Judges fined for corruption.

He baniſheth the Jews.

In his four and twentieth year, he commanded a Subſidy to be levied upon all Sarplars of Wooll going out of *England*; as likewiſe with Fells and Hides. In his five and twentieth year he calls a Parliament at St. *Edmundsbury*, where is granted the eighth part of the Goods of good Towns, and all other people the twelfth. As for the Clergy they deſire to be excuſed, and refuſe to contribute, in regard of their many late payments; as in the two and twentieth year of his Reign they payed the moiety of their Goods. And in his three and twentieth year he ſeiſed into his hands all Priories Aliens, and their Goods; beſides he had a loan of the Clergy, which amounted to a hundred thouſand pounds: but notwithſtanding upon this refuſal of the Clergy, the King puts all Clergy-men out of his Protection, whereby they were to have no Juſtice in any of his Courts; (A ſtrain of State beyond any of his Predeceſſors) which ſo amazed them, that in the end, the Arch-biſhop of *York*, with the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, and *Lincoln*, yielded to lay down in their Churches, the fifth part of all their Goods towards the maintenance of the Kings Wars; whereby they appeaſed his wrath and were received into grace. But the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, by whoſe animation the reſt ſtood out, had all his Goods ſeiſed on, and all the Monaſteries within his Dioceſs, taken into the Kings hands; and Wardens appointed to miniſter only neceſſaries to the Monks, converting the reſt to the Kings uſe: at length by much ſuit, the Abbots and Prieſts giving the fourth part of their Goods, redeem themſelves and the Kings favour. In the ſix and twentieth year of his Reign, at a Parliament holden at *York*, is granted him the ninth penny of the Goods of the Temporalty: the tenth penny of the Clergy of the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, and of *York* the fifth; and in this year alſo he raiſed the Impoſition upon every Sack of Wooll, from a Noble to forty ſhillings. In his two and thirtieth year he ſends out a new Writ of Inquiſition, called *Trailbaſton*, for intruders on other mens Lands; who to oppreſs the right owner, would make over their Land to great men; for Batterers hired to beat men, for Breakers of Peace, for Raviſhers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, falſe Aſſiſours, and other ſuch Malefactors: which Inquiſition was ſo ſtrictly executed, and ſuch Fines taken, that it brought in exceeding much treaſure to the King. As likewiſe did another Commiſſion at the ſame time, ſent forth to examine the behaviour of Officers, and Miniſters of Juſtice; wherein many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly for it. At this time alſo he called his Lords to account for their ſtubbornneſs ſome years before, in denying to attend him into *Flanders*; which brought him in profit anſwerable to their greatneſs that were called. After all this, in his four and thirtieth year, there is granted him the thirtieth penny of both Clergy and Laity, and the twentieth of all Merchants towards his journey into *Scotland*. And this may be ſufficient to ſhew his

The Clergy put out of the Kings protection.

The Writ of *Trailbaſton* ſent forth.

Taxa-

Taxations to have been in the superlative degree. And yet besides these, he had no small benefit by Silver Mines, which in his time were found in *Devonshire*.

Silver Mines found in *Devonshire*.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN the first year of his Reign were made the Statutes called *Westminster* the first. In his twelfth year were made the Statutes of *Acton Burnel*. In the fourteenth year of his Reign were made Statutes called *Additamenta Glocestriæ*. He ordained such men to be Sheriffs in every County, as were of the same County where they were to be Sheriffs. He ordained that *Jews* should wear a cognisance upon their upper garment, whereby to be known, and restrained their excessive taking of Usury. In his time was also enacted the Statute of *Mortmain*.

In his time new pieces of money were coined, and half pence of Silver, which were before of base metal. In his time, three men for rescuing of a Prisoner, arrested by an Officer, had their right-hands cut off by the wrists. In his time all *Jews* were banished out of the Realm. This King by Proclamation prohibited the burning of Sea-Coal in *London* and the Suburbs, for avoiding the noisome smoak. In his eleventh year the Bakers of *London* were first drawn upon Hurdles, by *Henry Walleys*, Major, and Corn was then first sold by weight. In this Kings time the Title of Baron which had before been promiscuous to men of estate, was first confined to such only as by the King were called to have voice in Parliament. In the sixth year of this King, *Michaelmas* Term was kept at *Shrewsbury*. In his twelfth, he divided *Wales* into Shires, and ordained Sheriffs there as are used in *England*.

Sea-Coal prohibited to be burned in *London*.

The title of Baron confined to such only as were called by Writ to the Parliament.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN his time, at a Synod holden at *Reading* by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, it was ordained according to the Constitutions of the General Council, That no Ecclesiastical person should have more than one Benefice, to whom belonged the Cure of Souls: and that every person promoted to any Ecclesiastical living, should take the order of Priest-hood within one year after. In his time lived and died Pope *Boniface* the 8. of whom his Predecessour had Prophesied: *Ascendes ut Vulpes, regnabis ut Leo, morieris ut Canis.*

No Ecclesiastical person to have more than one Benefice.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THis King founded the Abbey of the Vale-Royal in *Cheshire*, of the *Cisteaux* Order. In his time *John Baliol* King of *Scots*, builded *Baliol* Colledge in *Oxford*: Also in his time, *Walter Merton* Lord Chancellour of *England*, and after Bishop of *Rochester*, founded *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*, who was drowned passing over the water at *Rochester*, there being at that time no Bridge, as now there is. In his time was finished the new Work of the Church at *Westminster*, which had been threescore and six years in building. In his time was laid the foundation of the *Black-Friers* besides *Ludgate*, by *Robert Kilwarby*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*: also in his time, his second wife Queen *Margaret* began to build the Quire of the *Grey-Friers* in *London*. In his time was begun to be made the great Conduit in *London*, standing against the Church called *Acres* in *Cheap*. In his time *Henry Walleys*, Major of *London*, caused the *Ton* upon *Cornhil*, to be a Prison for Night-walkers; and also builded a house called the *Stocks*, for a Market of fish and flesh, in the midst of the City. In this Kings time, *Edmund* Earl of *Leicester*, the Kings Brother, founded the *Minoresses*, a Nunnery without *Aldgate*. This King builded the Castle of *Flint* in *Wales*, and the Castle of *Beaumaris* in the Isle of *Anglesey*, and the Castle of *Carnarvan* by *Snowdon*. Also in this Kings time, *John Peckham* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, founded a Colledge of Canons at *Wingham* in *Kent*.

Baliol Colledge in *Oxford* by whom builded.

Merton Colledge in *Oxford* by whom builded.

The Stocks a Market for Fish and Flesh, when made.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN the second year of this Kings Reign, there happened the greatest rot of Sheep in *England* that ever was known, which continued five and twenty years; and came (as was thought) by one infected Sheep of incredible greatness, brought out of *Spain* by a *French* Merchant into *Northumberland*. In the fifteenth year of this Kings Reign, Wheat was sold for ten groats a Quarter; where the next year after there was so great a dearth, that it was sold for eighteen pence the Bushel. In the seventeenth year of his Reign, there fell so much rain, that Wheat was raised from three pence the Bushel, to sixteen pence; and so increased yearly, till at last it was sold for twenty shillings the Quarter. And this year the City of *Carlile*, and the Abbey with all the Houses belonging to the Fryers Minors, was consumed with fire. In his one and twentieth year a great part of the Town of *Cambridge*, with the Church of our Lady was also burnt. In the seven and twentieth year of his Reign his Palace at *Westminster*, and the Monastery adjoining were consumed with fire. The Monastery of *Glocester* also was burnt to the ground. In this year also an Act of Common-Council by consent of the King, was made concerning Victuals, a fat Cock to be sold for three half pence, two Pullets for three half pence, a fat Capon for two pence half penny, a Goose four pence, a Mallard three half pence, a Partridge three half pence, a Pheasant four pence, a Heron six pence, a Plover one penny, a Swan three shillings, a Crane twelve pence, two Woodcocks three half pence, a fat Lamb from *Christmas* to *Shrovetide*, sixteen pence, and all the year after for four pence; and Wheat was this year so plentiful, that a Quarter was sold for ten groats. In his sixteenth year it chanced in *Gascoin*, that as the King and Queen sate in their Chamber, upon a Bed talking together, a Thunderbolt coming in at the Window behind them, passed betwixt them, and slew two of their Gentlemen that stood before them.

A rot of Sheep five and twenty years together, and how caused.

The price of Victuals at this time ordained.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, his first was *Eleanor*, Daughter to *Ferdinand* the third King of *Spain*,

Spain; and was married to him at *Bures* in *Spain*; who having lived with him six and thirty years, in a Journey with him towards *Scotland*, at *Herdeby* in *Lincolnshire* she died. In whose memory, and as monuments of her vertue, and his affection, King *Edward* caused Crosses with her Statue to be erected in all chief places, where her Corpse in carrying to *Westminster*, rested: as at *Stamford*, *Dunstable*, St. *Albans*, *Waltham*, *Cheapside*; and lastly at the place called *Charing-Cross*. She was buried in *Westminster*, at the feet of King *Henry* the third, under a fair Marble Tomb, adorned with her Pourtraicture of Copper gilt. By this Wife King *Edward* had four Sons, and nine daughters; his eldest son, *John*; his second, *Henry*; his third, *Alphonsus*; died all young in their Fathers time: his fourth son, *Edward*, called of *Carnarvan*, because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. Of his daughters, the eldest named *Eleanor* was first married by Proxy to *Alphonsus* King of *Arragon*; but he dying before the marriage solemnized, she was afterward married at *Bristow* to *Henry* Earl of *Bary* in *France*; by whom she had Issue sons and daughters. *Joan* the second daughter of King *Edward* and Queen *Eleanor*, born at *Acon* in the *Holy-Land*, and thereof called *Joan de Acres*, was married to *Gilbert Clare*, called the Red Earl of *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*, by whom she had Issue sons and daughters. She survived her Husband, and was re-married to the Lord *Ralph Monthermere*; Father to *Margaret* the Mother of *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom the now Viscount *Montacute* is descended. *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Edward* and Queen *Eleanor*, was married to *John* Duke of *Brabant*. *Berenger* and *Alice* their fourth and fifth daughters dying young and unmarried. *Mary* their sixth daughter, at ten years of age, was made a Nun in the Monastery of *Ambsbury* in *Wiltshire*, at the instance of Queen *Eleanor* her Grandmother, who lived there. *Elizabeth* their seventh daughter, was first married to *John* Earl of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and Lord of *Freezeland*; he dying within two years, she was afterward married to *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Lord of *Brecknock* and High Constable of *England*, by whom she had issue sons and daughters. *Beatrice* and *Blanch*, their eighth and ninth daughters, died young and unmarried. King *Edward*'s second Wife was *Margaret*, eldest daughter of *Philip* King of *France*, called the *Hardy*, and sister to *Philip* called the *Fair*. At eighteen years old she was married to King *Edward*, being above threescore; yet at these unequal years she had Issue by him, two sons and a daughter. Their eldest son was born at a little Village in *Yorkshire* called *Brotherton*, and was thereof called *Thomas* of *Brotherton*. He was created Earl of *Norfolk*, and Earl Marshal of *England*, after *Roger Bigot*, who died without Issue. Their second son *Edmund* was born at *Woodstock* in *Oxfordshire*, and of the place was so called. He was created Earl of *Kent*, and married *Margaret* daughter of *John*, and sister and sole Heir of *Thomas* Lord *Wake* of *Lydel* in the County of *Northampton*; by whom he had Issue two sons and one daughter. His sons *Edmund* and *John* died without issue. His daughter *Jone* for her beauty called the Fair Maid of *Kent*, was married first to *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*; and from him divorced, was re-married to Sir *Thomas Holland*, in her Right Earl of *Kent*, and Father of *Thomas* and *John Holland*, Duke of *Surrey*, and Earl of *Huntington*: and lastly, she was the Wife of *Edward* of *Woodstock*, the Black Prince of *Wales*, and by him Mother of King *Richard* the Second. This Earl *Edmund* was beheaded at *Winchester*, in the fourth year of King *Edward* his Nephew. *Eleanor* the Daughter of King *Edward* by his second Wife *Margaret*, died in her childhood.

Monuments ordained in memory of Queen Eleanor.

The now Viscount *Montacute* from whence descended.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

King Edward called Longshanks, and why.

HE was tall of stature, higher than ordinary men by head and shoulders, and thereof called *Longshank*; of a swarthy complexion, strong of body, but lean; of a comely favour; his eyes in his anger sparkling like fire; the hair of his head black and curled. Concerning his conditions, as he was in War peaceful; so in Peace he was warlike, delighting specially in that kind of hunting, which is to kill Staggs or other wild Beasts with Spears. In continency of life, he was equal to his Father; in acts of valour, far beyond him. He had in him the two Wisdoms, not often found in any, single; both together, seldom or never: An ability of judgement in himself, and a readiness to hear the judgement of others. He seemed to be a great observer of opportunity (a great point of Wisdom in any, in Princes greatest) and that he could bear an injury long, without seeking to revenge it; as appeared by his carriage toward the Earl *Roger Bigot*: whom when he saw his time, he called to account for an affront he had offered him divers years before. He was not easily provoked into passion; but once in passion, not easily appeased; as was seen by his dealing with the *Scots*, towards whom he shewed at first patience, and at last severity. If he be censured for his many Taxations, he may be justified by his well bestowing them; for never Prince laid out his money to more honour of himself, or good of his Kingdom. His greatest unfortunateness was in his greatest blessing; for of four sons which he had by his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, three of them died in his own life-time, who were worthy to have out-lived him: and the fourth out-lived him, who was worthy never to have been born.

Of his Death and Burial.

King Edward's Admonition to his Son.

IN his last Expedition into *Scotland*, being at *Carlile*, he fell sick; and lying in his death-bed, he sent for his son *Edward*: to whom, besides many admonitions to piety, he commended three things specially; That he should carry his bones about with him through *Scotland*, till he had subdued it; that he should send his Heart into the *Holy-Land*, with Sevenscore Knights to that War, and the two and thirty thousand pounds, he had provided for that purpose; and that he should never recall *Gaveston* from banishment: and soon after of a Dysentery or Bloody-Flux he died at *Borough* upon the Sands,

1307. Sands, the seventh of *July*, in the year 1307. when he had reigned four and thirty years, and seven months, lived threescore and eight years. Being dead, his Corpse was brought to *Waltham* Abbey, and there kept the space of fixteen weeks, and after on *Simon* and *Jude*'s day buried at *Westminster*.

Men of Note in his Time.

OF Martial men there were many; these especially; *John* Earl of *Warren*, who opposed the Kings Inquisition by *Quo Warranto*: and *Roger Bigot*, who gave the King an affront to his face. Of learned men also many, especially these; *John Breton* Bishop of *Hereford*, who compiled a Book of the Laws of *England*, called *le Breton*. *Thomas Spot* a Chronographer: *John Eversden* a Writer of Annals, and of this Kings Reign: *Gregory Cairngent* a Monk of *Gloceſter*, and a Writer also of Annals. *John Peckham* a Franciscan Frier made Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who writ many Excellent Works: *John Reed* an Historiographer: *Thomas Bungey* a Frier Minor, an excellent Mathematician: *Roger Bacon* a Franciscan Frier, an excellent Philosopher and Mathematician. *Robert Kilwarby* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and after made a Cardinal: also *Ralph Baldock* Bishop of *London*, who writ a Chronicle of *England* in the *Latine* Tongue: But above them all, though of another Countrey, *Thomas Aquinas*, born of a Noble Family, whose Works are too famous to be spoken of; who going to the Council holden at *Lyons* by Pope *Gregory* the Tenth died by the way.

Breton who made a Book of the Law.

Thomas Aquinas when he died.

Majors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings Time.*

In his first year,
Sir *Walter Harvey* was Major.
John Horn, *Walter Potter*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Henry Walleys was Major.
Nicholas Wincheſter, *Henry Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Gregory Rokeſley was Major.
Lucas Battencourt, *Henry Frowicke*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Gregory Rokeſly continued Major.
John Horn, *Ralph Blunt*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Major.
Robert de Arar, *Ralph L. Fewre*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Gregory Rokeſly continued Major.
John Adrian, *Walter Langley*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Major.
Robert Baſing, *William le Meyre*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Gregory Rokeſly continued Major.
Thomas Box, *Ralph Moore*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Major.
William Farendon, *Nicholas Wincheſter*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Henry Walleys was Major.
William le Meyre, *Richard Chigwel*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry Walleys continued Major.
Ralph Blunt, *Hawkin Betuel*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry Walleys continued Major.
Jordan Goodchep, *Martin Box*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Gregory Rokeſly was Major.
Stephen Cornehil, *Robert Rokeſley*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich was Major.
Walter Blunt, *John Wade*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major,
Thomas Croſs, *Walter Hawteyne*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
William Hereford, *Thomas Stanes*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
William Betaine, *John of Canterbury*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
Fulk of St. *Edmund*, *Solomon Langford*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
Thomas Romain, *William de Lyre*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
Ralph Blunt, *Hamond Box*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
Elias Ruſſel, *Henry Bole*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
Robert Rokeſley, *Martin Anbery*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Sir *Ralph Sandwich* continued Major.
Henry Box, *Richard Glouceſter*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year,
Sir *John Briton* was Major.
John Dunſtable, *Adam de Halingbery*, Sheriffs.

In

In his twenty fifth year,
Sir *John Briton* continued Major.
Thomas of *Suffolk*, *Adam* of *Fulham*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year,
Henry Walleys was Major.
Richard Refham, *Thomas Sely*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year,
Elias Ruſſel was Major.
John Armentor, *Henry Fingent*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Elias Ruſſel continued Major.
Lucas de Havering, *Richard Champnes*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Sir *John Blunt* was Major.
Robert Collar, *Peter de Beſenho*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Major.
Hugh Pourte, *Simon Paris*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty first year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Major.
William Combmartin, *John de Burford*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Major.
Roger Paris, *John de Lincoln*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Major.
William Cawſon, *Reginald Thwonderly*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Major.
Geoffry at the Conduit, *Simon Billet*, Sheriffs.

The

The Life and Reign of KING EDWARD THE SECOND.

Of his Acts before, and at his Coronation.

1307. EDWARD of *Carnarvan*, eldeſt Son of King *Edward* the firſt, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, and never did Prince come to a Crown with more applauſe of Nobility and People: and there was good cauſe for it; for he had been trained up in all good courſes for Piety and Learning; he had ſeen the Government of his Father, from whoſe Example he could not but have learned many good Leſſons; he had been initiated in the ways of State, having been left Governour of the Realm, and preſiding in Parliament in his Fathers abſence; and he was now three and twenty years old, a fit age for bearing the weight of a Scepter. And yet for all theſe advantages, there wanted not fears of him in the minds of many, who could not but remember what pranks he had played not long before; how he had broken the Biſhop of *Cheſter's* Park, and in moſt diſorderly manner had killed his Deer, for which both himſelf had been committed to Priſon, and his friend *Pierce Gaveſton* baniſhed the Realm: and if he did ſuch things being but Brince, what might not be feared of him coming to be King? For ſeldom doth advancement in honour alter men to the better; to the worſe often, and commonly then when it is joyned with an authority that ſets them above controulment. Neither yet was their fear more out of what they had ſeen, than out of what they ſaw; for where he ſhould have endeavoured to accompliſh the charge his Father had given him on his death-bed, he ſeemed to intend nothing leſs, nothing more than wholly to break it; for he preſently called home *Pierce Gaveſton* from baniſhment: and the two and thirty thouſand pounds, which his Father had ſpecially appointed for the Holy War; either all or the moſt of it he beſtowed upon *Gaveſton*. And for carrying his Fathers bones with him about *Scotland*, it had been well if he had ſuffered them quietly to be laid at reſt in *England*. For after the Corps had been kept above ground, ſixteen weeks in the Abbey of *Waltham*, and that the Biſhop of *Cheſter Walter Langton*, the then Lord Treaſurer, and the Executor of his Fathers Will, was buſie in preparing for his Funeral, he ſent the Conſtable of the *Tower* to arreſt him, and impriſon him at *Wallingford*, ſeiſing upon all his Goods, and giving them to *Gaveſton*; and all for old grudges. And (that which ſeemed a high ſtrain of incongruity) before he had ſeen perfomed his Fathers Funerals, which was not till the 27 of *October* following, he entred into a Treaty of his own Nuptials; for going over to *Boloigne*, on the two and twentieth of *January*, he married *Iſabel*, the Daughter of *Philip* the *Fair*, King of *France*: which marriage was honoured with the preſence of four Kings, the King of *France* himſelf, the King of *Navarre* his Son, the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *Sicilie*: and three Queens beſides the Bride, *Mary* Queen of *France*, *Margaret* the Dowager Queen of *England*, and the Queen of *Navarre*: and yet did *Gaveſton* exceed them all in bravery. This was obſerved by the Lords of *England*; and thereupon when his Queen and he came afterward to be Crowned, they went unto him, ſignifying what a hanious tranſgreſſion of his Fathers will it was to call home *Gaveſton*: and ſeeing the charge was no leſs given to them than to him, if he did not perform it they would; and therefore unleſs he would remove *Gaveſton* from the Court and Kingdom, they would hinder his Coronation from proceeding, which ſtruck ſuch a damp to Prince *Edward's* ſpirits, to think what diſgrace it would be to him, if ſo many of his great friends being preſent, *Charles* of *Valois* the King of *France's* Brother, the Dukes of *Britain* and *Brabant*, the Count of *Luxemburg*, who was afterward Emperour, the Duke of *Savoy*; the two Ducheſſes of *Brabant* and *Artois*, with many other Princes and great Ladies, if now his Coronation ſhould be called in queſtion, that he ſolemnly ſwore he would do what they deſired in the next Parliament, ſo they would be quiet now. And thereupon on the 24 day of *February*, in the year 1307. his Queen and he were both Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, by the hands of *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by Commiſſion from *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being then in exile, and out of the Kingdom: At which ſolemnity there was ſo great a preſs of people, that Sir *John Blackwel* Knight was crowded to death. And now in the very act of his Coronation, there was given another provocation to the Lords againſt *Gaveſton*; for the King had appointed him to carry the Crown of Saint *Edward* before him, (the greateſt honour could be done to a Subject) which added to the other honours the King had done him, (for he had made him Earl of *Cornwal*, Lord of *Man*, and Lord Chamberlain) ſo incenſed the Lords, that they entered into conſultation how to ſuppreſs this violence of the King's affection; which ſhortly after they put in execution. Portion in money, King *Edward* had none with his Wife: but the King of *France* gave him the Duchy of

He marries *Iſabel* the King of *France's* Daughter.

The diſorders of King *Edward* when he was Prince.

He breaks his Fathers admonitions in all things.

The Lords threaten to hinder his Coronation, unleſs he baniſhed *Gaveſton*.

1307.

He and his Queen are Crowned.

To carry Saint *Edward's* Crown at the Coronation, the greateſt honour a Subject could have done him.

Gaveſton's advancement in honour.

Guyenne, which he had seised upon before, as confiscate to him; and thereupon King *Edward* did him Homage for that Duchy, and for the County of *Ponthieu*.

Of his differences with his Lords about Gaveston.

WE shall have here no *Quinquennium Neronis*, No such five years, as *Nero* afforded in the beginning of his Reign; but this King at the first entrance will shew what he is, and what he will continue to be as long as he lives; for though he took some great and grave men to be of his Council, yet (as appeared afterward) he did it rather to the end they should be pliant to him, than that he had any meaning to apply himself to them. For let them say what they would, *Gaveston* must be the Oracle; all the Kings actions were but *Gaveston's* impressions. And now *Gaveston* presently after the Coronation, to let the world be a witness of his worthiness, and that the King had not bestowed his favours upon him without cause, caused to be published a Turnament at *Wallingford*; whither came all the great Lords of the Kingdom, as *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, *Humphry* Earl of *Hereford*, *Aymer* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Warren*, with many others, all valiant men at Arms: yet none had the honour of the day like to *Gaveston*. And thus far he did well, if he could have stayed here, if having gotten true glory, he had not fallen into vain-glory. For the Lords envied him not so much for his advancement in honours, as they hated him for his insolency in Manners; for in a scornful pride he would be casting scoffs upon them all, calling *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, the Stage-Player; the Earl of *Lincoln* Burstenbelly; *Aymer de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, *Joseph* the *Jew*; and *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, the black Dog of *Arden*. Which scoffs together with his other insolencies, drew such a party upon him, that in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly obtains of the King to draw Articles of their grievances, of which the chief were; that the great Charter of *Magna Charta* should be observed; that all strangers should be banished the Court and Kingdom; that the businesses of the State should be treated of by the Council of the Clergy and the Nobles; and that the King should not begin any War, nor go out of the Kingdom without consent of the Parliament. Which Articles though seeming harsh to the King, yet for avoiding of further inconvenience, he yields unto them; and especially to the banishment of his minion *Gaveston*, as hoping that would excuse him for all the rest: and *Robert* of *Winchelsey*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, lately called home from exile, pronounceth excommunication against all such as should oppose the Articles. Hereupon *Gaveston* is sent away into *Ireland*, where he lived a while, not as a banisht man, but as Lieutenant rather of the Countrey; and indeed not unworthily. For in the time of his being there, he is said to have made a journey into the Mountains of *Dublin*, and to have broken and subdued the Rebels there; built *New-Castle* in the *Kerns* Countrey, repaired the Castle of *Kevyn*, and passed up to *Munster* and *Thoumund*, performing every where much service, with great valour and worthiness, that if he had stayed there but a while longer, he might perhaps by his deserts in *Ireland* have redeemed his defects in *England*. But the King impatient of absence, and asking advice what means might be used to recall him, It was told him that if he could but match him with the Earl of *Gloucester's* Sister, a man of such greatness, and so beloved of the people, for his sake certainly no man would grudge at his coming home. Hereupon the King sends for *Gaveston*, and makes up the Match between them; and married they were at *Berkamstead*. But this did no good, for *Gaveston* still working upon the King in such manner, that he scarce left him means to sustain himself, and as little to maintain the Queen, nothing being done, but as *Gaveston* would have it, put the Lords into a new discontentment: who thereupon went again to the King and told him plainly, that unless he would put *Gaveston* out of the Court and Kingdom, they would rise up in arms against him as a perjured King. This put the King into a great strait; loth he was to leave *Gaveston*, and fearful he was to provoke the Lords; in the end his fear prevailing over his love, he was content he should be banished; and in such sort banished, that if ever he returned, or were found in the Kingdom, he should be held and proceeded against as an enemy of the State. So once again is *Gaveston* sent packing out of the Kingdom, and goes into *France*, but found no safe harbouring there; For the King of *France* hearing of it, gave a strait charge, if he were found in his Dominions, to apprehend him. Then he passeth into *Flanders*, but is no safer there than in *France*. After waving about, and finding no place to rest in safety, he returns secretly into *England*, relying upon the Kings love, and the Duke of *Gloucester's* favour. The King receives him as an Angel sent from heaven; and to be out of the Lords eye goes a journey to *York*, taking *Gaveston* along with him: and there thinks to be in quiet. But the Lords hearing of it, follow him thither, chusing for their General *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, a man possess'd of five Earldoms, *Lancaster*, *Leicester*, *Ferrers*, *Lincoln*, and *Salisbury*, besides the Liberties of *Pickering*, and the honour of *Cockermore*, and other Lands in *Wales*; and there was not a man of the whole Nobility that was not of the Party, but only *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloucester*, the Kings Sisters Son. These Lords sent to the King, either to deliver *Gaveston* into their hands, or at least to send him peremptorily out of the Kingdom. But the King led by ill counsel, and little regarding the Lords message, takes *Gaveston* with him to *New-castle* upon *Tine*, thence to *Tinmouth*, where the Queen then lay, (who though great with Child, and entreating the King with tears to stay with her) yet such was his desire to see *Gaveston* put into some place of security, that hearing of the Lords approaching, he took a Ship, and passed with *Gaveston* to *Scarborough*, and leaving him there in a strong Castle, not easie to be won, he went himself into *Warwickshire*, perhaps that the Lords might see he had not *Gaveston* with him. But the Lords hearing where

Gaveston gets the prize in a publick Turnament.

He casts scoffs upon all the Lords.

Articles required by the Lords of the King.

1308.

Gaveston is Banished into Ireland, where he doth many good services

Gaveston is sent for back and marries the Earl of Gloucester's Sister.

The Lords require Gaveston's banishment.

So once again he is banished.

1310.

But soon returns again.

The King seeks to shelter him.

Gaveſton is taken by the Lords.

where *Gaveſton* was, aſſaulted the Caſtle with ſuch violence, that *Gaveſton* ſeeing no means to eſcape, was content to render himſelf: requeſting only that he might but once be allowed to ſee the Kings face; and the King hearing he was taken deſired as much. To which the Earl of *Pembroke* conſented; and taking *Gaveſton* into his cuſtody, promiſed upon forfeiture of all he had, to have him forth coming: but deſiring to be with his Wife that Night, who lay not far off, at *Dedington*, he delivers him to his ſervants to carry to *Wallingford*; from whom as they paſs by *Warwick*, the Earl of that place hearing of it, took him forcibly from his Keepers, and brought him to his own Caſtle. Where after long deliberation, whether it were wiſdom to ſuffer *Gaveſton* to ſpeak with the King or no, it was at laſt concluded to take off his head; which at a place thereby called *Blackſow*, was preſently put in execution. His corps was carried to *Oxford*, and kept there two years, till the King cauſed it to be brought to *Langley*, and there builded a Monaſtery of purpoſe, where his Soul ſhould by prayed for.

1311.

Is beheaded at *Blackſow*.

The King builds a Monaſtery of purpoſe to pray for his Soul.

This *Gaveſton* was the Son of a Gentleman of *France*, who had done good ſervice for King *Edward* the firſt in *France*; and for his ſake this Son of his was taken and brought up with the Prince. A man of excellent parts of body, and of no leſs endowments of mind. Valiant and Witty: to which if we might add Vertuous, he had been compleat: Though the Lords (whether they had heard ſo, or whether they ſaid it to wean the King from him) told the King, That his Father was a Traytor to the King of *France*, and for the ſame was executed; and that his Mother was burnt for a Witch; and that this *Gaveſton* was baniſhed out of *France* for conſenting to his Mothers Witchcraft; and that he had now bewitched the King himſelf. But why ſhould the Lords be ſo violent againſt *Gaveſton*? Might not the King place his affection where he pleaſed? Might not he make his own choice of what Companion he liked? No doubt he might; and fit he ſhould: but yet in this caſe the Lords had great cauſe to do as they did, both in regard of the King, of themſelves and of the Common-wealth. It is true, if the valour of *Gaveſton* could as well have made the King valiant, as his riot made him riotous, there might ſome good have come of their extraordinary conjunction: but ſeeing Vertues are but perſonal, Vices only are communicative, It now made the King not only more vicious than otherwiſe he would have been, but vicious where otherwiſe he would not have been; and therefore great cauſe in regard of the King to remove *Gaveſton* from his company; and no leſs in regard of the Lords themſelves. For *Gaveſton*'s advancing was their debaſing; his greatneſs with the King made them but Cyphers: but in regard of the Commonwealth, moſt cauſe of all; for while the King was altogether ruled by *Gaveſton*, and *Gaveſton* himſelf was altogether irregular, the Common-wealth could have but little hope of Juſtice, but was ſure to ſuffer as long as *Gaveſton* was ſuffered. And this may be ſufficient to juſtifie the Lords, that it be not interpreted to be Rebellion, which was indeed but Providence.

Gaveſton's Parentage.

Of his Troubles with Scotland.

AND now we have ſeen two of the charges of his Fathers Will broken by the King, and puniſhed in him; the two and thirty thouſand pounds appointed for the Holy War, beſtowed upon *Gaveſton*, and the King for it puniſhed himſelf with want; *Gaveſton* called home from baniſhment, and the King for it puniſhed with the loſs of his Subjects love. It remains to ſee how well he performed the third charge of his Fathers will, for ſubduing of *Scotland*. It was now the ſixth year after the death of his Father King *Edward*, and *Robert Bruce* now gotten to be King of *Scotland*, had ſtayed all this while to ſee how this new King *Edward* would prove. And when he found by the courſes he held, that he was like to prove a good eaſie enemy, thereupon took heart, and began to ſtir, and in a very ſhort time had brought almoſt all *Scotland* under his obedience; and finding no oppoſition entred the *Engliſh* Borders, took and burnt Towns: that now King *Edward*, unleſs he would ſit ſtill, and ſuffer *Bruce* to come and pull his Crown from his head, he could not chuſe but do ſomething to ſtop his proceedings. Hereupon he prepares an Army, but like himſelf, fitter for a Court than for a Camp. Many men and great bravery; but readier to take ſpoils, than to make ſpoil: and accordingly they ſpeed. For going to raiſe the ſiege at *Striveling* defended for King *Edward*, by the valiant Knight *Philip Mowbary*, the Kings Army conſiſting of an hundred thouſand, was defeated and overthrown by the *Scots* Army, conſiſting of ſcarce thirty thouſand: So true is that ſaying of an ancient Souldier, There is more hope of an Army where the General is a Lion, though the Souldiers be but Sheep, than of an Army where the General is a Sheep, though the Souldiers be Lions. But indeed the *Scots* beſides Valour uſed Policy; For having in their own Army none but Foot, no Horſe at all, they had made Trenches in the ground three foot deep, covering them with Twigs and Hurdles, where the *Engliſh* Horſemen were to paſs; who floundring in thoſe Trenches, were killed no leſs by their own Fellows than by the Enemy. In this Battel, called of *Bannocks-Borough*, were ſlain the Lord *Mawle*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Tiptoft*, the Lord *William Marſhal*, Sir *Giles*, Doctor *Argenton*, and ſeven hundred Knights and Eſquires, ſpecially *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, who had ſhewed much valour that day; and whom the *Scots* would willingly have kept for ranſome, if they had known him: but he had forgotten to put on his Coat of Arms whereby to be known. The ſlaughter of common Souldiers was certainly great, though perhaps not ſo great as *Hector Boetius* ſpeaks of, who ſaith they were fifty thouſand. There were taken Priſoners *Humfrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *John Seagrave*, *John Claveringham*, *William Latimer*, and Sir *Roger Northbrook*, bearer of the Kings Shield; the King himſelf with the Biſhops, the Earls of *Hartford*, and *Pembroke*, and *Hugh Spencer*, ſaved themſelves by flight: *Humfrey de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* was afterward releaſed in exchange

Bruce enters the *Engliſh* Borders.

King *Edward*'s Army of two thouſand overthrown by the *Scots*.

1313.

The *Scots* Stratagem.

The Battel of *Bannocks-Borough*.

The North parts from *Carlil* to *York* in subjection to the *Scots*.

for *Bruce*'s Wife, who had been long kept a prisoner in *England*. After this many *Engliſh* fell away to the *Scots*; and all the North parts from *Carlile* to *York*, came under their ſubjection: and the *Engliſh* grew ſo faint-hearted, and into ſuch contempt, that three *Scots* durſt venture upon a hundred *Engliſh*, when a hundred *Engliſh* durſt ſcarce encounter with three *Scots*. And what can be thought the cauſe of this great diſaſter to this King, but the want of his Fathers Bleſſing for not performing the charge he gave him dying, which is commonly accompanied with the want of a higher Bleſſing, without which a *Vacat* is ſet upon the labours of men, that makes them all fruſtrate? But *Bruce* not ſatisfied with his acqueſts in *England*, ſends his Brother *Edward* into *Ireland* alſo; who ſo far prevailed, that many *Iriſh* came in unto him, and in the end crowned him King of a great part of that Iſland: and ſo he continued the ſpace of three years, till the Primate of *Armagh*, and the Lord *Brinningham*, Juſticiar of *Ireland*, gathering Forces together oppoſed him, and in a Battel taking him Priſoner at *Dundalk* cut off his head, with the ſlaughter of many thouſands of the *Scots* beſides. With which the *Scots* are ſo incenſed, that they invade again the *Engliſh* borders, forraging as far as *York*: whereupon a Parliament is aſſembled at *London*, wherein an aid is granted of armed men to go againſt them. *London* ſets forth two hundred, *Canterbury* forty, Saint *Albans* ten, and ſo proportionably for all Cities and Boroughs, whereby a great Army was levied: which coming to *York*, through mutiny, emulation, and other impediments was ſoon diſſolved, and returned back without effecting any thing. Not long after the Town of *Barwick* was betrayed to the *Scots*, through the Treaſon of *Peter Spalding* the Governour, and other *Engliſh* men; whom the King of *Scots* to make them an example, cauſed to be hanged for being Traitors to their Countrey. King *Edward* hearing of the ſurrendring of *Barwick*, raiſeth an Army, and beleaguers it; but the *Scots* to divert his Forces, enter upon *England* by other wayes, and were like to have ſurpriſed the perſon of the Queen, lying then near *York*. The ſiege of *Barwick* is notwithſtanding eagerly continued, and the King in great poſſibility to have regained the Town, had not the Earl of *Lancaſter* with his followers withdrawn himſelf upon diſcontent; hearing the King ſay he would give the keeping thereof to *Hugh Spencer* the younger, who was now grown a ſpecial Favorite of the Kings, and therefore not to be endured by the Earl. In the mean time the *Scots* won the Caſtles of *Harbottle*, *Wark*, and *Midford*, ſo as they poſſeſſed the greater part of all *Northumberland*, burning all before them till they came to *Ripon*, which Town they ſpoiled; and tarrying there three dayes, they received a Thouſand Marks to ſave the Town from Burning, as they had done the Towns of *Northallerton*, *Borough-bridge*, and others. In their returning back they burnt *Knaresbrough*, and *Skipton* in *Craven*, and all other before them, carrying into *Scotland* a marvellous number of Cattel, beſides Priſoners, men and women. The *York-ſhire* men thus grievouſly endammaged, gather together the number of ten thouſand; and at the Town of *Mitton*, ten Miles from *York*, encounter the *Scots*, where they loſt three thouſand of their men, and were defeated: which Battel, becauſe of the many ſpiritual men that were in it, was called the White Battel. Whereof when the King heard he left the ſiege of *Barwick*, to follow the *Scots*, but they returned another way. The year following King *Edward* once again with a great Army entered *Scotland*; but the *Scots* having deſtroyed all afore, the King oppreſſed with Famine, was forced to return, whom the *Scots* followed, and in a place of the Foreſt of *Blackmore* ſet upon him, that he hardly eſcaped; where were taken *John* Earl of *Britain*, and the Lord of *Silaico*, the *French* Kings Embaſſadour, and many others. After this King *Edward* finding the *Scots* either too ſtrong or too wily for him, made a truce with them for two years, ſome ſay for thirteen. And this was the ſucceſs of this unfortunate King in his Wars with *Scotland*.

Edw. Bruce Crowned King of *Ireland*: but after 3 yeares is taken priſoner, and beheaded.

1317.

Treachery juſtly puniſhed.

King *Edward* beſiegeth *Barwick*.

The Earl of *Lancaſter* withdraws himſelf from King *Edward*, and why.

1318.

The *York-ſhire* men defeated by the *Scots* in the White Battel.

Once again King *Edward* enters *Scotland* with an Army, but without ſucceſs.

So he makes a Truce with them for certain years

Of his Troubles at home.

BUT his troubles abroad were not ſo grievous as thoſe at home; or rather they were thoſe at home that made his troubles abroad ſo grievous. For though the Lords having made an end of *Gaveſton*, and cut off his head, thought they had made an end of their need to bear Arms, and had cut off the head of all their diſcontents; yet as if *Gaveſton* had been a Phœnix, as it were out of his aſhes another Phœnix riſeth preſently up, and puts the Lords to as much trouble as ever *Gaveſton* did. For now the younger *Spencer* upon a ſudden grows as great a favourite of the Kings as ever *Gaveſton* was, and indeed in all points juſt ſuch another, equal to him in goodlineſs of perſonage, in favour of the King, and in abuſing the Lords. For though they were the Lords themſelves that brought him at firſt to be the Kings Chamberlain, the rather (as was thought) becauſe he was one whom the King did not love: yet being once in the place, he ſo won upon the King by diligent ſervice, and by complying with the Kings humour, that he brought the King at laſt to comply with his humour, and nothing muſt be done but as *Spencer* would have it. It ſeems it was the Kings nature that he could not be without a boſom-Friend; one or other to be an *alter idem*: and to ſeek to remove ſuch a one from him, was to ſeek to remove him from himſelf; as impoſſible a thing as to alter nature. Yet the Lords being more ſenſible of their own grievance, to be inſulted on by a Favourite, than of the Kings grievance to be affronted by his Subjects, are more intentive to work their own ends than the Kings; and therefore to remove *Spencer* and his Father from the King, which they knew was a work not to be done but by ſtrong hand, they continue their Arms; and confederating together, they ſend to the King, peremptorily requiring the confirmation and execution of the Articles formerly granted; threatning withal, that unleſs he preſently perform the ſame, they would conſtrain him to it by force of Arms: and thereupon aſſemble ſtrong forces about *Dunſtable*, where the King then

The younger *Spencer* in as great favour as *Gaveſton*.

Whereupon the Lords take Arms again; and threaten the King unleſs he perform the Articles formerly granted.

then lay. The great Prelates of the Kingdom, with the Earl of *Gloceſter*, labour to appeaſe them; and with two Cardinals ſent lately by the Pope, to reform theſe diſorders, they repair to Saint *Albans*, and deſire conference with the Lords, who receive them peaceably: but the Letters which the Pope had written to them, they refuſe to receive, ſaying, They were men of the Sword, and cared not for reading of Letters; that there were many worthy and learned men in the Kingdom, whoſe counſel they would uſe, and not ſtrangers, who knew not the cauſe of their commotion: ſo the Cardinals with this anſwer returned to *London*. But the Prelates of *England* ſo labour the buſineſs, that the Lords were content to yield up to the King ſuch Horſes, Treaſure, and Jewels, as they had taken of *Pierce Gaveſton* at *New-Caſtle*, ſo as the King would grant their Petitions; and thereupon *John Sandal* Treaſurer of the Kingdom, and *Ingelard Warle* keeper of the Wardrobe, are ſent to Saint *Albans* to receive thoſe things at their hands.

Shortly after a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complains of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their riſing in Arms, their taking and murthering *Pierce Gaveſton*, and ſuch other affronts, whereunto with one accord they anſwer, That they had not offended therein, but rather merited his love and favour; having taken Arms, not for any contempt of his Royal Perſon, but to deſtroy the publick enemy of the Kingdom, which otherwiſe would never have been done. Which ſtout reſolution of theirs, the Queen with the Prelates and the Earl of *Gloceſter* ſeeing, they ſeek by all means to qualifie their heat; and at length ſo prevailed with them, that they humble themſelves to the King, and crave pardon for that they had done, which they obtained; and the King receives them into grace, as his loyal Subjects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their Indemnity concerning the death of *Gaveſton*. And for the greater ſhew of true reconcilement, *Guy de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, is made of the Kings Counſel though ſhortly after he ended his life; not without ſuſpicion of poyſon: as being a man much envyed by ſuch as poſſeſt the King. The King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Clipſton*, and his *Eaſter* at *Clarendon*; and they ſeemed to be all good friends: but this reconcilement of the King with his Barons, was but as the covering of fire with aſhes, every little wind that blew, made it break out into flames afreſh; and the time being ſo unſettled as it was, it was impoſſible but ſuch winds would continually be blowing. It was ſuch a wind blew, when the great Earl of *Lancaſter* had his Wife (a Lady who had lived with him alwayes in good fame) taken out of his houſe at *Canford* in *Dorſetſhire*, by one *Richard* Saint *Martin*; a deformed lame Dwarf, who challenged her to be his Wife; and had lien with her before the Earl married her. And this wind was made to blow the ſtronger, by the Ladies own confeſſion; for upon examination, ſhe voluntarily averred, it was all true: and thereupon the ugly fellow in her right, claimed the two Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Saliſbury*, which he durſt not have done, if he had not been back't with great Abettours: and it was not without aſperſion upon the King himſelf. It was another ſuch wind blew, when at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, at dinner in the open Hall at *Weſtminſter*, a woman fantaſtically diſguiſed, entred on Horſeback, and riding about the Table, delivered the King a Letter, wherein was ſignified the great neglect he ſhewed of ſuch as had done him and his Father Noble ſervices, taxing him for advancing men of unworthy parts, and ſuch other complaints. Which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage; they who guarded the door being ſharply reprehended for ſuffering her to enter in ſuch manner, anſwered, It was the faſhion of the Kings houſe in times of Feſtivals, to keep out none that came as this woman did, to make ſport. Search being made for the woman, ſhe is found, and examined who ſet her on; ſhe confeſſed a Knight gave her money to do it; the Knight is found, and upon examination, boldly anſwered, he did it for the Kings honour, and to no other end, and thereupon eſcaped without farther trouble. It was ſuch another wind blew, when a Knight was taken paſſing by *Pomfret*, with Letters ſealed with the Kings Seal directed to the King of *Scots*, about murthering the Earl of *Lancaſter*; which meſſenger is executed, his head ſet upon the top of the Caſtle, and the Letters reſerved to witneſs the intended plot. Which whether it were feigned or true, the report thereof reflected upon the King; and made many to take the Earls part. It was ſuch another wind blew, when a fanatick fellow, one *John Powdras*, a Tanners Son of *Exeter* gave forth, that himſelf was the true *Edward*, eldeſt Son of the late King *Edward* the firſt, and by a falſe Nurſe was changed in his Cradle; and that the now King *Edward* was a Carters Son, and laid in his place. But this wind was ſoon blown over, when at his death, being drawn and hanged, he confeſſed he had a familiar Spirit in his houſe in the likeneſs of a Cat, that aſſured him he ſhould be King of *England*; and that he had ſerved the ſaid Spirit three years before to bring his purpoſe about. But moſt of all, it was ſuch a wind blew, when a Baron named *William Brewis*, having waſted his eſtate, offers to ſell unto divers men, a part of his Inheritance called *Powis*; *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, obtains leave of the King to buy it, and bargains for it. The two *Roger Mortimers*, Uncle and Nephew, great men likewiſe in thoſe parts, not underſtanding, it ſeems, any thing of the former bargain, contract alſo for the ſame Land with the ſaid Sir *William Brewis*. *Hugh Spencer* the younger, hearing of this ſale, and the Land adjoyning to part of his, obtains a more ſpecial leave of the King, being now his Chamberlain, and buyes it out of their hands. The Earl of *Hereford* complains hereof to the Earl of *Lancaſter*, who thereupon at *Sherborne* enters into a new confederation with divers Barons there aſſembled, taking their Oaths intermutually, to live and dye together in maintaining the Right of the Kingdom, and to procure the baniſhment of the two *Spencers*, Father and Son, whom they now held to be the great Seducers of the King, and the oppreſſours of the State, diſpoſing of all things in Court

The Lords humble themſelves to the King, and the King confirms their Articles.

Ther Earl of *Lancaſter*'s Wife taken from him by a deformed Dwarf.

An affront offered to the King, but put up.

A ſimulated forgery of King *Edward*'s birth.

The Lords confederate again, to have the two Spencers baniſht.

Court at their pleasure, and suffered nothing to be obtained but by their means. And under this pretence they take Arms, and coming armed to St. *Albans*, they send to the King, being then at *London*, the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford* and *Chichester*, (who were there assembled to consult for peace) requiring him as he tendred the quiet of the Realm, to rid his Courts of those Traitors, the *Spencers*, condemned in many Articles of high Treason, by the commonalty of the Land; and withal to grant his Letters Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them and all such as took part with them. The King returns answer, that *Hugh Spencer* the Father was now beyond the Seas, imployed in his business, and his Son was guarding the Cinqueports, according to his Office; and that it was against Law or Custom they should be banished without being heard: and withal swore he should never violate the Oath made at his Coronation, by granting Letters of Pardon to such notorious Offenders, who contemned his person, disturbed the Kingdom, and violated the Royal Majesty. Which answer so exasperated the Lords, that presently they approached to *London*; and lodged in the Suburbs, till they had leave of the King to enter into the City, where they peremptorily urge their demands. To which at length by mediation of the Queen, and the chief Prelates, the King is brought to condescend; and by his Edict, published in *Westminster-Hall*, by the Earl of *Hereford*, the *Spencers* are banished the Kingdom. *Hugh* the Father bearing it, keeps beyond the Seas, but the Son secretly hides himself in *England*, expecting the turn of a better season. And indeed shortly after the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in a Council holden at *London*, pronounceth the banishment of the *Spencers* to have been erroneous; and thereupon the Edict is revoked, and the *Spencers* are called home, and set in as great authority as they were before. But the Lords having thus obtained their desire, with the Kings Letters of indemnity, return home; but yet not with such security as to give over the provision for their own defence. Not long after there fell out an unexpected accident, that suddenly wrought the Lords confusion. The Queen making her progress towards *Canterbury*, intended to lodge at the Castle of *Leeds*, belonging to the Lord *Badlesmere*, (who had been long the Kings Steward, but now took part with the Lords) and sending her Marshal to make ready for her and her train, they who kept the Castle told him plainly, that neither the Queen nor any else should enter there without Letters from their Lord. The Queen her self goes to the Castle, and receives the like answer; whereupon she is driven to take such lodging other where as could be provided. Of which indignity she complains to the King, who took it so to heart, that presently with a power of armed men out of *London*, he lays siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the Keeper *Thomas Colepepper*, sends the Wife and Children of the Lord *Badlesmere* to the *Tower*, and seizeth upon all his Goods and Treasure. And having this power about him, and warmed with success and the instigation of the Queen, suddenly directs his course to *Chichester*, where he keeps his *Christmas*, and there provides for an Army against the Barons: whereof many (seeing the Kings power encreasing) left their Associates, and yield themselves to his mercy. Amongst whom were the two *Roger Mortimers*, men of great might and means; the Lord *Hugh Audeley*, the Lord *Maurice Barkley*, and others: who notwithstanding contrary to their expectation were sent to divers Prisons. The Earls of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* seeing this sudden change, withdrew themselves and their company from about *Gloucester*, towards the North parts; whom the King follows with an Army, wherein were the Earls of *Athol* and *Angus*: and at *Burton* upon *Trent*, where they had made a head, discomfited their Forces, and put them to flight. In the mean time the Earl of *Lancaster* had sent into *Lancashire* a Knight of his, named *Robert Holland*, (one whom he had brought up of nought) to raise more Forces amongst his Tenants; but he hearing of this flight of his Lords, goes with his Forces to take the Kings part. Which so dismayes the Earl, that he began now to think of suing to the King for grace: but being in the way, at a Town called *Borough-Bridge*, there was set upon by Sir *Simon Warde*, Sheriff of *York*, and Sir *Andrew Harkeley*, Constable of *Carlile*, who utterly defeat his Forces. In which fight was slain the Earl of *Hereford*, (who fighting valiantly upon a Bridge, was by a Varlet skulking under the Bridge, thrust with a Spear into the fundament) Sir *Roger Benefield*, Sir *William Sulland*, and others. There was taken the Earl of *Lancaster*, Sir *Roger Clifford*, Sir *John Mowbray*, Sir *Roger Tuckets*, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, with divers other, and were led to *York*. This field was fought the fifteenth day of *March*, in the year 1320. It was not long after that Sir *Hugh Daniel*, Sir *Bartholomew de Badlesmere* were taken. Three dayes after the Earl of *Lancaster* is brought to *Pomfret*, where the King sitting himself in judgement with *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, his Brother, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl *Warren*, *Hugh Spencer* lately created Earl of *Winchester*, and others, sentence of death is given against him, to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded as a Traitor. The two first punishments are pardoned, in regard he was of Royal Blood; and beheaded he was the same day without the Town of *Pomfret*, before his own Castle. To speak of the Miracles said to be done by him after his death, might be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle; and therefore I omit them. By the like Judgment were condemned the Lord *Roger Glifford*, the Lord *Warren Lisle*, the Lord *William Tuchet*, *Thomas Mauduit*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitz-William*, Lord *Cheyney*, *Thomas* Lord *Mowbray*, *Joceline* Lord *Daniel*, all which were executed at *York*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* is taken, drawn, hanged and quartered at *London*; *William* the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windsor*; the Lords *Badlesmere* and *Ashburton* at *Canterbury*; at *Cardiffe* in *Wales*, Sir *William Fleming*; at *Bristow*, Sir *Henry Womington*, and Sir *Henry Montford* Bannerets; at *Glocester*, the Lord *Clifford*, and Sir *William Elmbridge*, principal men in principal places: to spread the terror over the Kingdom, all their Estates and Inheritances are

1320.

The King answers for them.

But at last yields to their Banishment.

But soon revoked.

The Queen is denied to lodge in *Leeds* Castle.

The King revengeth the indignity.

The King provides an Army against the Barons.

Of whom many submit themselves, yet are committed to custody.

The Earl of *Lancaster* defeated.

Is taken prisoner.

1322.

Is condemned, the King himself sitting in Judgement, is beheaded.

Miracles done by him after his death.

Divers Lords and others executed.

The first blood of Nobility shed since the Conquest.

are confiscated, and many new men advanced by the same. And this is the first blood of Nobility that ever was shed in this manner in *England* since *William* the Conquerour.

The King grieveth for the Earl of *Lancaster*'s death.

But not long after, the King in a calmer humour, began to have sense of the Earl of *Lancaster*'s execution, which he discovered upon this occasion. Some about him making earnest suit for a Pardon to one of the Earls followers, and pressing the King hard to it, he fell into a great passion, exclaiming against them as unjust and wicked Counsellors, who would urge him to save the life of a notorious Varlet, and would not speak one word for his near kinsman the Earl of *Lancaster*, who (said he) had he lived, might have been useful to me, and the whole Kingdom, but this fellow the longer he lives, the more mischief he will do: and therefore by the soul of God, he should die the death he had deserved. Sir *Andrew Harkeley*, who was the man that took the Earl of *Lancaster* prisoner being advanced for his service to the Earldom of *Carlile*, enjoyed his honour but a while; for the next year after, either thrust out in discontent by the *Spencers*, envying his high preferment, or combining with the *Scots*, upon hope of a great match, (as he was accused) he is degraded of all his honours, drawn, hanged, and quartered at *London* for Treason.

1322.

King *Edward* summoned into *France*.

But now the King of *France* summons King *Edward* to come and do his homage for *Gascoine*; and he not coming, all his Territories in *France* are adjudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance are seised on by the *French*. Hereupon a Parliament is called; and it is by common consent of all agreed, that the King should not go in person himself, in regard of the distraction of the times, but should send some special men to excuse his appearance: whereupon *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* the Kings brother is sent, but to little effect. Then it is thought fit the Queen should go, and indeed the Queen went; but what was the cause of her going, there is amongst Writers great variance. Some say she was sent by the King to accommodate this business; which she negotiated so well, as that all quarrels were ended, upon condition the King should give to his son *Edward* the Duchy of *Aquitain*, with the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and send him over to do his homage for them. Which after many consultations, the King is wrought to yield unto; and the Prince is sent with the Bishop of *Exeter* and others, to the Court of *France* accordingly: but others say, she went out of discontent, to complain to her brother the King of *France* for wrongs offered her by the *Spencers*, who had so alienated the Kings mind from her, that he would scarce come where she was, nor allow her fit maintenance for her calling. But whatsoever was the cause of her going, there appeared no cause of her staying, but that she had gotten into her company, *Roger Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmore*, a gallant young Gentleman, whom she specially favoured, lately escaped out of the Tower of *London*, by giving his keepers (as was said) a sleeping drink. And withal, the Bishop of *Exeter* perceiving some plots to be in hand, and their close consultations made without him, withdraws himself secretly, and discovers to the King what he observed in their courses. Whereupon the King sends presently for the Queen and Prince, and solicites the King of *France* to hasten their return; which when he saw was neglected and delayed, he caused them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the Kingdom, banished them and all their adherents out of the Land; and withal causeth all the ports to be strongly kept, and sends three Admirals to attend in several Coasts to hinder their landing. It was not without suspicion, that as the King for love of the *Spencers*, had his mind alienated from loving the Queen; so the Queen for love of *Mortimer* had her mind alienated from loving the King: and therefore having him with her, cared not how long she stayed. However it was, when the Queen heard of the Kings Proclamation, she knew there was no returning for her into *England* without some good assistance. Whereupon solliciting her brother the King of *France* he aided her with men and money, say some, but others, that he refusing to aid her, as being wrought under hand by the *Spencers* against her, she left the *French* Court, and went into *Heynault*, to the Earl of that Countrey, who upon a contract between her Son Prince *Edward* and *Philippa* the Earls daughter, aided her with a competent Army under the conduct of his brother *John*; and with them and her beloved *Mortimer*, she took shipping and landed at *Orwell*, a Port near unto *Harwich* in *Suffolk*; where presently came to her the Earl Marshal, *Henry* Earl of *Leicester*, and *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* with the wry neck, called *Torcall*, with many other Lords and Bishops. The King at this time being at *London*, and hearing of the Queens landing with such Forces, and chiefly how all the Realm ran flocking to her, was suddenly struck-en into a great amazement; and though he had his great Counsellors the *Spencers* about him, yet now he found what little good their counsel could do him: and indeed in this case what should he, or what could he do? To stay in *London* was apparent danger, for he plainly saw the *Londoners* to be more inclining to take the Queens part than his; and to go from *London* to any other place was as unsafe, all places being possest either with certain enemies, or uncertain friends: at last the Isle of *Lundy* is thought of, a place plentiful of provision, abounding with Conies, Fish and Fowl, and the Island of hard access, as having but one place in it where it could be entered; and that so narrow that a few might easily keep out many. Upon this place he resolves, and taking with him the Earl of *Gloucester*, the *Spencers* and *Robert Baldock*, with some few others, he takes shipping, but by contrary winds is driven back, and fain through Tempests to land in *Wales*; and there in the Abbey of *Nethe* in *Glamorganshire* kept himself close. In the mean time the Queen was come to *Oxford*, when *Adam* Bishop of *Hereford* took for his Text, *Caput meum doleo*; and thereupon inferred, that the Kingdom being now deadly sick of its head, it was fit to remove that head, and put a sounder in the place. At this time also, the *Londoners* to shew their love to the Queen, seised upon *Walter Stapleton*, the good Bishop of *Exeter* and Lord Treasurer of *England*, left Governour there by the King; and with great despight

1325.

Not coming at the King's reading for, they are proclaimed enemies to the State.

The Queen upon a match of her Son Prince *Edward* with a Daughter of the Earl of *Heynault* is aided by him.

1326.

Coming into *England* many Lords resort unto her.

The King fearing the Queens forces flies to the Isle of *Lundy*.

But is driven into *Wales*.

The *Londoners* favour to the Queen.

His Queen goes to excuse his appearance.

The reason of the Queens going uncertain.

The Queen stales in *France* for the love of *Roger Mortimer*.

despite beheaded him, as also divers others, only because they favoured the King. In the mean time the Queen went from *Oxford* to *Gloceſter*, and from thence to *Briſtow*, where *Hugh Spencer* the Father was, a man of fourſcore and ten years old; who is there taken, and without examination of Judgement, in moſt cruel manner executed, having his heart pulled out of his body being yet alive, and his body left hanging upon the Gallows. After this the Queen ſtayed at *Hereford* the ſpace of a month, and then dividing her Army, ſhe ſends one part of it under the Conduct of *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, and *Rice ap Powel*, a Clark, to find out the King: and this *Rice* being a *Welchman*, and knowing the Countrey well, brought the Earl to the Monaſtery of *Neathe*, where the King was, whom they there take together with *Spencer* the Son, *Robert Baldock*, and *Simon* of *Reading*. The King is by the Biſhop of *Hereford* committed to the cuſtody of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, where all that Winter he was uſed no worſe than was fit for a captive King: but *Edmund* Earl of *Arundel*, *John Daniel*, and *Thomas Micheldene*, at the inſtance of *Mortimer*, are all three beheaded. Preſently after is *Hugh Spencer*, the younger, who was now Earl of *Gloceſter*, drawn, hanged, and quartered; his head ſent up to be ſet upon *London-Bridge*, and his four quarters beſtowed in ſeveral Cities. The like is done with *Simon* of *Reading*, but *Robert Baldock* is committed to *New-gate*, againſt whom, when no juſt cauſe of death could be found, there was uſed ſo much cruelty in his impriſonment, that he ſhortly after died.

Hugh Spencer the Father executed, and moſt cruelly

The King with Spencer the Son and others are taken and kept in cuſtody.

Spencer the Son hanged and quartered.

Preſently after *Chriſtmas* a Parliament is called, wherein it was agreed to depoſe the King and ſet up his Son; which he hearing, refuſed it, unleſs his father would freely reſign. Whereupon are appointed three Biſhops, two Earls, two Abbots, four Barons, and of every City a Burgeſs to go to the King, (in cuſtody then at *Kenelworth*) the Biſhops were *John* of *Stratford* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Adam Tarleton* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln*. But the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln*, getting to the King before the reſt came, perſwade the King to reſign his Crown to his eldeſt Son, craftily promiſing him he ſhould have as good maintenance afterward, as ever he had when he was King: and contrarily threatning him, that if he did it not, the people would exclude both him and his Son too, and make a King of another Race. By theſe promiſes and threatnings, the meek King is drawn to yield to the Biſhops motion: but when afterward the Biſhop of *Hereford* and the other Commiſſioners came, and were ſet in a place appointed to take his reſignation, the King coming forth amongſt them in mourning Robes, upon a ſudden fell down in a ſwoon; in whom the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, had much ado to recover life: but then the Biſhop of *Hereford* riſing up, delivered the cauſe of their coming, as the other Biſhops before had done. To which the King anſwered, that as he much grieved his people ſhould be ſo hardened againſt him, as utterly to reject him, ſo it was ſome comfort unto him, that they would yet receive his Son to be their Sovereign. After this *Thomas Blunt* Knight, Steward of the Kings houſe, brake the Staffe of his Office; and *William Traſſel*, Speaker of the Parliament, in the name of the whole Kingdom, pronounced a Form of renouncing all Allegiance to *Edward* of *Carnarvan*. Here *Caxton* writes, that from the time of this Kings depoſing, which was in *December*, to the time of his Sons Crowning, which was not till *Candlemas* following, all Pleas of the *Kings-Bench* were ſtayed, and all Priſoners arreſted by Sheriffs, commanded to be ſet at liberty, which ſeems to have little probability, ſeeing his Son *Edward* preſently upon his depoſing was received for King. But howſoever, ſo great a Dowry was then aſſigned to Queen *Iſabel*, that ſcarce a third part of the revenues of the Crown is left for the new King and his Wife. And to the Late King is allowed a hundred Marks a month for his maintenance, with which he lived with his Couſin Earl of *Leiceſter*, in good plenty and contentment for a time; only this grieved him moſt of all (he ſaid) that the Queen his Wife would never be gotten to come to ſee him: For he ſwore moſt devoutly, that from the time he firſt ſaw her face he could never like of any other woman. By which it may appear, that neither *Gaveſton* nor the *Spencers* had ſo debauched him, as to make him falſe to his Bed, or to be diſloyal to his Queen. But the Queen being hardened againſt him, and conceiving he had too great liberty under the Earl of *Leiceſter*, by advice of her peſtilent Counſellour, *Adam Tarleton*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, appoints *Thomas Gurney*, and *John Matrevers* Knights, to take him from the Earl into their own cuſtody, and to carry him whither they thought good. Who thereupon take him from *Kenelworth*, and carry him firſt to *Corf* Caſtle, and from thence to *Briſtow*, where they ſhut him in the Caſtle: till upon knowledge of a Plot laid to get him out, and ſend him beyond Sea, they took him in the night and carried him to *Barkely* Caſtle, where by the way they abuſed him moſt inhumanely, as Sir *Thomas de la more* a Knight of *Gloceſterſhire*, in his life relateth. For to the end he ſhould not be known, they ſhaved his head and beard, and that in moſt beaſtly manner; for they took him from his Horſe, and ſet him upon a Hillock, and then taking puddle water out of a Ditch there by, they went to waſh him, his Barber telling him that cold water muſt ſerve for this time: whereat the miſerable King looking ſternly upon him, ſaid, That whether they would or no, he would have warm water to waſh him, and therewithal to make good his word, he preſently ſhed forth a ſhowr of tears. Never was King turned out of a Kingdom in ſuch a manner. Many Kingdoms have been loſt by the chance of War, but this Kingdom was loſt before any Dice were caſt; no blow ſtruck, no Battel fought; done forcibly, and yet without force; violently, and yet with conſent; both parties agreed, yet neither pleaſed; for the King was not pleaſed to leave his Kingdom, and the Queen was not pleaſed to leave him his life. It was not ſafe to leave him a part, by which he might afterward recover the whole: and therefore this was the mark now aimed at, having taken away his Kingdom openly, how they might take away his life ſecretly; be the

1326.

The Parliament agrees to depoſe the King and ſet up his Son.

The King is perſwaded by the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincoln to reſign his Crown to his Son.

Coming to make his reſignation he falls in a ſwoon.

The King is depoſed.

He is inhumanely uſed.

Authors

Authors of it, and not be seen in it, but this must be the Contents of a Chapter hereafter.

Of his Taxations.

BY this King it appears there is something else besides the grievance of Taxations, that alienates the minds of *English* Subjects from their King; for never were fewer Taxations than in this Kings time, yet never were the Subjects minds more alienated from their King, then they were from him. Before his Coronation in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Clergy, and a twentieth of the Temporalty. In his fifth year in a Parliament at *London*, was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporalty. In his fifteenth year was granted the sixth penny of temporal mens goods, through *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, towards his Wars with *Scotland*. And more than these we read not of; but then at the defeat of the Earl of *Lancaster*, there were Confiscations that supplied the place of Taxations, by which (as one saith) he became the richest King that had been since the Conquest.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE ordained that the money of his Father, though counted base by the People, should be currant. In the eighth year of his Reign, by reason of a dearth which raised the price of all Victuals, It was ordained by Parliament, that an Ox fatted with Grass should be sold for fifteen shillings, fatted with Corn, for twenty, the best Cow for twelve shillings; a fat Hog of two years old, three shillings four pence; a fat Sheep shorn, fourteen pence, with the Fleece, twenty pence; a fat Goose for two pence half penny; a fat Capon two pence; a fat Hen a penny; four Pidgeons a penny; whosoever sold for more, should forfeit their ware to the King. But after these rates imposed, all kind of Victuals grew so scarce, that Provision could hardly be made for the Kings House; whereupon shortly after, the Order was revoked, and Market folks permitted to make the best of their Wares. In this Kings time an Ordinance was made against Knights Templars, accused of Heresie and other crimes; and they were all apprehended, and committed to divers Prisons. The like was done by all the Kings of Christendom, at one instant, being condemned in a General Council at *Vienna*. In the 14 year of his Reign, on the 15 of *October*, the Clerks of the Exchequer went towards *York* with the Book called *Doomsday Book*, and other Records, and Provision that laded one and twenty Carts; but in half a year they were brought back again.

Price of Victuals in a dearth.

Knights Templars accused of Heresie, and committed to prison.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

IN the 17 year of his Reign the Bishop of *Hereford* was arrested, accused of high Treason, for aiding the Kings Enemies in their late Rebellion; but he refused to answer, (being a consecrated Bishop) without leave of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, whose Suffragan he was, (and who he said was his direct Judge, next the Pope) or without the consents of his fellow Bishops, who then all arose, and humbly craved the Kings Clemency in his behalf; but finding the King implacable, they took him away from the Bar, and delivered him to the custody of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. Shortly after he was again taken and convented as before, which the Clergy understanding, the Arch-bishops, *Canterbury York*, and *Dublin*, with ten other Bishops, all with their Crosses erected, went to the place of Judgement, and again took him away with them; charging all men, upon pain of Excommunication, to forbear to lay violent hands upon him. With which audacious Act, the King was so much displeased, that he presently commanded inquiry to be made *ex Officio Judicis*, concerning those Objections against the Bishop: wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his Goods and Possessions seised into the Kings hands. In this Kings time the Crowchet Fryers came first into *England*. In his time Pope *John* the two and twentieth, first instituted the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, begun before by *Urban* the fourth.

A Bishop arrested by the King, was rescued by the other Bishops.

Crowchet Fryers came first into *England*.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THis King founded *Orial* Colledge, and St. *Mary*-Hall in *Oxford*: He builded a Church of Fryers at his Mannor of *Langley*, where the Soul of *Gaveston* should be prayed for. In this Kings twentieth year, *Richard Rothing* Sheriff of *London*, builded the Parish Church of *Garlick-Hithe* in *London*; *Ralph Baldock* Bishop of *London*, gave Two thousand Marks to the building of the New work of the Chappel, on the South-side of *Paul's* Church: and left much more by his Testament.

Orial Colledge in *Oxford* founded.

Casualties.

IN the eighth year of this Kings Reign, was so great a dearth, that Horses and Dogs were eaten, and Thieves in prison pluckt in pieces those that were newly brought in amongst them, and eat them half alive; which continuing three years, brought in the end such a pestilence, that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead. In the fourth year of his Reign, the Church of *Middleton* in *Dorsetshire*, with all the Monuments, was consumed with Lightning, the Monks being at Mattins. In this Kings time, digging the Foundation of a Work about *Pauls*, were found more than a hundred heads of Oxen and Kine, which confirmed the Opinion, That of old time it had been the Temple of *Diana*, and that there was the Sacrifice of Beasts.

A marvellous dearth.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Isabel*, Daughter of *Philip* the *Fair*, King of *France*, she being but twelve years of age; who lived his Wife twenty years, his Widow thirty, and dying at threescore and three years old at *Rysings* near *London*, was buried in the midst of *Gray-Friers* Quire in *London*. By her he had issue two Sons and two Daughters; his eldest Son named *Edward* of *Windsor*,

because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. His second Son named *John* of *Eltham*, because born there, was at twelve years old created Earl of *Cornwal:* He died in *Scotland* in the flower of his Youth, unmarried. His eldest Daughter *Joan*, being a Child, was married in the fourth year of King *Edward* her Brother, to *David* Prince of *Scotland*, Son to King *Robert Bruce*, at seven years old; who coming afterward into *England* to visit her Brother, died here, and was buried at the *Gray-Friars* in *London*. His second Daughter *Eleanor*, was married to *Reginald* the second Earl of *Gelder*, with a portion of fifteen thousand pounds; and had issue by him two Sons, who were Earls successively.

Of his Personage and Condition.

HE was fair of body, and of great strength, but given much to drink, which made him oftentimes bewray his own Secrets. For his other conditions, his greatest fault was, he loved but one; for if his love had been divided, it could not have been so violent. He was extream in nothing but in loving; and though love moderated, be the best of affections, yet the extremity of it is the worst of passions. He was rather unfortunate than unhappy; seeing unfortunateness is in the event, unhappiness in the cause: and if his fortune had been to love good men, his own goodness would have made him happy. Two Vertues were eminent in him above all his Predecessours, Continence, and Abstinence: So continent, that he left no base issue behind him; so abstinent, that he took no base courses for raising of money. They who despised him being alive, so much honoured him being dead, that they could have found in their hearts to make him a Saint.

Of his Death and Burial.

Wales devised to take away his life.

MAny waies were attempted to take away his life. First, they vexed him in his diet, allowing him nothing he could well endure to eat, but this succeeded not. Then they lodged him in a Chamber over Carrion and dead Carcasses, enough to have poisoned him; and indeed he told a workman at his Window, He never endured so great a misery in all his life: but neither did this succeed. Then they attempted it by Poysons, but whether by the strength of his Constitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this succeed. At last the pestilent *Achitophel*, the Bishop of *Hereford*, devised a Letter to his Keepers, blaming them for giving him too much liberty; and for not doing the service which was expected from them: and in the end of his Letter wrote this Line, *Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum est:* Craftily contriving it in this doubtful sense, that both the Keepers might find sufficient warrant, and himself might find sufficient excuse. The Keepers guessing at his meaning, took it in the worst sense, and accordingly put it in execution. They took him in his Bed, and casting heavy Bolsters upon him, and pressing them hard down, stifled him; and not content with that, they heated an Iron red hot, and through a Pipe thrust it up into his Fundament, that no marks of violence might be seen: but though none were seen, yet some were heard; for when the Fact was in doing, he was heard to roar and cry all the Castle over. *Gourney* and *Matrevers*, his murtherers, looking for Reward, had the Reward of Murtherers. For the Queen and Bishop *Tarleton* disavowing the command, threatned to question them for the Kings death; whereupon they fled beyond Sea: and *Gourney* after three years, being taken in *France*, and sent into *England*, was in the way upon the Sea, beheaded. *Matrevers* flying into *Germany*, had the grace to repent, but lived ever after miserably. Thus died this King in the year 1327. more than half a year after his deposing; when he had reigned almost 19 years, lived 43. His Body was carried to *Glocester*, and there without any Funeral Pomp buried in the Monastery of St. *Peter*, by the Benedictine Monks.

1327.

Of Men of Note in his Time.

IN this Kings time, of Martial men were many, whose acts have been spoken of in the late Kings life. Of learned men also many, as *John Duns* the great Logician, called *Doctor Subtilis*, born in *Northumberland*, at *Emildune*, a Village three Miles distant from *Ainwick*; though both the *Scots* and the *Irish* challenge him for theirs; *Robert Walsingham* a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers Treatises; *Robert Baston* born in *Nottinghamshire*, a Carmelite Frier of *Scarborough*, whom King *Edward* took with him into *Scotland*, to write some remembrances of his Victories: but being taken by the *Scots*, was constrained by *Robert Bruce* to write Remembrances of his Overthrows; *William Rishanger*, a Monk of St. *Albans*, an Historiographer; *Ralph Baldock*, Bishop of *London*, who wrote a History, entituled, *Historia Anglica*; *John Walsingham*, a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers Treatises; *Nicholas de Lyra*, a *Jew* by Birth, who wrote many Excellent Treatises in Divinity; *William Ockam* a Frier Minor, who wrote divers Treatises, and namely against *John Duns*, and also against Pope *John* the 23. in favour of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; *Thomas Halsewood*, a Canon of *Leeds* in *Kent*, who wrote a Chronicle called *Chronicum Compendiarium*; *Robert Perscrutator*, born in *Yorkshire*, a Black Frier and a Philosopher, or rather a Magician; and last, though not least worthy to be remembred, *John Mandevile*, the great Traveller, a Doctor of Physick, and a Knight.

John Duns called *Doctor Subtilis*, when he lived.

John Mandevile the great Traveller, when he lived

Majors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings Reign.*

In his first year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Major.
Nicholas Pigot, *Nigellus Drury*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Nicholas Farindon was Major.
William Basing, *James Butler*, Sheriffs.

In

In his third year,
Thomas Romaine was Major.
Roger le Palmer, *James* of St. *Edmund*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Richard Reffam was Major.
Simon Cooper, *Peter Blackney*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *John Gysors* was Major.
Simon Metwood, *Richard Wilford*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *John Gysors* continued Major.
John Lambin, *Adam Lutkin*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Nicholas Farandon was Major.
Robert Gitrden, *Hugh Garton*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *John Gisors* was Major.
Stephen Abingdon, *Hammond Chickwel*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Stephen de Abington was Major.
Hammond Goodcheap, *Will. Bodeleigh*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
John Wingrave was Major.
William Caston, *Ralph Balancer*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
John Wingrave continued Major.
John Prior, *William Furneaux*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
John Wingrave continued Major.
John Pointel, *John Balling*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Major.
Simon de Abington, *John Preston*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Nicholas Farendon was Major.
Reinauld at the Conduit, *Will. Prodham*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Major.
Richard Constantine, *Rich. de Hackney*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel continued Major.
John Grantham, *Richard de Ely*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Nicholas Farendon was Major.
Adam of *Salisbury*, *John* of *Oxford*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Major.
Benet of *Fulham*, *John Cawston*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel continued Major.
Gilbert Mordon, *John Causton*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Richard Britain was Major.
Richard Rothing, *Roger Chaunteleve*, Sheriffs.

The Life and Reign of KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

Of his coming to the Crown, and Acts done in his Minority.

Anno Dom. 1327.

EDWARD of *Windsor*, eldest Son of King *Edward* the Second, by the Order of Parliament, upon his Fathers Resignation, was proclaimed King of *England*, on the five and twentieth day of *January*, in the year 1327. And because he had not yet received the Order of Knighthood, he was by *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* girt solemnly with the Sword; and on the first day of *February* following, was Crowned at *Westminster* by *Walter Reginald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*: and thereupon a general Pardon is proclaimed, which hath since been used as a Custom with all succeeding Kings; that at their first coming to the Crown, a general Pardon is alwaies granted. And because the King was under age, scarce fifteen years old (though *Froyssard* saith he was then eighteen) there were twelve appointed Governours of him and the Kingdom; namely the Arch-bishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and *Worcester*; *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, Earl Marshal, *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the Kings Uncles; *John* Earl *Warren*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Pierce*, *Oliver* Lord *Ingham*, and *John* Lord *Rosse*: but though these were appointed and bore the name, yet the Queen and *Roger Mortimer* took all the authority to themselves. The first action that was undertaken, was an Expedition against the *Scots*; for *Robert Bruce*, though now old and sickly, and (as was said) Leprous: yet considering the youth of the new King, and the distractions of the Kingdom, thought it now a fit time to do some good upon *England*; and entring the *English* Borders with an Army, sent defiance to King *Edward*. Whereupon an Army is raised, and the *Heynaulders*, (whom the Queen had brought over) are joined with the *English*: but a variance falling out between the two Nations, made the Action not successful. For the Kings Army encountring the *Scots* at *Stankope* Park in *Weredal* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, though three times as many as the *Scots*, as being Thirty thousand; yet through this variance, but more through Treason of some great men, suffered them all to escape their hands, and the *Scots* returned home in safety, the *English* with dishonour: and after this, the *English* seeing the *Heynaulders* could do them no good, sent them away to their own Country. In King *Edward's* second year, his Marriage with *Philippa* of *Heynault* is solemnized, (a dispensation being first gotten, because of their nearness in Blood) and a Parliament is holden at *Northampton*, where the King made three Earls; *John* of *Eltham* his Brother, Earl of *Cornwal*; *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*; and *James Butler* of *Ireland*, Earl of *Ormond*. And in this Parliament a dishonourable Peace is concluded with the *Scots*; and confirmed by a match between *David Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, being but seven years old, and *Joan*, Sister to King *Edward* not so old. At which time by the secret working of Queen *Isabel*, *Roger Mortimer*, and Sir *James Douglass*, the King surrenders by his Charter all his Title of Soveraignty to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, restores divers Deeds and Instruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous Evidence called *Ragmans Roll*, and many ancient Jewels, and Monuments, amongst which was the Black Cross of *Scotland*; and besides, any *English* man is prohibited to hold Lands in *Scotland*, unless he were a dweller there. In consideration whereof King *Bruce* was to pay 30000 Marks, and to renounce his Claim to the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, and any other place possessed by him in *England*. This was no good beginning, and yet worse followed after. For another Parliament being holden at *Winchester*, *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the Kings Uncle, is there accused, and condemned upon his confession, for intending to restore his Brother, the late King *Edward*; an intention only without any fact, yet condemned he was, and brought to the Scaffold: but generally so beloved of the people, that he stood on the Scaffold from one a Clock till five, before any Executioner could be found that would do the Office; till at last a silly wretch of the Marshalsey was gotten to cut off his head. But the Authors of his death escaped not long themselves, for in the third year of the Kings Reign, another Parliament is holden at *Nottingham*, wherein the Queen hath all her great Joynture taken from her, and is put to her Pention of a thousand pounds a year, and her self confined to a Castle, where she remained the rest of her daies, no fewer than thirty years. A time long enough to find that her being the Daughter of a King, the Sister of a King, the Wife of a King, and the Mother of a King, were glorious Titles, but all

King *Edward* the third crowned.

A general Pardon at the Kings Coronation, when first begun.

His first action was an Expedition against the *Scots*, but without success, and why.

He marries *Philippa* of *Heynault*.

King *Edward* surrenders all his Title to the Crown of *Scotland*.

1329.

Edmund Earl of *Kent*, the Kings Uncle, beheaded, and why.

King *Edward* confineth his Mother.

not

1330.

not worth the liberty of a mean Estate. And as for *Mortimer*, (lying then in the Castle of *Nottingham*, and lately created Earl of the *Marches* in *Wales*) he was seised on in this manner; the King taking with him *William Montacute*, *Robert Holland*, and others, go secretly one Night by Torch-light, through a privy way under ground, till they come to the Queens Chamber; where leaving the King without, they entred and found the Queen with *Mortimer*, ready to go to bed: then laying hands on him they led him forth, after whom the Queen followed, crying, *Bel fits, ayes pitie du gentil Mortimer*; Good Son, good Son, take pity upon the gentle *Mortimer*, suspecting that her Son had been amongst them. This course was taken to apprehend him for avoiding of tumult, having no fewer than Nineteore Knights and Gentlemen, besides other meaner servants continually about him. But thus seised on, he is committed presently to the *Tower*, accused of divers great Crimes, whereof these were chief; That he had procured the late King's death; That he had been the Author of the *Scots* safe escaping at *Stanhope* Park, corrupted with the gift of Thirty thousand pounds; That he had procured the late Marriage and Peace with *Scotland*, so dishonourable to the King and Kingdom; That he had been too familiar with the Queen, as by whom she was thought to be with Child. Of which Articles he was found guilty and condemned; and thereupon is drawn and hanged upon the common Gallows, at the Elms, now called *Tyburn*, where his body remained two daies as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders.

Seiseth upon Mortimer, and in what manner.

Who is hanged at Tyburn.

After these businesses in *England*, there comes a new business upon him from the King of *France*; for about this time *Philip le Bel*, King of *France*, the Queens Brother, dying without issue, the right of succession to the Crown is devolved upon the Heir to *Charles* a former King, wherein are Competitors *Philip* Duke *de Valois*, and *Edward* King of *England*. *Edward* is the nearer in blood, but draws his Pedigree by a Female; *Philip* the farther off, but descending by all Males: and because the Law *Salique* excluding Females, was conceived as well to exclude all descendants by Females; therefore is *Philip*'s Title preferred before King *Edward*'s, and *Philip* is received and Crowned King of *France*: to which preferment of his, *Robert de Artois*, a Peer of great power, gave no small furtherance. And now as soon as *Philip* was invested in the Crown, he summons *Edward* to come and do his Homage for the Duchy of *Guyen*, and his other Lands in *France*, held of that Crown, according to the Custom; which though it were some prejudice to King *Edward*'s claim afterward, yet in regard his Kingdom of *England* was scarce well settled, and himself was young, he was contented to do it: and thereupon the sixth of *June*, in the year 1329. King *Edward* in a Crimson Velvet Gown, imbroidered with Leopards, with his Crown on his head, his Sword by his side, and Golden Spurs on his heels, presents himself in the Body of the Cathedral Church of *Amyens* before King *Philip*, sitting in his Chair of Estate, in a Velvet Gown of a violet Colour, imbroidered with Flowers *de Lis* of Gold, his Crown on his head, and his Scepter in his hand, with all his Princes and Peers about him. The Viscount *Melun* Chamberlain of *France*, first commands King *Edward* to put off his Crown, his Sword, and his Spurs, and to kneel down, which he did on a Crimson Velvet Cushion before King *Philip*; and then the Viscount putting both his hands together between the hands of the King of *France*, pronounced the words of the Homage, which were these: You become Liegeman to my Master here present, as Duke of *Aquitaine*, and Peer of *France*; and you promise to bear faith and loyalty to him: Say yea. And King *Edward* said *Yea*, and kissed the King of *France* on the mouth, as Lord of the Fee. The like homage also he did for the Earldom of *Ponthieu*. But this act of submission left a rancour in King *Edward*'s heart, which afterwards brake so out, that it had been good for *France* it had never been exacted.

King Edward claims the Crown of France, but Philip of Valois is preferred, and why.

King Edward doth homage to the King of France for his Duchy of Guyenne, and the manner of doing it.

This done, King *Edward* returns home, and there finds a new business with *Scotland*, upon this occasion. *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John Baliol*, (sometimes King of *Scotland*) two and thirty years after his Fathers deposition, begin now to shew himself, attempting the recovery of that Crown; and coming out of *France*, where he had all that while remained, and getting aid under-hand in *England*, with them he suddenly assails those who had the Government of *Scotland*, during the Nonage of the young King *David* (being at that time with the King of *France*) and in a Battel overcame them, with the slaughter of many Noble men, and Thousands of the common people; and thereupon was immediately Crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But notwithstanding this great defeat, King *Baliol* was forced to retire himself into *England*, to get more aid of King *Edward*. Who now shews himself in the action, joins with *Baliol* against his Brother-in-law King *David*, goes in person with a strong Army to recover *Berwick*, which after three months siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, is taken in, and the Army of the *Scots* which came to the rescue thereof, at *Halidown-Hill*, utterly defeated: where were slain seven Earls, ninety Knights and Bannerets, four hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common Souldiers, as our Writers report: as theirs, but fourteen thousand. And with this effusion of blood is *Baliol* returned to his miserable Kingdom; and to hold good correspondence with the King of *England* hereafter, doth him homage for his Realm of *Scotland*, and the Islands adjacent. But though he had a Kingdom, yet he had not quietness, for many of the *Scots* aided by the *French*, made War upon him divers years after; during all which time, King *David* with his Wife remained in *France*. If any man marvel why King *Edward* would aid *Baliol* against King *David*, who had married his sister, he may consider that alliances, how near soever, weigh but light in the Scales of State.

Edward Baliol is crowned King of Scotland.

King Edward aideth Baliol against his brother-in-law King David.

1333.

The Scots defeated at Halidown-Hill.

About this time, the Isle of *Man* is conquered by *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, for which service King *Edward* gave him the Title of *King of Man*.

William Montacute Earl of Salisbury hath the Title given him to be King of Man.

Of

Of his Acts after he came of Age.

King Edward is perswaded by Robert d'Artois to make War upon France.

AND now *Robert* of *Artois* baniſhed out of *France*, comes into *England*, whom King *Edward* makes Earl of *Richmond*, and of his Council. This *Robert* perſwades King *Edward* to make War upon *France*, to which Crown (he ſaid) he had more right than he that held it. With whoſe perſwaſions, King *Edward* is at laſt reſolved to undertake the enterpriſe; and to furniſh himſelf of noble Chieftains, he at one time in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the eighth year of his Reign, creates ſix Earls, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* he made Earl of *Derby*, *William Montacute* he made Earl of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Audeley* Earl of *Gloceſter*, *William Clinton* Earl of *Huntington*, and *Robert Clifford*, or *Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk*: alſo twenty Knights of whom *Thomas de la Moore*, who writ the life of the Kings Father, was one. Withal he ſends the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, to procure Leagues of amity with divers Princes abroad. Where it is ſcarce worth remembring, what *Froiſſard* mentions here, that certain young Gentlemen covered one of their eyes with a piece of Silk, and vowed to ſee but with one eye, till it might be ſeen, what great deeds of Arms they performed; but for all this Vow of theirs, we hear nothing of their exploits. And as the King of *England* laboured to procure himſelf friends, ſo likewiſe the King of *France* got to take his part, the Biſhop of *Liege*, with the Dukes and Earls of *Gelders*, *Juliers*, *Cleve*, *Heynault*, and *Brabant*, and with the Arch-biſhop of *Colen*, and *Valeran* his Brother; *John* King of *Bohemia*, Earl of *Luxemberg*, *Henry* Count Palatine, *Aubert* Biſhop of *Mentz*, *Otho* Duke of *Auſtria*, *Ame* Earl of *Geneva*, with many other Princes and Captains out of *Germany*, *Spain*, and other Countries. King *Edward* thus reſolved in himſelf, and furniſhed with friends abroad, goes over into *Flanders*, with his Queen and Children, makes his reſidence at *Antwerp*; where by perſwaſion of the *Flemings*, he takes upon him the Style, Title, and Arms of the King of *France*: for by this they accounted themſelves diſobliged of the Bond of Twenty hundred thouſand Crowns, which they had entred into, never to bear Arms againſt the King of *France*: and hereupon the League was eſtabliſhed between them and King *Edward*. And from this time forward the Kings of *England* quartered the Arms of *France* with thoſe of *England*; and took upon them the name of *Kings* of *France*. And now King *Edward* for a beginning to put his claim in execution, ſets upon *Cambray*, and enters *France* by the way of *Vermandois* and *Thierach*. On the other ſide King *Philip* ſeiſeth on the Duchy of *Guienne*, and ſends thither the *Counte d' Eu*, Conſtable of *France*, with the Earls of *Foix* and *Armigniack*. At laſt both Armies came ſo near together, that a fight was appointed the Friday after: but upon better conſideration, the *Engliſh* thought it no diſcretion to give Battel to an Army ſo much greater than their own, if they could avoid it; and the *French* thought it as little diſcretion for them to hazard the perſon of the Prince within his own Kingdom; and perhaps were not a little moved with the warning given them by *Robert* King of *Sicily*, a great Aſtronomer, That he foreſaw by the Stars, ſome great misfortune to threaten the *French*, if they ſhould that day fight with the *Engliſh*, King *Edward* being preſent. And thus both Armies having their ſeveral reaſons to decline the Battel, they parted without doing any thing; only an accident happened ſcarce worth remembring, yet muſt be remembred. A Hare ſtarting out before the head of the *French* Army, cauſed a great ſhout to be made; whereupon, they who ſaw not the Hare, but only heard the ſhout, ſuppoſing it to be the on-ſet of the battel, diſpoſed themſelves to fight: and fourteen Gentlemen for encouragement ſake, as the cuſtom is, were Knighted; called afterward in merriment, Knights of the Hare.

1339.

The Armies of the two Kings being near together, yet part without fighting and why.

Knights of the Hare, why ſo called.

But now King *Edward* muſt a little look home, and therefore leaving the Queen in *Brabant*, he paſſeth himſelf into *England* about *Candlemas*, having been in *Brabant* about a year; and landing at the *Tower* about midnight, and finding it unguarded, was ſo much diſpleaſed, that he preſently ſends for the Major of *London*, commanded him to bring before him the Chancellor and Treaſurer, with Sir *John Saint Paul*, *Michael Wath*, *Philip Thorpe*, *Henry Stratford*, Clergy-men, (who it ſeems were Officers for his Receipes) and *John Stonore* Juſtice of the Bench: all which, except the Chancellour, were apprehended and committed to priſon; as were afterward in like manner, divers Officers of Juſtice, and Accomptants, upon enquiry of their unjuſt proceeding. During the Kings abode in *England*, *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* left in *Flanders* to oppoſe the *French*, having performed divers great exploits, were at laſt in an encounter about *Liſle*, ſo overlaid by multitude, as they were both taken and ſent priſoners to *Paris*. Beſides, about this time two accidents happened that were thought would be great rubs in King *Edward's* proceeding; one, that his Wifes Father, *William* Earl of *Heynault*, dying, and leaving his Son to ſucceed, this ſon left his Brother King *Edward*, and fell to take part with the King of *France*; the other, that the Duke of *Normandy*, thinking himſelf as ſtrong as ever *William* Duke of *Normandy* was that conquered *England*, he ſaw no reaſon but he might conquer it as well as that *William*; and thereupon makes preparation by Sea and Land to attempt the enterpriſe: but theſe were but vapours that never came to be winds, at leaſt brought no ſtorms. For *John* Earl of *Heynault* had quickly enough of the King of *France*, and was ſoon after reconciled to his Brother King *Edward*; and the Duke of *Normandy* went no further than preparations; for indeed King *Edward* proſecuted his courſes againſt *France* with ſuch heat, that all the neighbouring Princes ſeeing a fire kindled ſo near their own borders, were glad to look to themſelves at home. But now to impede the King of *England's* return into *France*, King *Philip* had provided a mighty Navy in the Haven of *Sluce*, conſiſting of two hundred ſail of Ships, (beſides many Gallies) and two thouſand armed men in the Port ready to encounter him upon his landing; whereof King *Edward* being advertiſed, prepares the like number of Ships, and ſets out to

William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, and Robert Ufford Earl of Suffolk taken priſoners by the French.

Sea

Sea upon *Midſummer* Eve, is met the morrow after with a Navy likewiſe from the North parts, conducted by Sir *Robert Morley*, and encounters his Enemy who lay to intercept him with ſuch force and courage, and ſuch advantage of Wind and Sun, that he utterly defeated their whole Navy, took and ſunk all their Ships, ſlew Thirty thouſand men, and landed with as great glory, as ſuch a victory, (the greateſt that ever before was gotten by the *Engliſh* at Sea) could yield, though King *Edward* himſelf was there wounded with an Arrow in the thigh. Moſt of the *French*, rather than to endure the Arrows of the *Engliſh*, or be taken, deſperately leapt into the Sea; whereupon the *French* Kings Jeſter, ſet on to give notice to him of his overthrow, (which being ſo ill news, none elſe would willingly impart unto him) ſaid, and oftentimes repeated it in the Kings hearing; Cowardly *Engliſh*-men, Daſtardly *Engliſh*-men, Faint-hearted *Engliſh*-men! The King at length asked him why? For that (ſaid he) they durſt not leap out of their Ships into the Sea as our brave *French*-men did. By which ſpeech the King apprehended a notion of this overthrow, which the *French* attributed to *Nicholas Buchet*, one of their Chief Commanders, who had armed his Ships with men of baſe condition, (content with ſmall pay) and refuſed Gentlemen and ſufficient Souldiers, in regard they required greater wages. And indeed it often happens, that the avarice of Commanders is the occaſion of great defeats.

King *Edward* takes and ſinks two hundred ſail of *French* Ships.

How the *French* King's Jeſter gave notice of his overthrow to the King.

By this Victory King *Edward* gained a free entrance into *Flanders*, and preſently went and beſieged *Tournay* with an Army of five and fifty thouſand; but was ſo valiantly encountred by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Earl of *Armigniack*, that they routed his Army, and ſlew four thouſand upon the place: which ſo enraged King *Edward*, that two daies after he ſent a Challenge to King *Philip* to meet him in a ſingle Combat, or with an hundred againſt as many, before the Walls of *Tournay*. King *Philip* anſwers that his challenge being made to *Philip de Valois*, without mention of King, he took it not to be to him, who was truly King of *France*; but he wiſhed him to remember the Homage he had done him at *Amiens*, and the wrong he did to the Chriſtian world, by his troubleſome courſes to hinder him from his Voyage intended to the *Holy-land*. Beſides this anſwer in writing, he ſends to him by word of mouth; that by his challenge he hazarded nothing of his own, but expoſed only the Dominion of another, which was againſt all reaſon: but if he would ſet his Kingdom of *England*, though much meaner, againſt his of *France*, he would then accept the challenge, and meet him in the field in ſingle Combat. But this King *Edward* would not hearken to, for as he was valiant to make the challenge, ſo he was circumſpect to look to the conditions. But hereupon he continues his ſiege of *Tournay*; to the relief whereof King *Philip* ſends all the Forces he could poſſibly make by himſelf or his friends: and after the ſiege had continued three months, partly by mediation of *Robert* King of *Sicily*, but chiefly by the Lady *Jane* of *Valois*, ſiſter to King *Philip*, and mother of King *Edward*'s Wife, (who had vowed her ſelf a Nun, but to do this good office, travelled from one to another) a Truce was concluded for a year, and both their Armies are diſſolved.

King *Edward*'s Army of five and fifty thouſand defeated.

King *Edward* ſends a challenge to the King of *France*, and the King of *France*'s anſwer.

A Truce is concluded between the two Kings.

After this, King *Edward* returning into *England*, was advertiſed how the *Scots* after many other places gained, had beſieged the Caſtle of *Striveling*; for relief whereof, the King makes all the haſt he can: and yet before he could come, it was by force of Battery, compelled to render it ſelf upon conditions. Then King *Edward* being at *Berwick*, paſſeth to *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine*, where he ſtaies a month, waiting for his proviſion that was to come by Sea; but that being driven into other parts by Tempeſt, he makes a Truce with the *Scots* for three or four months, and then returns home. In the time of this Truce, the *Scots* ſend to King *David*, to come and govern the Kingdom in his own perſon; who thereupon taking his leave of the King of *France*, with whom he had remained ſeven years, he with his Wife *Joan*, King *Edward*'s ſiſter, returns into *Scotland*: where, after he had been moſt honourably received by the Prince of *Orknay*, and the other Lords and Barons of the Kingdom, as ſoon as the Truce was ended, with a ſtrong Army enters *Northumberland*, paſſing on to *New-Caſtle* upon *Tyne*, where he plants his Camp. Of this Caſtle, *John Nevile* was left Governour by King *Edward*, who ſending out certain Companies, took the Earl *Murray* priſoner; and with the ſlaughter of divers of his men, and rich booties, returned back to his Caſtle: which ſo incenſed King *David*, that he aſſaulted the Caſtle as a man enraged, but finding it too ſtrong for his taking, he then paſſed into the Province of *Durham*, where he uſed all kinds of cruelty, firſt upon the Country, and then upon the City, killing Men, Women, and Children, Clergy, and others; burning and deſtroying Houſes, and Churches, and utterly defacing it. From thence he paſſeth on to the Caſtle of *Werk*, which Caſtle belonged to *William Montacute*, Earl of *Saliſbury*, in right of his Wife; but himſelf being then priſoner in *France*, only his Counteſs, and one *William Montacute* a Couſin of his, was in the Caſtle. This *William* perceiving the *Scottiſh* Horſe to be ſo over-charged with pillage, that they were ſcarce able to go, iſſues out of the Caſtle with forty horſe, ſets upon them, kills two hundred, and takes ſixſcore, whom he brings with their rich pillage, into the Caſtle. King *David* ſoon after with his whole Army arrived, but hearing of King *Edward*'s coming, (who certified of theſe things, made all the haſte he could) he retires himſelf from thence; and King *Edward* finding him gone before he came, yet would needs go in and viſit the Counteſs: of whom as ſoon as he ſaw her, he was ſo enamoured, that he laid more battery to her Chaſtity, than King *David* had done to her Caſtle; but finding it inexpugnable, after a day and a night he left it, and followed after the *Scots*, with whom for three daies together he had many Skirmiſhes, till at laſt a Truce was concluded for two years; and amongſt other conditions, *William* Earl of *Saliſbury*, a priſoner with the King of *France*, was ſet at liberty in exchange for the Earl *Murray*, priſoner

King *David* of *Scotland* enters *England* with an Army.

Is repelled at the Caſtle of *Werk*.

King *Edward*'s love to the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*.

William Earl of *Saliſbury* ſet at liberty by exchange.

prisoner with the King of *England*.

About this time another difference fell out between the Kings of *England* and *France*. *John* Earl of *Montford* laid claim to the Duchy of *Britain*, but in the quarrel was taken prisoner by the King of *France*. His Lady sends to King *Edward* for succour; which King *Edward* grants upon condition that a marriage be made between his Daughter *Mary*, and the Earl of *Montford*'s son: which being agreed on, he sends over to her aid, first, *Walter de Manny*, a valiant Knight, and afterward *Robert d' Artois*. But while his Army was preparing, King *Edward* was informed by *Edward Baliol*, the pretended King of *Scotland*, and Governour of *Berwick*, That the *Scots* had not kept the Conditions of the Truce; whereupon King *Edward* draws a great Army to *Berwick*, with a purpose to do great matters, but nothing was done, for a new Truce was again concluded for two years. By this time *Robert d' Artois* had made ready his Army, and taking with him the Countess of *Montford*, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Suffolk*, and many other Barons, after great Tempests and Encounters at Sea, lands safely at last near to *Vannes*, which was held by the *French*; and laying siege to the City, with the assistance of *Walter de Manny*, who came unto him, after many assaults, at last he took it, to the great joy of the Countess of *Montford*, though she held it not long; for certain resolute *French* Knights assaulted it soon after, and recovered it from the *English*. In which action many Lords were slain or wounded, and particularly *Robert d' Artois* himself; who passing over into *England*, for the better curing of his wounds, soon after died, and was buried in *Paul*'s Church in *London*. And now King *Edward* himself with a strong Army passeth over into *Britain*, and plants his Camp before the City of *Vannes*, where was like to have been a cruel Battel; but in the instant there came from Pope *Clement* the sixth, two Cardinals, the Bishops of *Preneste* and *Tusculum*: who upon certain conditions concluded a Peace. Amongst other conditions this was one, That the City of *Vannes* should be delivered to King *Philip*; and thereupon *John* Earl of *Montford* should be set at liberty, but yet with this charge, not to go into *Britain*: which promise notwithstanding he kept not, but went presently and besieged a Town in *Britain*, though he were forced to retire, and died shortly after. But the Truce cracked thus, as it were, by *Montford*, was afterward absolutely broken by King *Edward*; though he charged the breach of it upon King *Philip*, and King *Philip* upon him: But howsoever, broken it was, and *Henry* of *Lancaster* Earl of *Derby*, with divers other Earls and Barons, is sent into *France*, who won many Towns in *Gascoyne*, and in the Counties of *Perigort* and *Tholouse*, and then went to Winter at *Burdeaux*. And afterward in *May* following, pursuing his Victories, he won many more Towns; and amongst others, the great Town of *Reell*. After this again, he took *Montpesat*, *Maurore*, *Villefranche*, and many other Towns; and at last the great City of *Angoulesme*, and then came to winter again at *Burdeaux*.

Robert Artois wounded, dieth.

A Peace concluded between the two Kings: but soon broken.

King *Edward* wins many Towns in *France*.

Of his Acts together with the Prince.

KIng *Philip* informed of so many great losses, assembles a mighty Army, no less than a Hundred thousand men, with which he recovers *Miremont*, and *Villefranche*, and then proceeded to besiege *Angoulesme*: whom the Earl of *Derby* having not forces sufficient to encounter, King *Edward* (leaving for Wardens of *England* in his absence, the Lords *Piercy* and *Nevil*) goeth himself in person with an Army (as *Froissard* saith) of Fourscore thousand men at Arms, and ten thousand Archers, besides those out of *Wales* and *Ireland*: taking with him his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Guyen*, being then but of the age of fifteen years. It may be thought preposterous in King *Edward* to put his Son to be a Souldier before he was come to be a man: but it seems he had a longing to try his sons valour in the bud, and perhaps was loth to omit any thing that might give any countenance to this Battel, in which the two Kingdoms were laid as it were at stake: but howsoever, taking him along with him, and almost all the Lords of his Kingdom, he takes Shipping, and lands at *Normandy*, where at his first setting his foot on ground, he took such a fall, that the blood gushed out at his nose; which the Barons took for an ill sign, but the King took it for a good: saying, It was a sign that the Land desired to have him. And indeed he presently took the Towns of *Harfleur*, *Montbourgh*, *Carenton*, and St. *Lo*, and afterward the City of *Caen* it self; and from thence passed to the County of *Eureux*, sacaged and pillaged it, as also the City of *Gysors*, *Vernon*, *Meulan*, and *Boulebourse* to the City of *Poissy*. King *Philip* all this while stayed about *Paris*, as looking for King *Edward* to give him Battel there; and for that purpose had planted his Camp near to St. *Germans*: but King *Edward* deceived him. For going from *Poissy*, he passed into *Picardy*, and *Pontbieu*, where he took and burned many Towns and Castles; and then passed the River of *Soam*, though not without danger: For King *Philip* had sent thither *Gundemar de Fay*, with a thousand horse, and six thousand foot to stop his passage. King *Edward* notwithstanding resolves to pass, or perish, and plungeth foremost into the River; crying out, They who love me will follow me. At which voice every man strove who should go foremost, and so the shore was presently gained by the *English*. *Gundemar* astonished with his bold adventure, astonisheth his people with his fearful countenance: so that the *English* encountring the *French* all in disorder, put them to flight. King *Philip* enraged with this dishonour, resolves to revenge it; and presently provokes King *Edward* to Battel. King *Edward* had now encamped in a Village called *Cressy*, his Army consisted of Thirty thousand men, which he divided into three Battalia's: the first was led by the young Prince of *Wales*, with whom were joined the Earl of *Warwick*, *Geoffry* of *Harecourt*, *Thomas Holland*, *Richard Stafford*, *John Chandois*, *Robert Nevile*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of eight hundred men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a thousand

The King of *France* assembles an Army of a hundred thousand men, and with them recovers some Towns.

King *Edward* goes in person with an Army into *France*, taking the Prince of *Wales* with him, being but fifteen years of age

King *Edward* at his landing takes a fall, but takes it for a good sign.

King *Edward*'s valiant resolution.

1346.

The Battel between the two Kings at *Cressy*.

thousand *Welch*. In the second were the Earls of *Northampton* and of *Arundel*, the Lords, *Rosse*, *Basset*, and others, to the number of eight hundred men at Arms, and twelve hundred Archers. In the third the King was himself, having about him seven hundred men at Arms, and three thousand Archers. The Battels thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, he rode from rank to rank to view them; encouraging every man that day to have regard to his right and honour. The *French* Kings Army was far greater, consisting of above Sixty thousand Combatants well armed; whereof the chief were *Charles* Duke of *Alanson* the Kings Brother, *John* of *Luxemburgh* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Blois* the Kings Nephew, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorrain*, the Earls of *Flanders*, *Nevers*, *Sancerre*; of Barons, Knights and Gentlemen, about three thousand. The Vantguard he commits to his Brother the Count *de Alanson*, the Reer to the Earl of *Savoy*, the main Battel he leads himself; his heat out of confidence of Victory, was so great, that it scarce permitted time for a little counsel what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* advised, That the Army should take some repast, and that the Infantry consisting of *Genoueses*, (which were above Fifteen thousand Cross-bowes, and sure men) should make the first Front, and the Cavalry to follow; which was agreed on. But the Count of *Alanson*, contrary to this order, took it ill that the *Genoueses* were in the first rank: and in fury caused them to change place, which bred that discontentment, that it irritated them more against the Leader than the Enemy. Besides, there fell at the instant such a showre of Rain, as dissolved their strings, and made their Bows of little use; and at the breaking up of the showre, the Sun shone full in the face of the *French* (dazling their sight) and on the back of the *English*, as if all made for them. King *Edward* who had gotten to a Wind-mill, beholding as from a Sentinel, the countenance of the Enemy, and discovering the disturbance made by the change of place, instantly sends to charge that part, without giving them time to re-accommodate themselves: whereupon the discontented *Genoueses* recoil, which the *Count de Alanson* perceiving, he comes on with the Horse, and in great rage cries out, On on, Let us make way upon the bellies of these *Genoueses*, who do but hinder us: and instantly pricks on with a full career through the midst of them, followed by the Earls of *Lorrain* and *Savoy*, and never staies till he came up to the *English* Battel, where the Prince was. The fight grew hot and doubtful, insomuch as the Commanders about the Prince send to King *Edward* to come up with his power to aid him. The King asks the Messengers, Whether his Son were slain or hurt: who answering, No, but that he was like to be overlaid: Well then (said the King) return and tell them who sent you, That so long as my Son is alive, they send no more to me whatever happen; for I will that the honour of this day be his. And so being left to try for themselves, they wrought it out with the Sword; the rather because the *French* King having his Horse slain under him, and in danger to be trodden to death, had he not been recovered by the Lord *Beaumont*, was to the great discouragement of his people, withdrawn out of the Field: whereof notice being once taken by the *English*, the day was soon after theirs, and the greatest Victory they ever had yet against the *French*; and so bloody, as there is no mention made of any one prisoner taken in the Battel, but all slain out-right; only some few Troops that held together, saved themselves by retiring to places near adjoyning. The *French* King himself with a small company got to *Bray* in the night, and approaching the Walls, and the Guard asking, Who goes there? He answered, The Fortune of *France*. By his voice he was known, and thereupon received into the Town, with the tears and lamentations of his people. The number of the slain are certified to be Thirty thousand: The Chief whereof, were *Charles de Alanson*, *John* Duke of *Burbon*, *Ralph* Earl of *Lorrain*, *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, *Jaques Dauphin de Viennois*, son to *Imbert*, (who after gave *Dauphin* to the Crown of *France*) the Earls of *Sancerre*, *Harecourt*, and many other Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, to the number of Fifteen hundred. This memorable Victory happened upon the Saturday after *Bartholomew* day, in the year 1346. The next day early in the morning, being Sunday, he sent out Three hundred Lances, and Two thousand Archers, to discover what was become of the Enemy, who found great Troops coming from *Abbevile*, St. *Requier*, *Roan*, and *Beauvoys* (ignorant of what happened) led by the Archbishop of *Roan*, and the Prior of *France*: whom they likewise defeated, and slew Seven thousand.

King *Edward* refuseth to send Aid to his Son.

Thirty thousand *French* slain.

1346.

But this was not all the Victories that fell to King *Edward* that year; there was another of no less importance gotten in *England*, by the Queen and his people at home against the *Scots*: who being set on by the *French* to divert the War there, entred upon this Kingdom with Threescore thousand men (as our Writers report) assuring himself of success, in regard (as he supposed) the main strength thereof was now gone into *France*; but he found it otherwise. For the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Umphrevile*, the Earl of *Angus*, *Henry Piercy*, *Ralph Nevile*, *William Dayncourt*, with the Arch-bishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergy, gathered so great Forces, and so well ordered them, by the animation of the Queen, (who was there in Person) as fighting a great Battel at *Nevils* Cross, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, they utterly defeated this great Army, took *David* their King Prisoner, with the Earls of *Fife*, *Menteith*, *Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Arch-bishop of St. *Andrews*, and others; and put to the Sword Fifteen thousand *Scots*. This Victory also fell upon a Saturday, six weeks after that of *Cressy*. He that took King *David* Prisoner, was one *John Copland*, an Esquire of *Northumberland*, whom King *Edward* rewarded with five hundred pound Land a year, and made him a Banneret. And as if all concurred to

The *Scots* in King *Edward*'s absence, with an Army of threescore thousand invade *England*.

But are defeated, and *David* their King taken prisoner.

John Copland who took King *David* prisoner, is rewarded with 500 *l.* land a year.

make this year Triumphant, the Aids sent to the Countess of *Montford* in *Britain*, led by *Thomas Dagworth* a valiant Knight, overthrew and took prisoner *Charles de Blois*, Pretender to that Duchy, and with him *Monsieur la Val*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beaumanoyre*, *Loyacque*, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires; Where were slain the Lord *De la Val*, Father to him that was taken, Viscount *Rohan*, *Monsieur de Chasteau*, *Brayan de Malestroit*, *de Quintin*, *de Direvil*, besides many other Knights and Esquires, to the number of seven hundred. And now King *Edward* without meddling with the great Cities of *Amiens* and *Abbevile*, marched on directly, and sits down before *Callice*, a Town of more importance for *England*, and the Gate to all the rest: Wherein *John de Vienne* Marshal of *France*, and the Lord *de Andreghen*, (a great man in his time) commanded. The King being to make it a Winter siege, erected for him and his people, so many Houses and Lodges, that it was named *New-Callice*.

King *Edward* sits down before *Callice*.

All that Winter King *Edward* lay without any molestation by the *French* King, who was busied at home in his own State about raising of money; wherewith supplied at last, he raiseth an Army and approached *Callice*, but finds no way open to come to relieve it. The King of *England* was both Master of the Haven, and possest all other wales that were passable; and the *Flemmings* his friends had besieged *Aire*. To oppose whom, *John* Duke of *Normandy* is sent for out of *Guyenne*: who departing leaves *Henry* of *Lancaster* Earl of *Derby*, Master of the Field; and he having an Army consisting of Twelve hundred men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and three thousand other Foot, takes in most of the Towns of *Xaintoigne*, and *Poictou*, and in the end besieged and sacked *Poictiers*, and then returns to *Burdeaux*, with more pillage than his people could well bear: Thus the *English* prosper every where, and the *French* suffer. During the siege of *Callice*, (in which some think King *Edward* first used Guns) the *Flemmings* send to King *Edward*, to make a marriage between his Daughter *Isabel* and their Lord, the young Count *Lewis*; to which the King consented, but the Duke of *Brabant* gets the King of *France* to make the match for a daughter of his. The *Flemmings* press their Lord with the match of *England*; but he absolutely refused it, saying, he would never marry a Daughter of him, that had killed his Father, though he would give him half his Kingdom. This answer so incensed the *Flemmings*, that they put their Lord in prison, till with long durance he at last consented; and thereupon King *Edward* and his Queen, with their Daughter *Isabel* came over to *Berghes*, and there the young Earl is affianced to her: but returning afterwards into *Flanders*, as soon as he found opportunity, he went to King *Philip*, and left his affianced Lady unmarried; and married afterwards a Daughter of the Duke of *Brabants*. But all this while the siege of *Callice* was continued; and King *Philip* not being able to come to relieve it, solicits King *Edward* to appoint some place of battel, and he would meet him. But King *Edward* returns answer, That if he would make his own way, to come thither to him, there he should find him, but from thence he would not part; having lain there so long to his great labour and expence, and being now so near the point of gaining the place. Two Cardinals are sent from the Pope, to mediate a Peace, but could effect nothing; so as the *French* King was forced to break up his Army and retire to *Paris*, leaving *Callice* to the mercy of the besieger: which when the Town understood, they sent to desire Parle, had it granted, and therein received this final answer, That six of the chief Burgesses should be sent to the King bare-headed, and bare-footed, in their shirts, with halters about their necks, the keys of the Town and Castle in their hands, and submit themselves to the Kings will; the rest he was content to take to mercy. This seemed a hard condition, and much difficulty who should be those six: but one rising up, and out of love to his Country offering himself to be one, the six were soon made up; for now by his example every one strove to be of the number: who presencing themselves before the King, he commanded them instantly to be put to death. Great supplication was made by his Lords for their lives, but the King would not be drawn to alter his sentence, till the Queen, great with Child, fell on her knees, and with tears obtained pardon for them; which done, she caused them to be cloathed, and besides a good repast, gives to every one of them six Nobles a piece. But though the King in this sentence shewed severity, yet in an Act before he had shewed mercy; For when Victuals began to fail in the Town, and all unuseful persons, as old men, women, and children, were put out of the Gates, he forced them not back again as he might have done, thereby the sooner to consume their store: but suffered them to pass through his Army, gave them to eat, and two pence a piece to all of them. And thus was that strong Town of *Callice* gotten, the third day of *August*, in the year 1347. after eleven months siege, and continued afterward in possession of the *English* two hundred and ten years. All the Inhabitants are turned out, but only one Priest, and two old men, to inform of the Orders of the Town: and a Colony of *English*, amongst which seven and thirty good Families out of *London*, is sent to inhabit it; the King and Queen enter the Town triumphantly, and make their abode there, till the Queen was brought a bed of her Daughter *Margaret*. The King made Governour of the Town, *Aymery* of *Pavia* a *Lombard*, whom he had brought up from his Infancy; and then with his Queen returns into *England*. At which time the Princes Electors send to signifie, that they had chosen him King of the *Romans*; but the King refuseth to accept it, as being an honour out of his way, and scarce compatible with his State at home.

When Guns first used.

Callice desires a Parle.

King *Edward* requires six of their chief Burgesses to bring the keys of the Town to him with halters about their necks, whom he judged to be put to death.

But at the Queens intercession spares them.

1347. *Callice* after eleven months siege yelds up to King *Edward*.

King *Edward* is chosen King of the *Romans*, but refuseth it.

After this, Truces were made by mediation, from one time to another, for the space of two years; in which time, *Geoffry de Charny* Captain of St. *Omer*, agreed with *Aymery* of *Pavia*, whom King *Edward* had left Governour of *Callice*, to render it up for twenty thousand Crowns; which King *Edward* hearing of, sent to *Aymery*, and charged him with this perfidiousness; whereupon *Aymery* comes to the King, and humbly desiring pardon, promiseth to handle the

1349. *Aymery* of *Pavia* Governour of *Callice* is bribed to betray it.

the matter so as shall be to the Kings advantage, and thereupon is sent back to *Callice*. The King, the night before the time of agreement arrives with three hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Archers. *Monsieur de Charmy* sets out likewise the same night from St. *Omers* with his Forces, and sent a hundred men before with the Crowns to *Aymery*. The men are let in at a Postern Gate, the Crowns received, and assured to be all weight: which done, the Gates of the Town are opened, and out marches the King before day to encounter *Monsieur de Charmy*; who perceiving himself betrayed, defended himself the best he could, and put King *Edward* to a hard bickering, who for that he would not be known there in person, put himself and the Prince under the Colours of the Lord *Walter Manny*, and was twice beaten down on his knees by *Monsieur de Riboumont*, a hardy Knight, (with whom he fought hand to hand) and yet recovered, and in the end took *Riboumont* prisoner. *Charmy* was likewise taken, and all his Forces defeated. King *Edward* the night after (which was the first of the new year) feasted with the prisoners; and gave *Riboumont* in honour of his valour, a rich Chaplet of Pearl, which himself wore on his head (for a New-years-gift) forgave him his ransome, and set him at liberty. But the *English* not long after, in the like practice, had better success, and got the Castle of *Guysnes*, (a place of great importance near *Callice*) for a summ of money, given to one *Beaconroy* a *French* man. Of which Castle when the *French* King demanded restitution, in regard of the Truce, King *Edward* returns answer, That for things bought and sold between their people, there was no exception, and so held it.

But gets the bribe, and yet keeps the Town.

King *Edward* twice beaten down on his knees by *Monsieur de Riboumont*; yet at last takes him prisoner.

He rewards *Riboumont* for his valour.

1350. About this time *Philip* King of *France* died, leaving his son *John* to succeed him; in the beginning of whose Reign, *Humbert* Prince of *Daulphin*, dying without issue, made him his heir; and thereupon *Charles*, King *John*'s Son was created the first *Daulphin* of *France*: from whence it grew to be a custom, that the King of *France* his heir should always be called *Daulphin* of *France*. About this time also the Duke of *Lancaster* was to perform a Combat, upon a challenge with a Prince of *Bohemia*; but when they had entred the Lists, and had taken their Oaths, King *John* interposed and made them friends. And now when after many means of mediation, no peace could be concluded between the two Kings, the Prince of *Wales* being now grown a man, is appointed by Parliament to go into *Gascoyn* with a thousand men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a great number of *Welchmen*; and in *June* following he sets forth with three hundred Sail, attended with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*; the Lord *Chandois*, the Lord *James Audeley*, Sir *Robert Knolls*, Sir *Francis Hall*, with many others. About *Michaelmas* following, the King himself passeth over to *Callice* with another Army, taking with him two of his Sons, *Lionel* of *Antwerp*, now Earl of *Ulster* in right of his Wife, and *John* of *Gaunt*, Earl of *Richmond*. There met him at *Callice* of Mercenaries out of *Germany*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, a thousand men at Arms; so that his Army consisted of three thousand men at Arms, and two thousand Archers on horse-back, besides Archers on foot. The City of *London* sent three hundred men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, all in one Livery, at their own charge; but all this great Army effected nothing at that time, by reason the King of *France* would not be drawn to any Encounter, and had so disfurnished the Country of all provisions, that the King of *England* was forced to return. King *Edward* solicited by the King of *Navarre* to aid him against the King of *France*, sends over the Duke of *Lancaster* with four thousand men at Arms, who wins many Towns; and the Prince enters *Guyenne*, passeth over *Languedock* to *Thoulouse*, *Narbonne*, *Burges*, without any encounter, sacks, spoils, and destroies where he goes; and loaden with booties, returns to *Burdeaux*. The *French* King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers all the power he possibly could; and first makes against his Enemies in *Normandy*, recovers many of his lost Towns, and was likely to have there prevailed; but that he was drawn of force to oppose this fresh Invader, the Prince of *Wales*, who was come up into *Touraine* against whom he brings his whole Army, consisting of above threescore thousand: whereupon the Prince, whose Forces were not likely to be able to encounter him (being six for one) was advised to retire again to *Burdeaux*. But the *French* King to prevent this courte, follows; and within two Leagues of *Poitiers*, hath him at a great advantage. At which instant two Cardinals came from the Pope to mediate a Peace. But the *French* King supposing he had his enemy now in his mercy, would accept of no other conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him four Hostages; and as vanquished, render himself and his Army to his discretion. The Prince was content to restore unto him what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice of his honour, wherein he said he stood accomptable to his Father, and to his Country. But the *French* King would abate nothing of his demands, as making himself sure of Victory; and thereupon was instantly ready to set upon the Prince: who seeing himself reduced to this strait, takes what advantage he could of the ground, and providently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs, and Bushes, on that part he was like to be assailed, to impester and intangle the *French* Horse, which he saw were to come furiously upon him. The success answered his expectation, for the Cavalry of his Enemies upon their first assault were so wrapt and encumbred amongst the Vines, that his Archers galled and annoyed them at their pleasure. For the *French* King to give the honour of the day to his Cavalry, imployed them only without his Infantry; so as they being disordered and put to rout, his whole Army came utterly to be defeated. In this Battel were taken prisoners King *John* himself, with his youngest Son *Philip*, by *Dennis de Morbecque*, a Knight of *Artois*; *Jaques de Bourbon*, *Conte de Ponthieu*; the Arch-bishop of *Sens*, *John de Artois*, *Conte de Eu*; *Charles de Artois*; his brother *Count de Longueville*; *John de Melun*; *Count de Tankerville*; the *Counts* of *Vendosme*, *Vaudement*, *Estampes*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin* and *La Roche*, and *John de Ceintre*, accounted (as *Froyssard* saith) the best Knight of *France*, with many other Lords besides two thousand Knights and Gentlemen;

1350. The *French* Kings eldest son to be *Daulphin* of *France*, whence it began.

1355. The Prince of *Wales* is sent into *Gascoyn*.

John King of *France* with an Army of fifty thousand opposeth the Prince of *Wales* at *Poitiers*.

The Prince's Policy.

King *John*, himself with many great Lords taken prisoners.

insomuch as the Conquerours holding it not safe to retain so many, let many of them go. The *French*, who can give best account of their own losses, report there died in this Battel, a thousand seven hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two Bannerets: the most eminent *Peter de Bourbon*, the Duke of *Athens* Constable of *France*, *Jehan de Clermont*, Marshal, *Geoffry de Charny*, High Chamberlain; the Bishop of *Chalons*, the Lords of *Landai*, of *Pons*, and of *Chambly*. There escaped from this Battel three of the *French* Kings Sons, (for he brought them all thither) *Charles* Prince *Daulphin*; *Lowys* after Duke of *Anjou*, and *John* Duke of *Barry*: all great Actors in the time following. The special great men of the *English* in this fight, were the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Stafford*; the Lords *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Barkeley*, *Basset*: of *Gascoyne*, *Le Capital de Beuff*; the Lords, *Pumyer*, *Chamounx*, and others.

The Lord *James Audley* his valour: and his bounty.

The Lord *James Audeley* won honour both by his valour, and his bounty; for having vowed to be foremost in this fight, he performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince having rewarded him with the gift of five hundred Marks Fee-simple in *England*, he presently gave it to four of his Esquires. Whereupon the Prince demanding whether he accepted not his gift? He answered, That these men had deserved the same as well as himself, and had more need of it: With which reply the Prince was so well pleased, that he gave him five hundred Marks more in the same kind. A rare example, where desert in the Subject, and reward in the Prince, strive which should be the greater.

But here great strife arose between many, who should be the man that took King *John* prisoner; but the Prince commanded them to forbear their claims, till they came into *England*: where the matter being heard, it was adjudged by King *John*'s own testimony, that one Sir *Denise Morbecque* of St. *Omers* had taken him prisoner: for which service the King rewarded him with a thousand Marks.

And now, though King *John* had the misfortune to fall into the hands of his enemy, yet he had the happiness to fall into the hands of a noble Enemy? for Prince *Edward* used him with such respect and observance, that he could not find much difference between his captivity and liberty. After the battel, which was fought the nineteenth day of *September*, in the year 1357. Prince *Edward* leads King *John* and the captive Lords to *Burdeaux*, where he retains them till the Spring following; but sends present news of this victory to his Father: who thereupon causeth a general Thanksgiving all *England* over eight daies together. And in *May* following King *John* rather coming over with the Prince, than brought over by him, is lodged at the *Savoy*, a Palace belonging to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, and the fairest at that time about *London*. And King *Edward* as though he thought it honour enough to have one King his Prisoner at once, at the suit of his Sister Queen *Joan*, sets her Husband *David* King of *Scots* at liberty, after he had been prisoner in *England* eleven years; but not without paying a ransome, which was a hundred thousand Marks to be paid in ten years.

1357.

A Thanksgiving all *England* over eight daies together.

King *John* is brought over and lodged at the *Savoy*.

David King of *Scots*, after eleven years imprisonment is set at liberty.

After this, by mediation of Cardinals sent by the Pope, a Truce for two years is concluded between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *France*; and in the time of this Truce, Articles of Peace between the two Kings are propounded. King *Edward* requires the Duchies of *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, the Countries of *Poitou*, *Thouraine*, *Maine*, and *Anjou*, with all their appurtenances as large as King *Richard* the first held them, and many other Provinces besides, and to hold them all without Homage or any other service; to which Articles King *John* (weary of imprisonment) assents and seals, but the *Daulphin* and Council of *France* utterly reject it. Whereupon King *Edward* in great displeasure resolves to make an end of this work with the Sword, and to take possession of the Kingdom of *France*; and leaving his younger Son *Thomas* Governour of his Kingdom at home, with a Fleet of eleven hundred Sail, and taking all the great Lords of the Realm with him, he passed over to *Callice*, dividing his Army into three Battels, whereof one he commits to the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the third he leads himself. And first marching through *Picardy*, where he takes in many Towns, he plants his siege afterward before *Rheims*: but having spent there six or seven weeks without effecting any thing, he passeth thence, and taketh in the Cities of *Sens* and *Nevers*, the Duchy of *Burgoine* redeems it self from spoil with paying two hundred thousand *Florens* of Gold. Then he marcheth up to *Paris*, and plants his Camp within two small Leagues of the Town, where he honoured 400. Esquires and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood: but when Sir *Walter de Manny* had made a Bravado before the Gates of the City, and the King saw that the *Daulphin* would by no provocations be drawn out to Battel, he raiseth his siege, and returns into *Britain* to refresh his Army, from thence he marched towards *Chartres* with a purpose to besiege that City; and though great offers were made him by the *French*, and Commissioners from the Pope solicited him with all earnestness to accept them: yet neither they, nor the Duke of *Lancaster*'s perswasions could prevail with him, till a terrible storm of Hail with Thunder and Lightning fell upon his Army, which so terrified him, being a warning, as it were from Heaven, that he presently vowed to make Peace with the *French* King upon any reasonable conditions, as shortly after he did at the Treaty of *Britigny* near to *Chartres* upon these Articles: that the Feifs of *Thouars* and *Belleville*, the Duchy of *Guyenne*, comprising *Gascoyne*, *Poitou*, *Xantoigne*, *Limousin*, *Perigort*, *Quercie*, *Rhodes*, *Angoulesme*, and *Rochel*, together with the Countries of *Guysnes* and *Callice*, and some other places with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories, should be to the King of *England*, who besides was to have three millions of Crowns of Gold; whereof six hundred thousand in hand, four hundred thousand the year following, and the rest in two years after: and for this the King of *England*, and his Son the Prince of *Wales*, for them and their successours for ever, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crown of *France*, the

The Daulphin and Council of *France* not yielding to King *Edward*'s demands, he passeth with an Army over into *France*.

He marcheth up to *Paris*.

King *Edward* would hearken to no conditions of Peace till terrified by thunder and lightning.

Articles of Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*.

Duchy

Duchy of *Normandy*, the Countries of *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Mayne*, the Homage and Soveraignty of *Britain*, and the Earldom of *Flanders*; and within three weeks King *John* to be rendred at *Callice*, at the charge of the King of *England*, except the expences of his house. For assurance of which accord should be given into his hand five and twenty of the greatest Dukes and Lords of *France* for Hostages. The *Scots* not to be aided by the *French* King, nor the *Flemmings* by the *English*. This accord and final Peace signed by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest Sons, *Edward* and *Charles*, and sworn unto by the Nobility of both Kingdoms. The Hostages are delivered to King *Edward* who brought them into *England*; and thereupon King *John* is honourably conducted to *Callice*, after he had remained prisoner in *England* near about five years; but being come to *Callice*, he was detained there above three months, till the money which he was to pay in hand, could be provided; and for providing the rest he was put to hard shifts, being fain to give the *Jews* leave to dwell in *France* for twenty years, paying twelve Florens a man at the entry, and six every year after.

King John after five years imprisonment is released.

Edward Prince of Wales marries the Countess of Kent, and keeps his Court at Burdeaux.

At this time the Prince by dispensation, marries the Countess of *Kent*, Daughter to *Edmund*, brother to *Edward* the second; and his Father investing him with the Duchy of *Aquitain*, he was now Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitain*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester* and *Kent*: and not long after, with the Princess his Wife, he passeth over into *France*, and keeps his Court at *Burdeaux*.

1362.

This was now the year 1362. and the fiftieth year of King *Edward*'s age, wherein for a *Jubile*, he shews himself extraordinary gracious to his people, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, revoking exiles; with many other expressions of his love and bounty. The year following was famous for three Kings coming into *England*; *John* King of *France*, *Peter* King of *Cyprus*, and *David* King of *Scots*. The King of *Cyprus* came to solicit King *Edward* to join with other Princes in the Holy War, but receives only Royal entertainment and excuses. The King of *Scots* came for business and visitation, but why the King of *France* came is not so certain; whether it were about taking order for his Hostages; or to satisfie King *Edward* for breach of some Articles; or else for love to the Countess of *Salisbury*; or perhaps out of a desire to let *England* see his Majesty, being at liberty, which had been darkned before by the cloud of Captivity: but whatsoever the cause of his coming was, the cause of his staying (at least, of longer staying than he meant) was a mortal sickness, whereof (having lien all the Winter at the *Savoy*) in *March* or *April* following he died; and his body conveyed over into *France*, was buried at St. *Dennis* with his Ancestors.

King John comes into England.

And here falls sick, and dieth.

The Prince of *Wales* was now grown famous all the Christian World over, and the man to whom all wronged Princes seem to appeal, and to fly for succour: for which end there came at this time to his Court, *James* King of *Majorque*, and happened to come at a time when the Princess lay in; and thereupon he and *Richard* King of *Navarre* were taken to be God-fathers to his Son *Richard*. For the like assistance also there came at the same time to him, *Peter* King of *Castile*, driven out of his Kingdom by the *French*, in favour to *Peter* King of *Arragon*: and Prince *Edward*, partly out of Charity to succour a distressed Prince, and partly out of policy, to keep his Souldiers in exercise, undertakes the enterprise, and was so prosperous in it, that with one Battel (having but 30000. against 100000.) he put King *Peter* in possession of his Kingdom, though he was ill rewarded for his labour; for the ungrateful King would not so much as pay his Souldiers. And it is memorable which *Froissard* writes, that of the enemies were slain and drowned above 2000 and of the Princes party not above 40. But yet an unfortunate journey for the Prince, for though he came back with victory; yet he brought back with him such an indisposition of body, that he was never throughly well after: not perhaps by poyson, nor given him by his Brother the Duke of *Lancaster*, though both were suspected; but there were causes of distempering him enough besides, the Country, the Season, the Action it self: and it may be more marvelled that his Souldiers came home so well, than that he came home so ill. But howsoever, being now returned, there was presently to his indisposition of body, added discontentment of mind, for not having means to pay his Souldiers, which forced him to wink at that which he could not chuse but see, and seeing, grieve at, how they preyed upon the Country, and thereupon how the Country murmured against him. And now to stop this murmuring, his Chancellour, the Bishop of *Rhodes*, devised a new dispensation, of levying a Frank for every Chimney; and this to continue for five years to pay the Princes debts: but this Imposition made the murmuring the more. For though some part of his Dominions, as the *Poictovins*, *Xantoins*, and *Lymousins*, in a sort consented to it, yet the Count of *Armigniack*, the Count of *Cominges*, the Viscount of *Carmain*, and many others so much distasted it, that they complained thereof to the King of *France*, as to their Supreme Lord; who upon examination finding their complaint to be just, he thereupon by advice of his Council, summons Prince *Edward* to appear in person to answer the complaint: Whereunto Prince *Edward* made answer, that if he must needs appear, he would bring threescore thousand men in Arms to appear with him; and had certainly brought his Army that Summer against *Paris*, if he had not fallen into symptoms of a Dropsie which (*Walsingham* saith) was wrought by enchantment. But upon this answer of the Prince, King *Charles* sends defiance to King *Edward*, who thereupon prepares Arms both by Sea and Land to oppose him. The *French* enters upon the Territories of the Prince, and defeats divers of his Troops; in revenge whereof *John Chaundos* the Princes Lieutenant assaults *Terriers* in the Province of *Tholouse*, and takes it. The Count of *Perigort* assaults *Royanville* in *Quercy*, and put all the *English* to the Sword; in revenge whereof *James Audely* Seneschal of *Poitou*, assaults the City of *Brosse*, and takes it. In the mean time *Robert Knolls*, by some called *Robin*, and by others, *Arnold*, or *Reynold Knoll*, and drawn

1367.

Prince Edward makes a journey into Spain, to aid Peter King of Castile, and recovers his Kingdom for him. But is ill rewarded.

The Prince never throughly well after this journey.

Prince Edward summoned by the King of France, what answer he makes.

The two Kings enter in o Arms, and interchangeably take Towns.

drawn *Perducas de Albert* to the party of the *Engliſh*; and thereupon went and encamped before the Fort of *Darcuel* in *Quercy*, which *John Chaundois* underſtanding, went alſo and joined with him in the ſiege; but finding they could do no good there, they removed and beſieged the City of *Damme*; and when they could do no good there neither, they marched forward, took the Fort of *Froyns*, *Rochevandour*, and *Villefranche*; and that done, returned to the Prince at *Angouleſme*. At the ſame time the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke*, having ſpent Nine weeks at the ſiege of *Bordeille*, at laſt took it; but other Captains of the *Engliſh* did yet more, for they ſcaled *Bellepercke* in the Province of *Bourbon*, where the Mother of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Queen of *France* was, and take her priſoner.

Queen *Philippa* dieth.

About this time, *Philippa* Queen of *England*, King *Edward*'s Wife died, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*: but this hindered not the proceeding of the *Engliſh* in *France*. The Earl of *Pembroke* enters *Anjou*, where he takes many Towns. The Duke of *Lancaſter* doth the like about *Callice*, and marching forward, plants his Camp before *Harfleur*, with a purpoſe to burn the King of *France* his Navy; but being watched by the Count St. *Paul*, was forced to forbear that deſign: and ſo paſſing other waies, and ſpoiling all the places where he paſſed, he returned to *Callice*. Winter was now drawing on, and *John Chandois* deſiring to recover the Abbey of St. *Silvan* in *Poictou*, which not long before had been betrayed to the *French*, was in the enterpriſe diſcovered; and being aſſaulted by greater Forces, was ſlain in the place, to the great grief of the Prince of *Wales*, and of the *Engliſh* Lords: but dying without iſſue, his Eſtate which amounted to four hundred thouſand Franks, came to the Prince. At this time the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry*, with two great Armies enter upon the Territories of the Prince of *Wales*; whereof the Prince advertiſed, aſſembles Forces to oppoſe them: but when the news was brought him of the taking of *Limouges*, he was ſo much troubled at it, by reaſon the Biſhop of that place was his Goſſip, and one in whom he ſpecially had affiance, that he reſolved to recover it at any price, and not to ſpare a man that had a hand in rendring it up. And thereupon taking it by force, he commanded to ſack and pillage it, and would not be ſtayed by the cries of the people, caſting themſelves down at his feet; till paſſing through the Town, he perceived three *French* Captains, who themſelves alone had withſtood the aſſault of his victorious Army; and moved with the conſideration of their Valour, he then abated his anger, and for their ſakes granted mercy to all the Inhabitants. So much is Vertue even in an Enemy, reſpected by generous minds. In the mean time *David* King of *Scots* died without iſſue, and *Robert Stuart* his Nephew ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, and was Crowned at *Scone*. At this time *Robert Knolls* with a great Army is ſent into *France*, where making many attempts with valour enough, but with little ſucceſs, he was coming home though with no gain, yet with no loſs: till *Bertrand de Gueſchlyn* aſſaulting him, ſlew the moſt part of his men; and ſo this great Army on a ſudden came to nothing. It ſeems *Knolls* his action was the leſs ſucceſsful, by reaſon of ſome young Lords that went with him, who ſcorning to be under his command, as being now a new man, and riſen from a low eſtate, were refractory to his directions: and indeed what can a General do, if he have not as well reputation of perſon, as of place?

Valour reſpected in an Enemy.

Robert Stuart Crowned King of Scotland.

And now the Prince of *Wales* his eldeſt Son *Edward* dying at *Burdeaux*, the Prince with his Wife, and other Son *Richard* came over into *England*; at which time the valiant Knight *Walter de Manny* died at *London*, and was buried in the Monaſtery of the *Chartreux* which he had builded; leaving one only Daughter, married to *John* Earl of *Pembroke*. This Earl of *Pembroke* was ſoon after ſent Governour into *Aquitain*; but ſet upon by the way by *Spaniards* in favour of the *French*, was by them taken priſoner, and carried with others into *Spain*: who being chained together, as the manner is, one *Evans* a *Welch* Fugitive, who gave himſelf out for the right Heir of *Wales*, came upon him, fooliſhly playing upon him with ſcornful language; as though to inſult over another mans miſery, could ſerve for a Cordial to mitigate his own. And now upon the taking of this Earl, the Princes Dominions in *France*, are either taken away, or fall away faſter than they were gotten. *Gueſchlyn* enters *Poictou*, takes *Montmorillon*, *Chauvigny*, *Luſſack*, and *Moncontour*: ſtraight after follows the Country of *Aulnis*, or *Xantoigne*, and the reſt of *Poictou*, then St. *Maxent*, *Neele*, *Aulnai*; then *Benaon*, *Marant*, *Surgers*, *Fontency*; and at laſt they came to *Thouras*, where the moſt part of the Lords of *Poictou*, that held with the Prince, were aſſembled. At which time King *Edward*, with the Prince, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and all the great Lords of *England*, ſet forward to their ſuccour, but being driven back by tempeſt, never came to give them aſſiſtance, ſo as *Thouras* yielded upon compoſition. Yet did this preparation of the King ſtand him in nine thouſand Marks; that it may be truly ſaid, it coſt him more now to loſe Towns, than it had coſt him before to win them: ſo great odds there is between the Spring and Fall of Fortune. After this the Duke of *Lancaſter* is ſent over with another great Army, who paſſed up into many parts of the Country; but King *Charles* reſolved to hazard no Battel: ſaying, They were but clouds, and would ſoon paſs away; yet ſo watched him, that what with light Skirmiſhes, and what with ſcarcity of Victuals, his Forces were ſo diminiſhed, that of thirty thouſand which went out of *Callice*, there ſcarce returned ſix thouſand home; which made King *Edward* ſay of this King *Charles*, That he did him more miſchief ſitting ſtill, than his Predeceſſours had done with all their ſtirring. And now by this time all *Poictou* is loſt, and all *Aquitain* alſo, but only *Burdeaux* and *Baion*; when the Arch-biſhop of *Roan* and others are ſent from Pope *Gregory* the eleventh, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings: but each of them ſtanding upon high terms of conditions, nothing could be effected, but Truce upon Truce for two or three years together. In which time *Edward* Prince of *Wales* died, and with him we may ſay, the Fortune

1371. Sir Walter de Manny dieth.

1372. The Earl of Pembroke being taken priſoner, the Princes Dominions in France fall away.

1373. The Duke of Lancaſter is ſent over with an Army of thirty thouſand, but ſcarce ſix thouſand returned home.

Edward Prince of Wales dieth.

tune of *England*; being a Prince so full of vertues, that he left no place for any vice: and if he had lived in the Heroick times, might well have been numbred amongst the nine Worthies. His Body was buried at *Canterbury*, where his Monument standeth. King *Edward* in his seven and fortieth year called a Parliament at *Westminster*, which lasted but eight daies; and to which were summoned by Writ, of Clergy-men only four Bishops, and five Abbots.

1376.

A Parliament called, to which of Clergy-men were summoned only four Bishops and five Abbots.

Of King Edward's *Acts after the death of the Prince.*

IN the time of the Princes sickness, King *Edward* calls a Parliament at *Westminster*; in which when demands were made for supply of the King, demands were presently made for redress of grievances for the Subjects. It was required that the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer* then Lord Chamberlain, Dame *Alice Pierce* the Kings Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturry* might be removed from Court; and this was so vehemently urged by their Speaker Sir *Peter de la Moore*, that the King rather than not to be supplied, gave way unto it; and thereupon all these persons are presently put from Court: but the Prince soon after dying, they are all recalled to Court again, and restored to their former places.

Subsidies are demanded by the King, and redress of grievances are demanded for the Subject. Hereupon the Duke of *Lancaster* and *Alice Pierce* are banished the Court, but soon revoked.

About this time exemplary Justice was done upon Sir *John Midsterworth*, Knight, who was drawn, hanged and quartered at *Tyburn* for Treason by him committed, in defrauding Souldiers of their Wages.

Defrauding of Souldiers punished with death

About this time the Duke of *Lancaster*, being at *Burdeaux*, and hearing of the death of *Peter* King of *Castile*, whom Prince *Edward* had vested in his Kingdom; and that he left only two daughters the heirs of his Kingdom, who were then at the City of *Gascoigne*, for their safety, he sent and caused them to be brought to *Burdeaux*, and there himself married the elder sister *Constance*: in whose right he afterward took upon him the title of King of *Castile* and *Leon*: and not long after his younger Brother, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge* married the younger sister *Isabel*.

It was now the fiftieth year of *Edwards* Reign, and he for another *Jubile*, grants another general pardon to his Subjects, only *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester* is excepted, being lately by procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster*, fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. This Parliament was called the good Parliament, though it wrought ill effects, for Sir *Peter de la Moore* at the suit of *Alice Pierce*, is committed to perpetual imprisonment at *Forthingham*, though within two years after, by importunate suit of friends he regained his liberty. This *Alice Pierce* presuming upon the Kings favour, grew so insolent, that she intermeddled with Courts of Justice, and other Offices; where she her self would sit, to Countenance her Causes. And now the Duke of *Lancaster* is come to have the Regency, and to manage all the Affairs of the Kingdom; but King *Edward* to prevent the mischiefs, which by disordering the succession might grow in the Kingdom, providently settled the same in Parliament upon *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, creating him first Earl of *Chester* and *Cornwal*, and then Prince of *Wales*; and caused all the Lords of the Realm to take an Oath, to accept him for their King, as his lawful Heir, when himself should be dead. In this mean time a Treaty was had about a marriage between this Prince *Richard*, and *Mary* a daughter of *Charles* King of *France*: and an offer was made to King *Edward*, to leave him fourteen hundred Towns, and three thousand Fortresses in *Aquitain*, upon condition he would render *Callice*, and all that he held in *Picardy*; but before any thing could be concluded, King *Edward* died.

Wickham Bishop of *Winchester* forbidden to come to the Parliament called the *Good Parliament*.

Alice Pierce her insolent carriage.

Richard of *Burdeaux* is created Prince of *Wales*, and publisht her apparent to the Crown.

Fourteen hundred Towns offered for Callice.

Of his Taxations.

IN the eighth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at *London*, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporalty, a twentieth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a tenth of the Clergy. In his tenth year, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted a tenth penny of Cities and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy. Also all such Treasure as was committed to the Churches through *England* for the Holy War is taken out for the Kings use, towards his Wars with *France*. The next year after all the goods of two Orders of Monks, *Cluniacs*, and *Cistercians*, are likewise seised into the Kings hands: and the like Subsidy as before granted at *Nottingham*. In his twelfth year (and as some write, in absence of the King) in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted by the Laity, one half of their Wooll, but of the Clergy the whole. The next year after a fifteenth was likewise paid in Wooll by the Commonalty. In his fourteenth year, in a Parliament at *London*, is granted him for custom of every sack of Wooll, forty shillings, for every three hundred Wooll-Fells forty shillings, for every Last of Leather forty shillings; and of other Merchandises, according to the rate: the same to endure from that *Easter* to the *Whitsuntide* twelve Month after. Besides there was granted of Citizens and Burgesses, a ninth part of their goods; of Foreign Merchants and others, a fifteenth; of Husbandmen, the ninth Sheaf, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lamb for two years; also another tenth of the Clergy: and for his present supply he had Loans of divers persons; and the City of *London* lent Twenty thousand Marks. For the grant of which mighty Subsidy, the King (besides his pardon to divers kinds of offenders) remits all amerciaments for transgressions in his Forests, Reliefs and Scutage to the first time of his going into *Flanders*, besides all aids for the marriage of his Sons and Daughters during his Reign; pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrearages, both of his Farmers and others, till the tenth year of his Reign; and likewise confirms the great Charter of *Magna Charta*. In his eighteenth year in a Parliament at *London*, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity; besides a Commission is sent into every Shire to enquire of mens abilities; and all of five pounds to ten of Lay Fee, were appointed to find an Archer on Horse-back; of twenty five, a Demy-launce, and so ratably above. There had formerly been made a certain coin of Gold called the *Floren*, of base alloy for the Kings benefit, towards

Men rated to find Souldiers.

towards his Wars in *France*, but this was now called in, and Nobles of finer metal coined, to the great contentment of the people. In his Nine and twentieth year, he hath by Parliament granted unto him fifty ſhillings upon every ſack of Wooll, for ſix years next enſuing; by which impoſition, it was thought the King might diſpend a thouſand Marks *ſterling* a day, the vent of Wooll was ſo great in that time: but that which exceeded all his Taxations, was the Ranſome he had in his four and thirtieth year, of the King of *France*, three millions of crowns of gold. In his twelfth year, he had taken from the Priors Aliens their Houſes, Lands and Tenements, for the maintenance of his *French* Wars, which he kept twenty years in his hands, and then reſtored them again. In his ſix and thirtieth year was granted twenty ſix ſhillings eight pence, for tranſportation of every ſack Wooll for three years. In the five and fortieth year of his Reign in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the Clergy granted him fifty thouſand pounds to be paid the ſame year, and the Laity as much; which was levied by ſetting a certain rate of five pounds fifteen ſhillings upon every Pariſh, which were found in the thirty ſeven Shires to be eight thouſand and ſix hundred, and ſo came in the whole to fifty thouſand, one hundred eighty one pounds and eight pence: but 181 *l.* was abated to the Shires of *Suffolk* and *Devonſhire*, in regard of their poverty. In his eight and fortieth year, in a Parliament, is granted him a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity. In his fiftieth year a Subſidy of a new nature was demanded by the young Prince *Richard*, whom (being but eleven years of age) the Duke of *Lancaſter* had brought into the Parliament of purpoſe to make the demand; to have two tenths to be paid in one year, or twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandiſes ſold for one year; and one pound of Silver for every Knights Fee, and of every Fire-houſe one penny: but inſtead of this Subſidy, after much altercation, there was granted another of as new a nature as this, that every perſon, man and woman within the Kingdom, above the age of fourteen years, ſhould pay four pence, (thoſe who lived of Alms only excepted) the Clergy to pay twelve pence of every Parſon beneficed, and of all other Religious perſons four pence. A mighty aid, and ſuch as was never granted to any King of *England* before.

Three Millions of Crowns of Gold paid to King *Edward*, by the King of *France*.

Eight thouſand ſix hundred Pariſhes in *England*.

A Subſidy demanded of a new nature.

Every perſon above fourteen years old pay four pence.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

The Order of the Garter inſtituted, and whereupon.

HE inſtituted the Order of the Garter, upon what cauſe is not certain. The common opinion is, that a Garter of his own Queen, or (as ſome ſay) of the Lady *Jone*, Counteſs of *Salisbury*, ſlipping off in a Dance, King *Edward* ſtooped and took it up; whereat ſome of his Lords that were preſent, ſmiling, as at an amorous action, he ſeriouſly ſaid, it ſhould not be long e're Soveraign honour ſhould be done to that Garter, whereupon he afterward added the *French* Motto, *Hons ſoit qui mal y penſe*; therein checking his Lords ſiniſter ſuſpicion. Some conjecture that he inſtituted the Order of the Garter, for that in a Battel wherein he was victorious, he had given the word *Garter*, for the word or ſign: and ſome again are of opinion, that the inſtitution of this Order is more ancient, and begun by King *Richard* the firſt, but that this King *Edward* adorned it, and brought it into ſplendor. The number of the Knights of this Order is twenty ſix, whereof the King himſelf is alwaies one, and Preſident; and their Feaſt yearly celebrated at *Windſor* on St. *George's* day, the Tutelar Saint of that Order. The Laws of the Order are many, whereof there is a Book of purpoſe. In the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, he was earneſtly petitioned by a Parliament then holden, That the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Foreſts might be duly obſerved; and that the great Officers of the Kingdom ſhould (as in former times) be elected by Parliament. To which Petition, though the King at firſt ſtood ſtiff upon his own Election and Prerogative; yet at laſt (in regard to have his preſent turn ſerved, as himſelf after confeſſed) he yielded that ſuch Officers ſhould receive an Oath in Parliament, to do juſtice to all men in their Offices: and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seal, both for that and many other Grants of his to his Subjects; which notwithſtanding were for the moſt part ſhortly after revoked.

The great Officers of the Kingdom choſen by Parliament.

This King alſo cauſeth all Pleas, which were before in *French*, to be made in *Engliſh*, that the Subject might underſtand the courſe of the Law. Alſo in his time an Act was paſſed for Purveyors, that nothing ſhould be taken up but for ready mony upon ſtrict puniſhment. In the next Parliament holden the ſeven and thirtieth year of his Reign, certain ſumptuary Laws were ordained both for apparel and diet; appointing every degree of men the ſtuffe and habits they ſhould wear, prohibiting the wearing of Gold and Silver, Silks, and rich Furs to all, but eminent perſons. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meal a day, and what meats he ſhould eat. Alſo in his time at the inſtance of the *Londoners*, an Act was made that no common Whore ſhould wear any Hood, except ſtriped with divers colours; nor Furs, but Garments reverſed the wrong ſide outward. This King alſo was the firſt that created Dukes, of whom *Henry* of *Bullingbrook*, Earl of *Lancaſter*, created Duke of *Lancaſter*, in the ſeven and twentieth year of his Reign was the firſt. But afterward he erected *Cornwal* alſo into a Duchy, and conferred it upon the Prince: after which time, the Kings eldeſt Son uſed alwaies to be Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Cheſter*. This King alſo altered moneys, and abated them in weight, and yet made them to paſs according to the former value. Before this time there were no other pieces but Nobles and half Nobles; with the ſmall pieces of ſilver called Sterlings; but now Groats of four pence, and half Groats of two pence, equivalent to the ſterling money, are coined, which inhaunced the Prices of things, that riſe or fall, according to the plenty or ſcarcity of coin; which made Servants and Labourers to raiſe their wages accordingly: whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament now held at *Weſtminſter*, to reduce the ſame to the former rate. Alſo an Act was made in this Kings time, that all Wears, Mills, and other ſtoppages of Rivers, hindring the paſſages of Boats, Lighters, and other Veſſels ſhould be removed; which though it were moſt commodious

All pleas in Law were firſt ordained to be made in *Engliſh*.

Purveyors to take up nothing but for ready money.

Houſholders appointed what meat they ſhould eat.

Whores to wear their garments reverſed.

Dukes firſt created.

New coles created.

to

to the Kingdom, yet it took little effect, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords and great men who regarded more their own private, than the publick benefit. In a Parliament holden the tenth year of his Reign, it was enacted that no Wool growing within the Realm should be transported, but that it should be made in Cloth in *England*. *Peter-Pence* are forbidden by the King to be paid any more to *Rome*, but yet in many Shires of *England* are gathered to this day, saith *Fabian*. The custom of washing poor mens feet on *Maunday Thursday*, thought to have been first brought in by this King. This King also confirmed the Franchises of the City of *London*; and ordained that the Major of the time being, should sit in all places of Judgement, within the liberty of the same, as chief Justice, the Kings person only excepted: and that every Alderman that had been Major, should be Justice of Peace in all *London* and *Middlesex*; and every Alderman that had not been Major, should be Justice of Peace within his own Ward. Also he granted to the Citizens of *London*, that they should not be constrained to go out of the City to fight or defended the Land for any need. Also that after that day the Franchises of the City should not be seised into the Kings hands, but only for Treason and Rebellion done by the whole City. Also that *Southwark* should be under the rule of the City, and the Major to choose a Bayliffe there, as he liked. He also granted to the Citizens of *London*, that the Officers of the Majors and Sheriffs, should from that day forward use Maces of silver parcel-gilt.

No Wool to be transported.

Peter-Pence forbidden to be paid to *Rome*.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

A difference between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the King.

KIng *Edward* upon some displeasure, had imprisoned divers Clergy-men; whereupon *John Stratford* Archbishop of *Canterbury* writes him a Letter, charging him with violation of the Rights of the Church, and with the breach of *Magna Charta*; and after much good counsel given him, threatens that if he amend not these disorders, he must and will exercise his Ecclesiastical Authority, and proceed to Excommunication of his Officers, though not of himself, Queen, or Children. The King answers, and sends his Letter to the Bishop of *London*, charging the Archbishop to be the cause of all this disturbance, having been the man that first set him upon the War with *France* assuring him he should want no money; and now had been the hinderance, that moneys given him by Parliament, were not duly levied; and after many remonstrances to such purpose, concludes, that if he desisted not from his rebellious obstinacy, he would use his Temporal Authority, and proceed against him as against a Rebel. But this difference between them was not long after, upon the Archbishops submission, reconciled. And indeed the great account which this King made of Clergy-men, may appear by his imploying almost none but Clergy-men in all his Offices of account: *Simon Langham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was Chancellour of *England*; *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Keeper of the Privy Seal: *David Willer* Parson of *Somersham*, Master of the Rolls; ten Beneficed Priests Civilians, Masters of the Chancery, *William Mulse* Dean of St. *Martins le Grand* chief Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the Kings Treasure and Jewels; *William Aksby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancellour of the Exchequer; *William Dighton* Prebendary of St. *Martins*, Clerk of the Privy Seal; *Richard Chesterfield* Prebend of St. *Stephens*, Treasurer of the Kings House; *Henry Snatch* Parson of *Oundel*, Master of the Kings Wardrobe; *John Newnham* Parson of *Fenny-Stanton*, one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer; *John Rowseby* Parson of *Harwick*, Surveyor and Comptroller of the Kings works: *Thomas Brittingham* Parson of *Asby*, Treasurer to the King for the part of *Guisnes*, and the Marches of *Callice*; *John Troys* a Priest, Treasurer of *Ireland*.

All the great offices of the Kingdom in the hands of Clergymen.

In the seventeenth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, complaint is made of the great inconvenience that came by the Popes Collation of Benefices in *England*, conferring them upon strangers, who understood not the Language; and therefore not fit to be Pastours over a flock they could not feed: and hereupon Sir *John Shordich* is sent to Pope *Clement* the sixth, to require him to forbear such Collations, and to signifie his consent therein: but this Message was so unwelcome to the Pope, that the Messenger came back unheard, at least unanswered; and the King taking his silence for consent, or perhaps not much caring whether he consented or no, proceeded to a prohibition of all such Collations within his Realm, on pain of imprisonment, or death, to whomsoever should in time to come, present or admit any such persons, who by the Pope were so preferred to the prejudice of the Kings Prerogative. These were Disturbances in matter of Dicipline, but towards the end of his Reign, there fell a disturbance in matter of Doctrine; for a certain Divine named *John Wickliffe*, inveighed in his Sermons, and other acts in the Schools, against the abuses of Church-men, Monks, and other Religious Orders: and had by his Doctrine won many Disciples unto him, (who after were called Lollards) professing poverty, going bare-foot, and poorly clad in Russet. Amongst other his Doctrines, he taught that neither King nor other secular Lord, could give any thing in perpetuity unto Church-men; and that temporal Lords, if they needed, might lawfully take the goods of Religious persons to relieve them in their necessities; by the example of *William Rufus*, and others. This man, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Sir *Henry Piercy* Marshal, much favour and cherish, extolling him for his learning and integrity of life; which made him so far to presume, that daily in one Church or other he published his Opinions. Whereupon at length he is cited to answer before the Archbishop, the Bishop of *London*, and others in *Pauls*. At the day appointed, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Lord Marshal go to conduct him; when they were come to our Ladies Chappel, the Duke and Barons with the Bishops sitting down, *John Wickliffe* was by the Lord Marshal willed to sit down, in regard (he said) the man had much to answer, and needed a convenient seat. The Bishop of *London* told him, it was against all Law and Reason, that he who

The Pope restrained from conferring of Benefices in *England*.

John Wickliffe bringeth in new Doctrine.

Whom the Duke of *Lancaster* favours.

Whereupon a great contention between the Duke and the Bishop of *London*.

was there cited before his ordinary should sit. Hereupon contumelious words arose between the Lord Marshal and the Bishop. The Duke takes the Marshals part, and sharply reprehended the Bishop the Bishop returns the like to the Duke; who in a great rage swore he would pull down the pride of him, and of all the Bishops in *England*: and whispering in his ear, told him he had rather pull him out of the Church by the hair of the head, than to suffer such indignities. Which words the *Londoners* overhearing, swore with a loud voice they would rather lose their lives than to suffer their Bishop to be thus injuriously used. Their fury was the more against the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was President) it was required in the Kings name that from thenceforth there should be no more a Major of *London*, but a Captain appointed for the Government of the City; and that the Lord Marshal of *England* should arrest offenders within the Liberties as in other places. The morrow after the Citizens assembling to consult of this business, it happened the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, and *Guido Bryan*, came into the City, which the people seeing, furiously ran upon them, and were like to beat them down for coming at that time. The Lord *Fitz-Walter* protested he came to no other end, but to offer his service to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take injuries offered to them, as to himself; and therefore willed them to look to their defence. Whereupon they presently take Arms, assail the Marshals Inn, break open the Gates, brought forth a prisoner in his Gives, and set him at liberty, but found not the Lord Marshal, who with the Duke was that day to dine with one *John de Ypres*. Then this furious multitude ran to assail the *Savoy*, which a Knight of the Dukes seeing, hastes to the place where his Lord dined; and acquaints him with this uproar in the City. The Duke upon hearing it, leaps from the Table so hastily, that he hurt both his shins on the form; and with Sir *Henry Piercy* alone takes boat, and goes to *Kennington* neat *Lambeth*, where the Princess with the young Prince lay: to whom he complains of this Riot, and the violence offered him. In the mean time the multitude coming to the *Savoy*, a Priest inquisitive to know the business, was answered, they went to take the Duke, and the Lord Marshal, and compel them to deliver Sir *Peter de La Moore*, unjustly kept in prison. The Priest replied that Sir *Peter* was a Traytor to the King, and worthy to be hanged. At which words they all cryed out, This is *Piercy*, This is the Traytor of *England*, his speech bewrayes him though his apparel be disguised: and presently they ran upon him, and wounded him to death. The Bishop of *London* hearing of this out-rage, leaves his dinner, hastes to the *Savoy*, admonisheth them of the holy time being Lent: assuring them, all should be fairly ended for the good of the City. With whose perswasions they were somewhat pacified, but yet they took the Dukes Arms, and hung them up reversed, in sign of Treason, in all the principal parts of the City. Upon the Princesses advice, the chief Citizens send to the sick King, to excuse this tumult, saying it was not in their power to suppress it, the Commonalty being in commotion, upon an

The *Londoners* take the Bishops part, and set upon the *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lancaster's* house.

information that their Liberties should be taken from them by Parliament. The King told them, it never was in his thought to enfringe their Liberties; but he rather desired to enlarge them. But this affront of the Citizens would not down with the Duke till he had pulled down some of the principal of them; for he caused the Major and Aldermen to be displaced, and other put in their rooms. A revenge he had better been without, for he never had the love of the City after: and to want their love is a kind of banishment. *Wickliffe* himself, censured by the Bishops to abjure his Opinions, chose rather to leave his Countrey than his Doctrine; and going over into *Bohemia*, was there much honoured while he lived, and hath been more since he dyed: at least a great part of his Doctrine continues in veneration amongst that people to this day.

Wickliffe is banished.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

HIs works of Piety were great and many, as the founding of *East-Minster*, an Abbey (of the Cisteaux Order) near the *Tower*. An Abbey of Nuns at *Dertford* in *Kent*. The Kings Hall in *Cambridge* for Poor Scholars. An Hospital for the poor at *Callice*. He conferred upon the University of *Oxford*, where he had himself been trained up, under the learned *Walter Burley*, the chief rule of the City, subordinating the Major and Citizens to the Chancellour of the University. He built Saint *Stephen's* Chappel at *Westminster*, with the endowment of 300. pound *per annum*. He augmented the Chappel at *Windsor*, and made provisions there for Church-men, and four and twenty poor Knights. These were his publick works. But besides these, his private Buildings were the Castle of *Windsor*, which he re-edified and enlarged, the Castle at *Quinborough*, Fortifications at *Callice* and other places. His Queen *Philippa* founded Queens Colledge in *Oxford*: and *Mary* Countess of *Pembroke*, the Colledge called *Pembroke* Hall in *Cambridge*. In this Kings time Sir *John Poultney*, Major of *London*, built the Colledge in *London* called Saint *Lawrence Poultney*; and little *Allhallows*, a Parish Church in *Thames-street*; and also the Carmelite Friers Church in *Coventry*. *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* and *Leicester* founded the Hospital by the Castle of *Leicester*, wherein a hundred poor impotent people were provided for with all things necessary. *William Elsing* Mercer of *London*, made anew Hospital of an old house of Nuns by *Cripplegate*; and placing Canons regular there, he became the first Prior thereof. *Walter Stapleton* Bishop of *Exeter* founded *Exeter* Colledge, and *Hart* Hall in *Oxford*. *William Bateman* Bishop of *Norwich*, builded *Trinity Hall* in *Cambridge*. *Simon Islip* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford*. *William Edendon* Treasurer of *England*, founded the Monastery of *Edendon*; the Religious Brethren whereof were called *Bonhommes*. Sir *Walter de Manny*, born in *Cambray*, purchased a piece of ground called *Spittle-Croft*, containing thirteen Acres, without the Bars of *West-Smithfield*, and caused the same to be enclosed; where he built a Chappel, and after founded the same to be a House of *Charter-house* Monks;

Kings Hall in *Cambridge* built.

Queens Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded.

Pembroke Hall in *Cambridge* by whom founded.

Exeter Colledge, and *Hart* Hall in *Oxford* by whom founded.

Trinity Hall in *Cambridge* by whom founded.

Canterbury Colledge in *Oxford* by whom founded.

The *Charter-house* by *Smithfield* by whom founded.

Monks. *Humfrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, re-edified the *Auguſtine* Friers Church in *London*, and was buried in the Quire there. In the two and thirtieth year of this Kings Reign, *John Stody*, Major of *London*, gave unto the Vintners of *London* all the Quadrant where Vintners Hall now ſtandeth, with the Tenements round about, from the Lane to this day called *Stody's* Lane; where are founded thirteen houſes for thirteen poor people, which are there kept of Charity. Alſo in this Kings time Sir *John Cobham* founded the Colledge of *Cobham* in *Kent*. *John Loufkin* four times Major of *London*, builded at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, where he was born, a Chappel called *Magdalens*, to the which he joyned an Hoſpital, wherein was a Maſter, two Prieſts, and certain poor men: and for that the Pariſh Church of Saint *Michael* by *Crooked-lane*, where he dwelled, was a very homely thing, and the ground thereabout a filthy plot, by reaſon of the Butchers in *Eaſtcheap*, who made the ſame their Lay-ſtall, he on the ſame ground builded the fair new Pariſh-Church of St. *Michael* now ſtanding, and was buried there in the middle of the Quire, under a fair Tomb of ſtone. He alſo founded a Colledge to the ſame Church, near thereunto adjoyning. *John Barnes* Major of *London*, gave a Cheſt with three Locks, and a thouſand Marks to be lent to young men upon ſecurity, ſo that it paſſed not one hundred Marks; and for the occupying thereof, if he were learned, to ſay at his pleaſure, *De profundis* for the ſoul of *John Barnes*: if he were not learned, to ſay *Pater Noſter*: but howſoever the money is lent, the Cheſt at this day ſtandeth in the Chamber of *London*, without money or pledges. *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, the youngeſt Son of King *Edward*, founded a Colledge at *Playſie* in *Eſſex*, where in his life he had provided a ſumptuous Tomb, where he was firſt laid, but tranſlated afterward to *Weſtminſter*.

Caſualties happening in his time.

A very great Peſtilence and continued nine years.

IN the two and twentieth year of his Reign, a contagious Peſtilence aroſe in the Eaſt and South parts of the world, and ſpread it ſelf all over Chriſtendom; and coming at laſt into *England*, it ſo waſted the people, that ſcarce the tenth perſon of all ſorts were left alive. There died in *London* (ſome ſay in *Norwich*) between the firſt of *January* and the firſt of *July*, 57374 perſons. In *Yarmouth*, in one year, 7052. men and women: before which time, the Parſonage there was worth 700. marks a year, and afterwards was ſcarce worth forty pounds a year. This Plague began in *London* about *Alhallontide*, in the year 1348. and continued till the year 1357. Where it was obſerved, that thoſe who were born after the Beginning of this mortality had but twenty eight teeth, where before they had two and thirty. In the twelfth year of his Reign, a ſudden Inundation of Water, at *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine*, bare down a piece of the Town Wall, and ſix perches in length, near to a place called *Walkenew*; where a hundred and twenty men and women were drowned. In the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, another Peſtilence happened in *England*, which was called the ſecond Peſtilence, in which died *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, alſo *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, and *Walter Fitz Warren*, two famous men, and five Biſhops, of *Worceſter*, of *London*, of *Ely*, of *Lincoln*, and of *Chicheſter*. In this Kings time a Froſt laſted from the midſt of *September* to the month of *April*. In the fourth year of his Reign a ſolemn Juſting or Turnament was holden at *London* in *Cheapſide*, betwixt the great Croſs and the great Conduit, nigh *Soper-lane*, which laſted three dayes, where the Queen *Philippa*, with many Ladies fell from a Stage, ſet up for them to behold the Juſting; and though they were not hurt at all, yet the King threatned to puniſh the Carpenters for their negligence, till the Queen intreated pardon for them upon her knees: as indeed ſhe was alwayes ready to do all good offices of mercy to all people. In the eleventh year of his reign was ſo great plenty, that a quarter of Wheat was ſold at *London* for two ſhillings, a fat Ox for a Noble, a fat Sheep for ſix pence, and five Pigeons for a Penny, a fat Gooſe for two pence, a Pig for a Penny, and other thing after that rate. But in his twenty ſeventh year there was a great ſcarcity, by reaſon there fell no rain, or very little, from the end of *March*, to the end of *July*, and was therefore called the dry ſummer.

After which the number of mens teeth leſſened.

Many great men died of the plague.

A froſt that laſted five months.

Price of Victuals in a plenty.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Philippa* the Daughter of *William* Earl of *Heynault* at *York*. A match made up in haſte by Queen *Iſabel* his mother, for her own ends, although a better could never have been made upon deliberation for King *Edward's* ends. For though her Parentage was not great, and her Portion leſs; yet ſhe made amends for both in vertue: for never King had a better Wife. By her King *Edward* had ſeven ſons, and five daughters. His eldeſt ſon *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and commonly called the *Black Prince*, (but why ſo called uncertain; for to ſay, of his dreadful acts, as *Speed* ſaith, hath little probability: and indeed *Froyſſard* who hath writen the Reign of King *Edward* the third, more particularly than any other, and lived in his time, never calls Prince *Edward* the *Black Prince*, nor any where makes mention that he was ſo called) was born at *Woodſtock*, in the third year of his Fathers Reign. He married *Joan*, the daughter of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, brother by the Fathers ſide to King *Edward* the ſecond. She had been twice married before; firſt to the valiant Earl of *Salisbury* from whom ſhe was divorced: next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*; after whoſe deceaſe, this Prince paſſionately loving her married her. By her he had iſſue two ſons, *Edward* the eldeſt, born at *Angouleſme*, who died at ſeven years of age; and *Richard* born at *Burdeaux*, who after his Father was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Grandfather, King of *England*. This Prince had alſo natural iſſue, Sir *John Sounder*, and *Roger Clarendon*, Knights, the latter being attainted in the Reign of King *Henry* the fourth, is thought to have been Anceſtour to the houſe of *Smiths* in *Eſſex*. He died at *Canterbury* in the ſix and fortieth year of his age, and of his Fathers Reign the nine and fortieth, and was buried at Chriſts Church there. His ſecond ſon *William* was born at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordſhire*, who deceaſed in his childhood, and was

The family of Smiths in Eſſex from whom deſcended.

buried at *York*. His third ſon *Lionel* was born at *Antwerp*, in the twelfth year of his Fathers reign. He married firſt *Elizabeth* the Daughter and Heir of *William Burgh*, Earl of *Ulſter* in *Ireland*, in whoſe right he was firſt created Earl of *Ulſter*; and becauſe he had with her the honour of *Clare*, in the County of *Toumond*, he was in a Parliament created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the Countrey about the town and honour of *Clare*: from which Duchy, the name of *Clarenceux* (being the title of the King of Arms, for the South parts of *England*) is derived. This Duke had iſſue by her one only daughter, named *Philippa*, afterward Wife of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Mother of Earl *Roger*, Father of *Anne* Counteſs of *Cambridge*, the Mother of *Richard* Duke of *York*, Father of King *Edward* the Fourth. The ſecond Marriage of this Duke was at *Millain* in *Lombardy*, with the Lady *Violanta*, daughter of *Galeacio*, the ſecond Duke thereof; but through intemperance he lived not long after. King *Edward*'s fourth Son named *John*, was born at *Gaunt*, in the fourteenth year of his Fathers Reign. He had three Wives, the firſt was *Blanch*, daughter and co-heir, and in the end, the ſole Heir of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſon of *Edmund*, ſurnamed *Crouch-back*; by whom he had iſſue *Henry* of *Bullingbroke*, Earl of *Derby*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and laſtly King of *England*, named *Henry* the fourth, who firſt placed the Crown in the houſe of *Lancaſter*. By her alſo *John* of *Gaunt* had two Daughters, *Philippa* Wife of *John* the firſt, King of *Portugal*, and *Elizabeth* married firſt to *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, and after him to Sir *John Cornwal*, Baron of *Fanhope*. *John* of *Gaunt*'s ſecond Wife was *Conſtance*, the eldeſt Daughter of *Peter* King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, in whoſe right for the time, he entituled himſelf King of both thoſe Realms. By her he had iſſue one only Daughter named *Katherine*, married to *Henry* the third Son of King *John*, in poſſeſſion before, and in her right after King of both the ſaid Realms. *John* of *Gaunt*'s third Wife was *Katherine*, the Widow of Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a Knight of *Lincolnſhire*, eldeſt Daughter and Co-heir of *Pane Roet*, a *Gaſcoyne*, called *Guien* King of Arms for that Countrey; his younger Daughter being married to Sir *Geoffry Chaucer*, our Laureat Poet. By her he had iſſue born before Matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament in the twentieth year of King *Richard* the ſecond, *John* Earl of *Somerſet*, *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and *Cardinal*, and *Joan* (who was firſt married to *Robert Ferrers*, Baron of *Wemme*, and *Onſley*, in the Counties of *Salop* and *Warwick*) and ſecondly, to *Ralph Nevil*, the firſt Earl of *Weſtmerland*. She and all her Brethren were ſurnamed *Beaufort*, of a Caſtle which the Duke had in *France*, where they were all born, and in regard thereof, bare the Portcullis of a Caſtle for the Cogniſance of their Family. This Duke in the thirteenth year of his Nephew King *Richard* was created Duke of *Aquitan*, but in the ſixteenth year he was called home, and this title recalled; and the third year after in the ſixtieth of his age, he dyed at *Ely-houſe* in *Holbourn*, and lieth honourably Entombed in the Quire of Saint *Paul*. King *Edward*'s fifth ſon *Edmond*, ſurnamed of *Langley*, was firſt in the year 1362. created Earl of *Cambridge*; and afterward in the year 1386. made Duke of *York*. He married *Iſabel* Daughter and Co-heir to *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, and *Leon*: his Son *Richard Plantaginet* Duke of *York*, took to Wife *Anne Mortimer*, Heir of the foreſaid *Lionel*, elder brother to *Edmund* of *Langley*. King *Edward*'s ſixth ſon *William*, ſurnamed of *Windſor*, where he was born, died young, and is buried at *Weſtminſter*. King *Edward*'s youngeſt ſon *Thomas*, ſurnamed of *Woodſtock*, where he was born, was firſt Earl of *Buckingham*, and after made Duke of *Gloceſter* by his Nephew King *Richard* the ſecond. He was a man of valour and wiſdom, but the King ſurmiſing him to be too ſevere an obſerver of his doings, conſulted with *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, how to make him away: whom *Mowbray* unawares ſurpriſing, conveyed ſecretly to *Callice*, where he was ſtrangled the twentieth year of King *Richards* Reign. He had iſſue one Son, *Humfrey* Earl of *Buckingham*, who died at *Cheſter* of the Peſtilence, in the year 1400. and two Daughters, *Anne* married firſt to *Edmund* Earl of *Stafford*, by whom ſhe had *Humfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*; ſecondly to *William Bourchier* Earl of *Ewe*, by whom ſhe had *Henry* Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Joan* married to *Gilbert* Lord *Talbot*, and had iſſue by him a Daughter, who died young. Of King *Edward*'s Daughters, the eldeſt named *Iſabel*, was married at *Windſor* to *Ingelram* of *Guyſnes*, Lord of *Coucy*, Earl of *Soiſſons*, and after Archduke of *Auſtria*; created alſo by King *Edward* Earl of *Bedford*: by whom ſhe was Mother of two Daughters, *Mary* married to *Henry* Duke of *Barre*, and *Philip* married to *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland*, and Marqueſs of *Dublin*. This *Robert* in the height of his fortunes forſook his Lady *Philip*, and married one *Lancerona*, a Joyners Daughter (as was ſaid) which came with King *Richard* the ſecond's Wife out of *Bohemia*: and being for abuſing the Kings ear, driven out of the land by the Lords, he died at *Lovain*, in extream poverty in the year 1392. *Iſabel* his Wifes Mother, was buried in the Church of Friers Minors near *Aldgate* in *London*. King *Edward*'s ſecond Daughter *Joan* was married by Proxy to *Alphonſus*, King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*; but paſſing into *Spain*, died by the way, and King *Alphonſus* met her inſtead of conſummating his Eſpouſal, to ſolemnize her Funeral. His third Daughter *Blanch* died young. His fourth named *Mary*, was married to *John Montford* Duke of *Britain*. His youngeſt named *Margaret*, born in *Callice*, was the firſt Wife of *John de Haſtings*, Earl of *Pembroke*, but died without iſſue.

Duke of *Clarence*, from whence it hath the title.

The King of Arms, why called *Clarenceux*.

The name of *Beaufort* why given to ſome of *John* of *Gaunt*'s children.

Of His Perſonage and Condition.

HE was of ſtature indifferent tall, of ſparkling eyes; of a comely and manly countenance, in his latter time ſomewhat bald; and concerning his conditions, no man was more gentle, where there was ſubmiſſion; where oppoſition, no man more ſtern. He was a Prince no leſs of his paſſions, than of his people; for he was never ſo loving, as to be fond, not ever

ſo

so angry, as to be inexorable: but this must be understood of the time while he was a man, for in his old age, when he came to be a child again, he was a Prince of neither. He was no less fortunate than valiant, and his fortunateness was the greater by a kind of *Antiperistasis*, as coming between two unfortunate Princes; Successour to one, and Predecessour to another. He was of so warlike a disposition, that his very sports were warlike; for no delights were so frequent with him as Justs and Turnaments. To shew his devotion, one example may be sufficient; for when neither Cardinals nor Counsellours could move him to make Peace with *France*, a Tempest from Heaven did it: to which may be added that he never won great Battel, of which he won many, but he presently gave the glory of it to God by publick Thanksgiving. He out-lived the best Wife, and the best Son that ever King had; and to say the truth, he out-lived the best of himself, for his latter years were not answerable to his former.

Of his Death and Burial.

KIng *Edward* besides his being old, and worn with the labours of War, had other causes that hastned his end; his grief for the loss of so worthy a Son, dead but ten months before; his grief for the loss of all benefit of his Conquests in *France*, of all which he had little now left but only *Callice*. And oppressed thus in body and mind, he was drawing his last breath, when his Concubine *Alice Pierce* packing away what she could catch, even to the Rings of his Fingers, left him; and by her example, other of his attendants, seising on what they could come by, shift away: and all his Counsellours and others forsook him, when he most needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty. Which a poor Priest in his house seeing, he approaches to the Kings Bed-side, and finding him yet breathing, calls upon him to remember his Saviour, and to ask mercy for his offences; which none about him before would do. But now moved by the voice of this Priest, he shews all signs of contrition, and at last breath he expresseth the name of Jesus. Thus died this victorious King at his Manor of *Sheene*, (now *Richmond*) the 21. day of *June*, in the year 1377. in the 64. year of his age, having reigned fifty years, four months, and odd dayes. His body was conveyed from *Sheene* by his four Sons, and other Lords, and solemnly interred within *Westminster* Church, where he hath his Monument; and where it is said the Sword he used in Battel, is yet to be seen, being eight pound in weight, and seven foot in length.

Lying in his death-bed forsaken of all.

1377.

Men of Note in his time.

MArtial men were never more plentiful than in this Kings Reign: whether it were that the Stars have an influence to procure such men at one time more than another; or whether it were that *Regis ad exemplum*, the Kings example made his Subjects like himself: or lastly, that his continual exercise of arms put them as it were into a mold of fortitude. The first of this kind is worthily *Edward* the Black Prince, and so worthily the first, that *Longè erit à primo quisque secundus erit*. Next him *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, the Princes right hand, in all his great atchivements; then *William* the valiant Earl of *Salisbury*; then *John Eure*, Ancestor to the L. *Eures* that now liveth; then follow the Lord *John Chandois*, Sir *James Audeley*, Sir *Walter de Manny*, Sir *Robert Knolls*, then Sir *John Hawkwood* born in *Essex*, who though not much honoured at home having been a Taylour: yet in foraign parts, and especially in *Italy* so famous that his Statue was erected in publick for a Monument to testifie his valour to posterity. And here must not be forgotten *Robert Venile*, Knight, a *Norfolk* man; who when the *Scots* and *English* were ready to give Battel, a certain stout Champion of great Stature, commonly called *Tournbol*, coming out of the *Scots* Army, and challenging any *English* man to meet him in a single Combat, this *Robert Venile* accepteth the challenge, and marching towards the Champion, and meeting by the way a certain black Mastiff Dog, which waited on the Champion, he suddenly with his Sword cut him off at the loyns: and afterwards did more to the Champion himself, cutting his head from off his Shoulders. And as there was this great plenty of Martial men, so there was no less plenty of Learned men; *John Baconthorpe* born in *Norfolk*, a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers excellent Treatises in Divinity; *Nicholas Trivet* born also in *Norfolk*, a Black Frier, who wrote two Histories, and a Book of Annals: *Richard Stradley*, born in the Marches of *Wales*, a Monk and a Divine, who wrote divers excellent Treatises of the Scriptures: *William Hatbert* a *Welch* man, and a Frier *Minor*, who wrote many good Treatises in Divinity: *Tho. Wallies*, a Dominican Frier, and a Writer of many excellent Books: *John Eversden* a Monk of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, an Historiographer: *Walter Burley* a Doctor of Divinity, brought up in *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*, who wrote divers excellent Treatises in Natural and Moral Philosophy, which remain in estimation to this day, and who for the great fame of his Learning, had the honour to be one of the great Instructors of *Edward* the Black Prince: *Roger* of *Chester* a Monk of that City, and an Historiographer: *John Burgh* a Monk, who wrote a History, and also divers Homilies: *Richard* Sirnamed from the place of his birth *de Bury* (Son of Sir *Richard Aungervil*) Bishop of *Durham*, Lord Chancellour, and Lord Treasurer of *England*: *Walter Hemingford*, an Historiographer: *Richard Chichester* a Monk of *Westminster*, who wrote an excellent Chronicle from the year 449. to the year 1348. *Richard Rolle alias Hampole*, who wrote many excellent Treatises in Divinity: *Robert Holcot* a Black Frier born in *Northampton*, a learned Schoolman, and wrote many Books in Arguments of Divinity: *Thomas Bradwardin*, born near *Chichester* in *Sussex*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and who wrote against the *Pelagians*, and for his depth of Learning, had the Title of *Doctor Profundus*: *Richard Fitz Ralph*, Archbishop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, a learned Writer: *William Gryfant*, named *Anglicus*, a notable Physician: whose Son came to be Pope, and was called *Urbane* the fifth: *John Killingworth* an excellent Philosopher, Astronomer, and Physician:

Sir *J. Hawkwood* a Taylour, so famous, that his Statue is erected.

Robert Venile a black Mastiff.

Walter Burley one of the Black Princes Schoolmasters.

Robert Holcot a learned Schoolman.

Thomas Bradwardin called *Doctor Profundus*.

Randulph

Ranulph Higdon a Monk of *Chester*, an Hiſtoriographer: *Bartholomew Glanvile*, deſcended of thoſe *Glanviles* that were ſometimes Earls of *Suffolk*: *Simon Iſlip* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and founder of *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford*, who wrote many Treatiſes: *Matthew Weſtmonaſterienſis*, who wrote the Book called *Flores Hiſtoriarum*: *William Fleet* an Hermite, who wrote ſundry Treatiſes, exhorting *England* to repentance: *Henry Knighton*, who wrote a Hiſtory intituled *De geſtis Anglorum*; and laſtly, two other, worthy perhaps to have been placed firſt, *John Mandevil* the great Traveller, a Doctor of Phyſick, and a Knight, who died at *Liege*, in the year 1372. and Sir *Geoffry Chaucer* the *Homer* of our Nation; and who found as ſweet a Muſe in the Groves of *Woodſtock*, as the Ancients did upon the banks of *Helicon*.

Matthew of Weſtminſter lived in this time.

John Mandevil the great Traveller.

Sir Geoffry Chaucer lived at this time.

The Major and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings Reign.*

In his firſt year,
Hammond Chickwel was Major.
Henry Darcy, *John Hamton*, Sheriffs.

In his Second year,
John Grantham was Major.
Simon Francis, *Henry Cobmartin*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Richard Swanland was Major.
Richard Lazer, *William Giſors*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *John Pountney* was Mayr.
Robert of *Ely*, *Thomas Worwode*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *John Pountney* continued Major.
John Mocking, *Andrew Aubery*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
John Preſton was Major.
Nicholas Pike, *John Husband*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventh year,
Sir *John Pountney* was Major.
John Hammond, *william Hanford*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Reginald at the Conduit was Major.
John Kingſtone, *Walter Turk*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Reginald at the Conduit continued Major.
Walter Mordon, *Richard Upton*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *John Pountney* was Major.
John Clark, *W. Curtes*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry Darcy was Major.
Walter Neale, *Nicholas Crane*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry Darcy continued Major.
William de Pomfret, *Hugh Marbler*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Andrew Aubery was Major.
William Thorney, *Roger Froſham*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Andrew Aubery continued Major.
Adam Lucas, *Bartholomew Morris*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
John of *Oxenford* was Major.
Richard de Barking, *John de Rokeſley*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixteenth year,
Simon Francis was Major.
John Louſkin, *Richard Killingbury*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventeenth year,
John Hammond was Major.
John Steward, *John Ayleſham*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
John Hammond continued Major.
Geoffry Witchingham, *Thomas Leg*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Richard Lazer was Major.
Edmund Hemarhall, *John* of *Gloceſter*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Geoffry Witchingham was Major.
John Croydon, *William Clopton*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty firſt year,
Thomas Leggy was Major.
Adam Bramſon, *Richard Fas*, or *Bas*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſecond year,
John Louſkin was Major.
Henry Bicard, *Simon Doleby*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Walter Turk was Major.
Adam of *Bury*, *Ralph* of *Lynne*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year,
Richard Killingbury was Major.
John Notte, *William of Worceſter*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
Andrew Aubery was Major.
John Wroth, *Gilbert* of *Steninesthorpe*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty ſixth year,
Adam Francis was Major.
John Peace, *John Storly*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty ſeventh year,
Adam Francis continued Major.
William Wood, *John Little* Sheriffs.

In his Twenty eighth year.
Thomas Leggy was Major.
William Nottingham, *Roger Smelt*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Simon Francis was Major.
Thomas Foſter, *Thomas Brandon*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
Henry Picard was Major.
Richard Nottingham, *Thomas Dolſel*, Sheriffs.

In

In his thirty first year,
Sir *John Stody* was Major.
Stephen Candish, Bartholomew Frostling, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year,
John Louskin was Major.
John Barnes, John Buris, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Simon Doulseby was Major.
Simon of *Benington, John* of *Chichester*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
John Wroth was Major.
John Dennis, Walter Berny, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
John Peche was Major.
William Holbeck, James Tame, Sheriffs.

In his thirty sixth year,
Stephen Candish was Major.
John of St. *Albans, James Andrew*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year,
John Not was Major.
Richard of *Croyden, John Hiltoft*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,
Adam of Bury was Major.
John de Metford, Simon de Morden, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ninth year,
John Louskin was Major.
John Bukilsworth, John Ireland, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,
John Louskin contined Major.
John Ward, Thomas of *Lee*, Sheriffs.

In his forty first year,
James Andrew was Major.
John Tarngold, William Dickman, Sheriffs.

In his forty second year,
Simon Mordan was Major.
Robert Girdeler, Adam Wimondham, Sheriffs.

In his forty third year,
John Chichester was Major.
John Piel, Hugh Holdich, Sheriffs.

In his forty fourth year.
John Barns was Major.
William Walworth, Robert Gayton, Sheriffs.

In his forty fifth year,
John Barns continued Major.
Adam Staple, Robert Hatfield, Sheriffs.

In his forty sixth year,
John Piel was Major.
John Philpot, Nicholas Brembar, Sheriffs.

In his forty seventh year,
Adam of *Bury* was Major.
John Aubery, John Fished, Sheriffs.

In his forty eighth year,
William Walworth was Major.
Richard Lions, William Woodhouse, Sheriffs.

In his forty ninth year,
John Ward was Major.
John Hadley, William Newport, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,
Adam Staple was Major.
John Northampton, Rober Laund, Sheriffs.

The Reign of KING RICHARD THE SECOND.

Anno Dom. 1377.

King Richard the second Crowned.

RICHARD called of *Burdeaux*, becauſe born there, the only ſon of *Edward* the *Black Prince*, was by his Grandfather in his life time, declared to be his Heir and lawful Succeſſour; and accordingly after his death was crowned King of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, the ſixteenth day of *July*, in the year 1377. by *Simon Sudbury* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And for the more ſolemnity of his Coronation, he then made nine Knights, and created four Earls; *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* King *Edward* the third's youngeſt ſon, was created Earl of *Buckingham*, and *Northampton*; *Thomas Mowbray*, younger Brother of *John* Lord *Mowbray*, Earl of *Notingham*; *Gifford Angouleſme* a *Gaſcoin*, was made Earl of *Huntington*; and *Henry Piercy* ſon of *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, was created Earl of *Northumberland*. At the time of the Coronation, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, by the name of *John* King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and Duke of *Lancaſter*, put in his claim as Earl of *Leiceſter*, to have the place of Earl Marſhal of *England*, as Duke of *Lancaſter*, to carry the Sword called *Curtana*; as Earl of *Lincoln*, to be Carver that day: all which to be executed by himſelf, or by his ſufficient Deputy; which with the Fees thereunto belonging, were confirmed unto him. As likewiſe, divers others made their claims: *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, to have the Office of Chamberlain, and to pour out water for the King to waſh: *John Wilteſhire* Citizen of *London*, by reaſon of a moity of the Manour of *Heydon*, holden in Sergeanty, claimed to hold a Towel for the King to wipe with when he went to meat; *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* to bear the third Sword before the King; and alſo to exerciſe the Office of Pantler: Sir *John Argentine*, by reaſon of his Manour of *Wimondtey* in the County of *Hartford*, to ſerve the King at his Cup: *William* L. *Furnival* for his Manour of *Fernham*, to ſupport the Kings right Arm when he held the Royal Scepter; *Anne* late Wife of *John de Haſtings* Earl of *Pembroke*, for his Manour of *Aſhele* in *Norfolk*, to have the Office of Naperer; which ſhe was admitted to do by her Deputy Sir *Thomas Blunt*: *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, for his Manour of *B.* in *Kent*, was admitted to be chief Butler: The Lord Major of *London*, to attend in his own perſon as chief Cup-waiter: Sir *John Dimmock*, for his Manour of *Strivelsby*, and Sir *Baldwin Frevile*, for his Caſtle of *Tamworth*, in the County of *Warwick*, contended for the Office of being the Kings Champion, but adjudged to *Dimmock*; *William de Latimer*, and *John* the ſon and heir of *John Mowbray* of *Axholme*, joyntly petitioned to have the Office of Almoner; but adjudged to *Latimer*: *Richard Lion*, as Tenant of the Manour of *L.* held by the ſervice of making Wafers for the King at his Coronation, was thereunto admitted: The Barons of the Cinque-Ports were admitted to bear the Kings Canopy, upon four ſtaves of ſilver, over the Kings head; and alſo to ſit at meat in the Hall, at the higheſt Table on the Kings right hand: *John Fitz-John*, by reaſon of his Manour of *S.* in *Norfolk*, was admitted to be chief Larderer: *Richard Herring* for the Manour of the *C.* in the County of *Surry*, claimed to be Uſher of the Kings Chamber; but becauſe that claim did no way concern the Coronation, he was left to purſue his Right ſome other time. The Coronation it ſelf was performed with great ſolemnity: After a Sermon, the King took his Oath; and then the Archbiſhop bleſſed the King: which done, he tore off his Garments, and ſtripped him into his Shift; then he anointed his Hands, Head, Breaſt, Shoulders, and the joynts of his Arms, with the Sacred oyl; and after certain Prayers, he then clad him firſt with the Coat of St. *Edward*, and after with his Mantle: after which the Archbiſhop delivered him the Sword, ſaying *Accipe Gladium*; with which two Earls girded him: Then he gave him Bracelets, ſaying, *Accipe Armillas*. After this he put upon him an upper veſture called a Pall, ſaying, *Accipe Pallium*. In the mean time, while the Archbiſhop bleſſed the Crown, he to whoſe office it pertained, put Spurs on his heels; after the Crown was bleſſed, the Archbiſhop ſet it on his head, ſaying, *Coronet te Deus*: then he delivered him a Ring, ſaying, *Accipe Annulum*. Immediately herewith came the Lord *Furnival* by vertue of his Office, offering him a red Glove; which the Archbiſhop bleſſed, and putting it on his hand, delivered him a Scepter, ſaying, *Accipe Sceptrum*: and after that, into his other hand, delivered him a Rod, on the top whereof ſtood a Dove, ſaying, *Accipe Virgam Virtutis*, and then bleſſed the King, ſaying, *Benedicat te Deus*: which done, the King kiſſed the Biſhops and Abbots, by whom he was afterward led to his ſeat: and ſo ended the Solemnity.

Claims of Office at his Coronation.

The manner of his Coronation.

The tender years of the King, being but eleven

eleven years of age, required a Protector: but being perhaps thought dangerous to commit that Authority to only one, who might rather seek to get it for himself, than to keep it for another, it was thought fit to commit it to many; and thereupon *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Kings Unkles, with some other Lords and Bishops, were joyned in Commission to manage the State: and *Guichard de Angoulesm* appointed to be his School-master. And now the Kings minority made forein Princes conceive, that this would be a time of advantage for any that had quarrel to *England*, which the *French* and *Scots* took presently hold of. For the *French* came now, and burnt the Town of *Rye*, and soon after, entering the Isle of *Wight*, burnt divers Towns there, and though they were repelled from the Castle by the valiant Sir *Hugh Tyrrel* Captain there, yet they constrained the men of the Isle to give them a thousand Marks, to spare the residue of their houses and goods: and departing thence, they set on Land where they saw advantage, burning sundry Towns near to the shore, as *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plymouth*, and then sayling towards *Dover*, they burnt *Hastings*, assaulted *Winchelsey*: but being valiantly defended by the Abbot of *Battel*, were forced to retire. After this they landed not far from the Abby of *Lewis*, at a place called *Rottington*; where the Prior of *Lewis*, with Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, and Sir *John Fallesley*, encountring them, were overthrown and taken prisoners. And no less than the *French* were the *Scots* also now busie; for coming one morning by stealth, they won the Castle of *Berwick*: but shortly after, upon knowledge thereof had, they were driven out again by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*; and all the *Scots* they found in it, except *Alexander Ramsey* their Captain, put to the sword. About *Michaelmas* a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein *Alice Pierce*, the late Kings Concubine, was banished the Realm, and all her goods confiscate; and two Tenths of the Clergy, and two Fifteenths of the Temporalty were granted: but so, as that two Citizens of *London*, *William Walworth*, and *John Philpot*, should receive and keep it, to see it bestowed for defence of the Realm. In his time, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Deputy of *Callice*, burnt six and twenty *French* Ships in the Haven of *Boloigne*. And at the same time a great Navy set out, under the guiding of the Earl of *Buckingham*, the Duke of *Britain*, the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *Robert Knolls*, and others, with a purpose to intercept the *Spanish* Fleet; but through tempest was twice driven back. When in the mean time, one *Mercer*, a *Scottish* Pirate, came to *Scarborough*, took there divers Ships, and committed many out-rages: and no order being taken to repel him, a Citizen of *London*, named *John Philpot*, at his own charges set forth a Fleet, and in his own person encountring them, took the said *Mercer*, and all his Ships: and returning home, instead of being rewarded for his service, he was called in question for presuming to raise a Navy without advice of the Kings Council: but he gave such reasons for that he had done, that not only he came off then with credit, but lives in reputation for it to this day. Indeed reasons of State, though they may be secretly censured, yet they must not openly be controlled, for this were to bring Authority into contempt, and instead of errours to bring in confusion: but yet when wrongs be offered that are publick, every particular person seems to have an interest in taking revenge; and though it may be no manners not to stay the States leasure, yet it can be no offence to do their work for them.

Three in Commission of the Protectorship.

The French enter *England* and take and burn divers Towns.

The Scots also invade the borders but with little success.

Alice Pierce banished the Realm.

A Subsidy granted but with condition.

1380.

John Philpot a Citizen of *London*, his worthy act.

But ill rewarded.

Many actions passed at this time with the *French* and *Scots*, some prosperous, and some adverse. The *Scots* burn *Roxborough*, this was adverse; but the Earl of *Northumberland* entring *Scotland*, with ten thousand men, spoileth the Lands of the Earl of *March*, the chief Incendiary; this was prosperous: but when the Northern men would needs make a Road into *Scotland*, and were encountred by the *Scots*, and put to flight, this was adverse. Anon after Midsummer, the Duke of *Lancaster*, with the Earls of *Buckingham*, *Warwick*, *Stafford* and others of the Nobility, with a strong power took the Sea, and landing in *Britain*, besieged the Town of St. *Malo*, but finding strong opposition, is forced to raise his siege, and return home: this was adverse. And now again, the *Scots* by night entered secretly into the Castle of *Barwick*, and slew Sir *Robert Baynton*, that was Constable there: this also was adverse. But when the Earl of *Northumberland*, being advertised thereof, came with a power, assaulted the Castle, and after two dayes defence recovered it again: this was prosperous. *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Callice* forrageth the Countrey round about, and furnisheth *Callice* with booties of *French* Cattel. Sir *Hugh Calverley* and Sir *Thomas Piercy* made Admirals, put to Sea and take divers ships laden with Merchandize, and one Ship of War; Sir *John Hurleston*, Captain of *Chierbourgh* in *France*, issuing forth, assaults a Fortress of the *French*, which was the store-house of their provision; and with much valour takes it: these were prosperous. But when Sir *John Clark* lying in Garrison in a Castle in *Britain*, where lay many *English* Ships in the Haven, had these Ships set upon by the *French*; where though he shewed incredible valour in the action, yet the Ships were taken, and himself slain: this was adverse. Also in the third year of this Kings Reign Sir *John Arundel*, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *Tho. Piercy*, Sir *William Elmham*, Sir *Thomas Banister*, and many other Knights went to Sea, with a purpose to pass over into *Britain*: but were so beaten back with tempest, that divers of their Ships were cast away; and Sir *John Arundel*, Sir *Thomas Banister*, Sir *Nicholas Trumpington*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, and above a thousand others were all drowned; only Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *William Elmham*, and certain others escaped. It may not be impertinent to note here the sumptuousness of those times; for this Sir *John Arundel* was then said in his Furniture to have two and fifty new suits of apparel of Cloth of Gold and Tissue, all lost at Sea.

Actions with the *French* and *Scots*, some prosperous, some adverse.

Sir *John Arundel* and a thousand others drowned.

His sumptuousness of apparel.

This year also there being found inconvenience in having many governours of the King and Kingdom, it was by Parliament decreed, That the Lord *Thomas Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, should

The Earl of *Warwick* appointed Protector.

should himself alone hold the place of Protector. About this time Sir *John Annesley* Knight accused *Thomas Katrington* Esq; for betraying the Fortress of S. *Saviour* to the *French*: which *Katrington* denying, at the suit of *Annesley*, a solemn combat is permitted to be between them; at which combat the King and all the great Lords were present. The Esquire *Katrington* was a man of a mighty stature, the Knight *Annesley* a little man; yet through the justness of his cause, after a long fight, the Knight prevailed, and *Katrington* the day after the Combat dyed. *Fabian* saith, he was drawn to *Tyburn* and there hanged for his false accusation. In the beginning of the fourth year of this King, *Thomas* of *Woodstock* Earl of *Buckingham*, the Kings Unkle with divers Earls and Lords, and an Army of seven or eight thousand, was sent into *France*, to aid the Duke of *Britain*; but the King of *France* at that time dying, the Duke of *Britain* grew to have peace with the new King: whereupon the Earl of *Buckingham* came home again without doing much, but making of Knights, and forraging the Countrey. In this time the *French* and *Spanish* Gallies did much mischief on the coast of *England*: they burnt *Rye*, *Hastings*, and *Portsmouth*; and at last entring the River of *Thames*, they came up to *Gravesend*, where they burnt most part of the Town, and taking many Prisoners and Booties returned into *France*.

A Combat between *Katrington* and *Annesley*.

The French burn divers Towns in England.

1383.

An Insurrection in *Kent*, and the cause.

At this time also, there fell out an Accident of great disturbance to the Realm, for the Commons rose in divers parts, beginning at *Depford* in *Kent*: and the cause of their rising grew (as was thought) through the rude behaviour of a Collector of the Poll-mony, who cominginto the house of one *John Tyler*, and demanding Poll-mony of his wife for a daughter of hers; and she saying that her daughter was not of age to pay, the rude fellow said he would presently see whether that were so or no, and thereupon forcibly turned up her Cloaths: whereat the Mother making an out-cry, her husband being at work hard by and hearing the noise, came in with his lathing staff in his hand, with which he gave the Collector such a blow on the head, that his brains flew out and he presently died. Upon this at the complaint of *Tyler* amongst his neighbours, and withal a factious Clergy-man, one *John Ball*, taking occasion hereat to rip up the ground of this mis-government, and telling the people that this difference of mens Estates, where some are Potentates, and some are Bond-men was against Christian Liberty, taking for his Theme, *When* Adam *delv'd and* Eve *span, who was then a Gentleman?* He so incensed them that the Commons, in divers parts drew together; and whether beginning in *Kent*, or otherwise in *Essex*, they drew at last into their Faction the Commons of *Sussex*, *Hartfordshire*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and other Shires; and arresting all such as passed, made them swear to be true to King *Richard*, and to the Commons, and never to receive any King that should be called *John*; which they did for the envy they bore to *John* Duke of *Lancaster*. Thus their number still encreased, that by that time they were come so far as *Black-heath*, they were esteemed to be a hundred thousand. The first thing they did when they came to *London*, was to send for one *Richard Lion*, a grave Citizen who had been *Tyler's* Master, and his head they struck off, and carryed it upon a pole in Triumph before them. The next day they came to the *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lancaster's* house, which they set on fire, burning all his rich Furniture, breaking in pieces all his Plate and Jewels, and throwing them into the *Thames*, saying, They were men of Justice, and would not like Robbers enrich themselves with any mans Goods: and when one of their fellows was espyed to thrust a fair silver piece into his bosom, they took him, and cast both him and the piece into the fire. Two and thirty of them were got into the Dukes Wine-Cellar, where they stayed drinking so long, till the rasters of the house on fire, fell upon them, and so covered them, that not able to get out, they were heard cry seven dayes after, and then perished. From the *Savoy* they went to the *Temple*, where they burnt the Lawyers Lodgings, with their Books and Writings, and all they could lay hands on. Also the House of Saint *John's* by *Smithfield* they set on fire, so that it burnt for the space of seven dayes together. After this they came to the *Tower* where the King was then lodged; and though he had at that time six hundred armed men, and as many Archers about him, yet he durst not but suffer them to enter; where they abused the Kings Mother, offering to kiss her, in such rude manner that she fell into a swoon: and finding in the place *Simon Theobold* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellour, and Sir *Robert Hales* also Lord Treasurer, they led them to the *Tower-Hill*; and there in most cruel manner struck off their heads, as also of divers others. Neither spared they sacred places: for breaking into the Church of the *Augustine* Friers, they drew forth thirteen *Flemmings*, and beheaded them in the open streets; as also seventeen others out of other Churches. Yet after all these out-rages, the King proclaimed Pardon to all such as would lay down Arms, and go quietly home; which the *Essex* men did, but the *Kentish* men continued still with their Captain *Wat Tyler*. To whom when the King sent Sir *John Newton* to understand what his meaning was, *Wat Tyler*, offended because he came on Horse-back, told him it became him to light from his Horse in his presence; and therewith drew out his dagger to strike him. The King perceiving his Knight to be in danger, bade him alight from his horse; but when this would not pacifie him, the Major of *London*, *William Walworth* by the Kings appointment rode to him and arrested him, and gave him such a blow on the head that he astonied him; and then other of the Kings Servants drew their Swords and thrust him through in divers parts of his Body, so as he died there in the place. When the Commons saw this, they cryed out, Our Captain is slain, let us revenge it. Here the King, though very young, not above fifteen years of age, yet had the courage to ride un-

They agree to receive no King that should be called *John*, and why.

They set upon the *Savoy* the Duke of *Lancaster's* house.

Two and thirty of them burnt drinking in the Cellar.

They came to the *Tower* and abused the Kings Mother.

They beheaded the Chancellour and the Treasurer.

Wat Tylers insolent carriage before the King.

William Walworth Lord Major kills him.

to

to them, telling them, that now their Leader was dead, he would be their Leader himself; and if they would follow him into the Fields, they should have whatsoever they desired. In the mean time the Lord Major *Walworth* had gone into the City, and raised a thousand armed men, and meeting Sir *Robert Knolls* by chance got him to be their leader; who coming into the fields where the Rebels were, so daunted them, that throwing down their Weapons, they cryed for mercy: that it was a wonderful thing to see how suddenly Fear overtook Presumption; for scarce their words of insolency were out of their mouths, when they fell to words of most servile submission. And as strange an alteration in those about the King, to see how suddenly Boldness surprised Fear; for scarce they left trembling at the sight of the Rebels, when suddenly upon sight of this aid their fingers itched to be setting upon them, but that the King would not suffer it, because some amongst them were there by compulsion; and to set upon them thus mingled, might as well be the death of the innocent as of the guilty. But to pacifie them the more, the King caused his Charter of Manumission to be sent unto them; which yet stayed them not from committing out-rages at St. *Albans*, and cancelling the ancient Charters of the Abbots and Monks there. Besides, the sediton was more general, than that the appeasing it in one place could be final; for at the same time there were gathered together in *Suffolk* to the number of fifty thousand, by the setting on of one *John Wraw* a lewd Priest: and these fell to destroying the houses of Lawyers specially; and Sir *John Cavendish* Lord Chief Justice of *England* they beheaded, and set his head upon the Pillory in St. *Edmundsbury*. The like commotion of the Commons was at the same time also in *Cambridgeshire*, in the Isle of *Ely*, and in *Norfolk*, under the guiding of one *John Letteser* a Dyer: and to countenance their proceeding the more, they had a purpose to have brought *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* into their fellowship; but he, advertised of their intention, suddenly rose from supper, and got him away: but many other Lords and Knights they compelled to be sworn to them, and to ride with them, as the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Morley*, Sir *John Brewis*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, and Sir *Robert Salle*, who not induring their insolencies, had his brains dasht out by a Countrey Clown who was his bondman. The rest terrified by this example, were glad to carry themselves submissively to their Chieftain, *John Litteser*, who named himself King of the Commons; and counted it a preferment for any to serve him at his Table, in taking the assay of his meats and drinks with kneeling humbly before him, as he sate at meat. And now these fellows, upon a consultation, send two choice men, namely the Lord *Morley*, and Sir *John Brewis*, with three of their chief Commons, to the King, for their Charter of Manumission and Enfranchising: who being on their way at *Ichingham*, not far from *Newmarket*, they met with *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*; and he examining them if there were any of the Rebels in their company, and hearing that three of the chief were there present, he presently caused their heads to be struck off; and then pursuing on towards *Northwalsham* in *Norfolk*, where the Commons stayed for an answer from the King. By that time he came thither, where he had at first but eight Launces, and a small number of Archers in his company, his number was so encreased, that it came to be a compleat Army; with which he set upon the Rebels, discomfited them, and took *John Litteser* and their other Chieftains, whom he caused all to be executed: and by this means the Countrey was quieted. After this the Major of *London* sate in Judgement upon Offenders, where many were found culpable, and lost their heads; amongst other, *Jack Straw*, *John Kirkby*, *Alane Tredder*, and *John Sterling*, who gloryed that he was the man had slain the Archbishop. Also Sir *Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice was appointed to sit in Judgement against the Offenders; before whom above fifteen hundred were found guilty, and in sundry places put to death: amongst others *John Ball* Priest, their Incendiary. Of whom it is not impertinent to relate a Letter he wrote to the Rebel-rabble of *Essex*; by which we may see how fit an Orator he was for such an Auditory: and what strength of perswasion there was in Non-sense.

Sir Robert *Knolls* daunteth the Rebels.

An insurrection at the same time in *Suffolk*.

They beheaded the Chief Justice.

An Insurrection at the same time in *Cambridgeshire* and *Norfolk*.

The insolency of *John Litteser* their Captain.

But is set upon by the Bishop of *Norwich*; taken and beheaded.

Fifteen hundred of them put to death.

John Sheep St. *Mary* Priest of *York*, and now of *Colcheser*, greeteth well *John Namelesse*, and *John* the Miller, and *John Carter*, and biddeth them that they beware of guile in *Borough*, and stand together in Gods name; and biddeth *Piers Plowman* go to his work and chastise well *Hob* the Robber, and take with you *John Trewman*, and all his fellows, and no moe. *John* the Miller ye ground small, small, small; the Kings Son of Heaven shall pay for all. Beware or ye be woe: know your friend from your foe: Have enough and say ho; and do well and better: Flee sin, and seek peace, and hold you therein: and so biddeth *John Trewman* and all his fellows.

John Ball's letter of Non-sense.

Neither is it impertinent to declare the Confession of *Jack Straw* at his Execution. "When "we were assembled (said he) upon *Black heath*, "and had sent to the King to come to us; our "purpose was to have slain all Knights and Gen-"tlemen that should be about him: and as for the "King, we would have kept him amongst us, "to the end the people might more boldly have "repaired to us, and when we had gotten power "enough, we would have slain all Noblemen, and "specially the Knights of the *Rhodes*; and lastly, "we would have killed the King, and all men of "possessions, with Bishops, Monks, Parsons of "Churches, only Friers Mendicants we would "have spared, for administration of the Sacra-"ments. Then we would have devised Laws ac-"cording to which the people should have lived; "for we would have created Kings, as *Wat Tyler* "in *Kent*, and others in other Countries: and "the same evening that *Wat Tyler* was killed "we weredetermined toset fire in four corners of "the City, and to have divided the spoil amongst "us: and this was our purpose, as God may help "me now at my last end. For his service done in this seditious business, the King Knighted the Major *Will. Walworth*, and gave him a hundred pounds a year in Fee. Also he Knighted five Aldermen his brethren, girding them about the waste with the girdle of Knighthood, which was the

The Confession of *John Straw* at his execution.

William Walworth the Major, how rewarded.

manner of Graduating in thoſe dayes: but as *Stow* ſaith, the manner of Knighting was rather thus; to cauſe him to put a Baſenet on his head, and then the King with a Sword in both his hands, to ſtrike him ſtrongly on the neck. And to do the City it ſelf honour, the King at this time granted there ſhould be a Dagger added to the Arms of the City; for till this time the City bore only the Croſs without the Dagger.

The manner of Knighting at this time.

A Dagger added to the Arms of the City.

And now all parts being quiet, the King by Proclamation revoked and made void his former Charters of Infranchiſing the Bondmen of the Realm; and that they ſhould ſtand in the ſame condition they were before. In the time of this ſedition, the Duke of *Lancaſter* had been ſent into *Scotland*, to keep the *Scots* quiet; who ſo carried the matter, that before the *Scots* heard of the ſedition, a Truce was concluded for two or three years. But the Duke coming back to *Berwick* was denyed by the Captain Sir *Matthew Redman*, to enter the Town, becauſe of a Commandment given him by the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Warden of the Marches, not to ſuffer any perſon to enter the ſame, which the King indeed had appointed to be done, forgetting the Duke of *Lancaſter* that was then in *Scotland*: but howſoever, this bred ſuch a ſpleen in the Duke againſt the Earl, that at his coming home he laid many things to the Earls charge, and the Earl as ſtoutly anſwered his Objections: and ſo far it proceeded, that both of them came to the Parliament which was then beginning, with great numbers of Armed men, and themſelves in Armour, to the great terrour of the people; but the King wiſely taking the matter into his own hands, made them friends. At which time the Lady *Anne*, Siſter to the Emperour *Wenceſlaus*, and affianced Wife to the King, was come to *Callice*; whereupon the Parliament was prorogued. The Lady was brought to *London*, joyned in marriage to the King, and Crowned Queen at *Weſtminſter* by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with great ſolemnity. After the marriage, the Parliament began again; in which *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* being choſen by the Knights of the Shires to deliver in behalf of the Common-wealth, certain matters concerning the ſame, the very day and hour in which he ſhould have done the buſineſs, as he went up the ſtairs towards the upper Houſe, he ſuddenly fell down and dyed, having been merry and well before, to all mens Judgments. About this time the Lord *Scroop* was depoſed from the Chancellourſhip, for refuſing to ſeal ſome Grants which the King had made; and the King receiving the Great Seal at his hands, kept it a certain time, and ſealed with it ſuch Grants and Writings as he pleaſed: till at length it was delivered to *Robert Braibrook* Biſhop of *London*, who was made Lord Chancellour.

A diſference between the Duke of Lancaſter and the Earl of Northumberland.

1382.

King Richard marries the Lady Anne, ſiſter to the Emperour Wenceſlaus.

William Ufford Earl of Suffolk dieth ſuddenly.

The King keeps the Great Seal in his own hands.

1383.

Henry Spencer Biſhop of *Norwich*, had lately with the Kings leave, raiſed an Army, and was gone into *France* in behalf of Pope *Urban*, againſt the Anti-pope *Clement*; and entring firſt into *Flanders*, he took and ſacked many Towns; at laſt beſieged *Ypres*, till by an Army of *French* (greater than was thought could have been raiſed in *France*) he was forced to raiſe his ſiege; and then paſſing divers places, he came to *Graveling*, from whence he writ to King *Richard*, that if ever he meant to try Battel with the *French*, now was the time. The King was at that time at *Daintry* in *Northamptonſhire*; and being at ſupper when the word was brought him, he inſtantly roſe from the Table, got to Horſeback, and rode in Poſt with ſuch ſpeed, that he came to St. *Albans* about midnight; where making no ſtay, but while he borrowed the Abbots Gelding, he haſted forth till he came to *Weſtminſter*, as though he had meant never to reſt till he had given Battel to the *French-men*. But after he had taken counſel of his Pillow, his mind was altered, and he thought it better to imploy ſome other than to go himſelf; ſo the Duke of *Lancaſter* is thought the fitteſt man: but he protracted the time ſo long in making preparation, that before he could be gone, the Biſhop was come away. And this indeed is the condition of many, to ſpend ſo much time in preparing, that they utterly looſe all opportunity of acting; like to men that are putting on their cloaths ſo long, till it be time to put them off again. Shortly after a Truce was concluded between *England* and *France*, to endure till the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, which ſhould be in the year 1384.

The Kings haſte ſoon delayed.

A Truce is concluded between England and France.

Of Acts done after he came of Age.

THE *Scots* in this mean time had made Roads into *England*, and taken and burnt divers Towns upon the Borders; whereupon the Duke of *Lancaſter*, with his Brother the Earl of *Buckingham*, is ſent with a mighty Army to repreſs them: but having entred *Scotland*, and not able to draw the *Scots* to a Battel, they only burnt certain Towns, and then returned.

1384.

About this time an *Iriſh* Fryer of the order of the *Carmelites* charged the Duke of *Lancaſter*, with hainous crimes; as that he intended to deſtroy the King, and uſurp the Crown: ſhewing the time, the place, and other circumſtances of the whole Plot. But the Duke called to his anſwer, ſo cleared himſelf; at leaſt gave ſuch colours of clearing, that the accuſer was committed to the cuſtody of *John Holland* the Kings half-brother, till a day appointed for further Trial. The night before which day, the ſaid Lord *Holland* and Sir *Henry Green* are ſaid to have come to this Frier, and putting a cord about his neck, tyed the other end about his privy members: and after hanging him up from the ground, laid a ſtone upon his belly, with the weight whereof his very back-bone burſt aſunder: thereby putting him to a moſt tormenting death. An act not more inhumane than unadviſed; for though it took away the Accuſer, yet it made the Accuſation more ſuſpicious.

A Frier accuſing the Duke of Lancaſter with treaſon, is ſecretly put to unſufferable death.

At this time though a Truce had been made with the *Scots*, yet they would not be quiet; but entred and won the Caſtle of *Berwick*, whereof the Earl of *Northumberland* was Captain, but had committed the keeping of it to another: for which being blamed, he went not againſt them with an Army, but took an eaſier courſe, for with the ſum of two thouſand Marks he bought them out, and had the Caſtle ſurrendred into his hands again. The King upon ſome new diſpleaſure, being now incenſed againſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*, had a purpoſe to have him arreſted

The Scots win Berwick, but are bought out with money.

arrested and arraigned of certain points of Treason, before Sir *Robert Treſilian* Chief Juſtice, though he ought to be tried by his Peers: but the Duke having intimation hereof, got him to his Caſtle of *Pomfret*, and ſtood upon his guard; till the Kings Mother (notwithſtanding her indiſpoſition of body, by reaſon of her corpulency) riding to and fro between them, pacified the King, and made them friends.

In the ninth year of King *Richard*'s Reign, the *French* King ſent the Admiral of *France* into *Scotland*, with a thouſand men of Arms, beſides Croſs-bows and others, to aid the *Scots* againſt the *Engliſh*; with which aid the *Scots* encouraged enter the *Engliſh* borders. Whereof King *Richard* advertiſed, himſelf with a mighty Army enters *Scotland* and coming to *Edenborough*, and finding all the people fled, he ſet fire on the houſes, burnt the Church of St. *Giles*, only *Holy-Rood-Houſe* was ſpared at the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s ſuit, in remembrance of the friendſhip he had formerly received in that houſe. The *Scots* by no means could be drawn to any Battel; but to divert the Kings Army, they entered *Cumberland*, and beſieged *Carliſle*, where by the valour of Sir *Lewis Clifford* and Sir *Thomas Muſgrave* they were repelled: and hearing of the Kings Army coming towards them, and fearing to be incloſed, they drew back into *Scotland*, and the King returned into *England*. But in this mean while, the *Engliſh* of *Callice* took many prizes of *French* Ships at Sea, and many booties alſo by land, at one time four thouſand Sheep, and three hundred head of great Cattel.

1385. King Richard with a mighty Army enters Scotland burns ſome Towns and returns.

This year the King called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, where he created two Dukes, one Marqueſs and five Earls: *Edmund* of *Langley* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Kings Unkle was created Duke of *York*: *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Earl of *Buckingham*, his other Unkle, Duke of *Gloceſter*: *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, was made Marqueſs of *Dublin*: *Henry* of *Bullingbrook*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, was created Earl of *Darby*: *Edward Plantagenet*, Son to the Duke of *York*, was made Earl of *Rutland*, *Michael de la Pool* Chancellour of *England*, was created Earl of *Suffolk*: and *Thomas Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham*, was made Earl Marſhal. Alſo by Authority of this Parliament *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Edmund Mortimer*, and of the Lady *Philip*, eldeſt Daughter and Heir to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son to King *Edward* the third, was eſtabliſhed Heir apparent to the Crown of the Realm, and ſhortly after ſo proclaimed: but going into *Ireland* to his Lordſhip of *Ulſter*, was there by the wilde *Iriſh* ſlain. This *Roger* Earl of *March* had iſſue, *Edmund*, *Roger*, *Anne* *Alice*, and *Eleanor*, which *Eleanor* was made a Nun: The two Sons died without iſſue: *Anne* his eldeſt Daughter was married to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Son to *Edmund* of *Langley*, which *Richard* had iſſue by the ſaid *Anne*, a Son called *Richard*, that was after Duke of *York*, and Father to King *Edward* the fourth: alſo a Daughter named *Iſabel* married to the Lord *Bourchier*. Alſo this year *Henry* of *Bullingbrook* Earl of *Derby*, married the Daughter and Heir of *Humfrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, in whoſe right he was afterward made Duke of *Hereford*.

Dukes and Earls created.

Roger Mortimer proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown His Iſſue.

This year alſo King *Richard* holding his *Chriſtmas* at *Eltham*, *Leo* King of *Armenia* came thither to him, who in fear to have his Kingdom conquered by the *Turks*, was come into Chriſtendom to ſeek for aid: but his chief errand into *England* was to have procured a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*; but their ſpleens were ſo great againſt one another, that it was not in the power of his Phyſick to cure them.

At this time the Duke of *Lancaſter*, taking with him his Wife the Lady *Conſtance*, and a Daughter he had by her named *Katherine*, and two other Daughter which he had by his former Wife, ſailed into *Spain*. He was attended in his journey with the Lord *Lucy*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Baſſet*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Walter*, *Poynings*, *Bradſton*, and many other Lords and Knights, to the number of fifteen hundred men of Arms; whereof a thouſand at leaſt were Knights, and Eſquires. The King at his taking leave gave him a Crown of Gold, and commanded he ſhould be called King of *Spain*: and the Queen likewiſe gave another Crown of Gold to the Dutcheſs. He landed firſt at *Breſt*, and freed that Caſtle from the *French*. From thence he ſailed, and arrived at the *Groyne* in *Spain*, where he remained a month; and then went to *Compoſtella*, where he ſtayed a while: In which time his Conſtable Sir *John Holland* won divers Towns. At *Manſon*, the King of *Portugal* and the Duke of *Lancaſter* met; where a marriage was concluded between the ſaid King of *Portugal*, and the Lady *Philip* Daughter to the Duke: which marriage ſhortly after was conſummated, and the Lady ſent into *Portugal* honourably accompanied. The Duke continued at *Compoſtella* all the Winter. At *March* the King of *Portugal* and he entred the Confines of *Caſtile*, where they took many Towns; and paſſing over the River of *Dure*, entred into the Country *Del-Campo*: But the *Spaniards* not willing to come to a Battel, but meaning to weary them out with delayes; the *Engliſh* not uſed to ſuch hot air, fell daily into many Diſeaſes, which the Duke ſeeing, accorded to a Truce. There died in this action the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *Richard* *Burley*, a Knight of the Garter; the Lord *Poynings*, and Sir *Henry Piercy*, Couſin-german to the Earl of *Northumberland*; alſo the Lord *Talbot*; and in all twelve great Lords, fourſcore Knights, two hundred Eſquires, and of the meaner ſort above five hundred. When the Army was broken up, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Dutcheſs his Wife went into *Portugal*; and after ſome ſtay there, they ſailed to *Bayon*, in the Marches of *Gaſcoigne*, where he reſted a long time after. In which mean while there were offers made for a Marriage to be had between the Duke of *Berry*, Unkle to the *French* King, and the Lady *Katherine*, Daughter to the Duke of *Lancaſter*: which the King of *Spain* underſtanding, he began to doubt, leſt if that marriage went forward, it might turn to his diſadvantage; and thereupon, by earneſt ſuit, at length concluded a Peace with the Duke of *Lancaſter*, on this wiſe, That his eldeſt Son *Henry* ſhould marry the Lady *Katherine*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Daughter, and be intituled Prince of *Auſtargus*: and in conſideration of this

The Duke of Lancaſter goes with a great traſt into Spain, whom King Richard commands to be called King of Spain.

The King of Portugal marries a Daughter of the Duke of Lancaſter.

Many Lords about the Duke dye of ſickneſs.

The King of Spain eldeſt Son marries the Duke of Lancaſter's Daughter.

this marriage, and that all claims should cease, which the Duke in right of his Wife might challenge or pretend, It was agreed, that the said Duke should receive yearly the sum of ten thousand Marks, during the lives of him and his Duchess: and to have in hand the sum of two hundred thousand Nobles.

A Navy of 1287. Ships prepared by the *French* to invade *England*.

At this time, the *French* had a purpose to invade *England*, with no less a hope than to make a Conquest; and to that end, they prepared a mighty Navy: so as in the month of *September*, there were numbred about *Sluis*, *Dam*, and *Blankerke*, 1287. Ships, besides those which were rigged in *Britain* by the Constable, who had caused an Inclosure of a Field to be made of Timber, that when they were landed in *England*, they might therewith inclose their Field, and so lodge at more surety. But it so fortuned that the Lord *William Beauchamp* Captain of *Calice*, took two of their Ships, whereof one was laden with a piece of the said inclosure; and after that, another Ship laden with Guns, Gunpowder and other Instruments of War; and after that again, two Ships more, laden with parcels of the said inclosure, which King *Richard* caused to be reared and set up about *Winchelsey* Town. At last the aforesaid Army came into *Flanders*, and arrived at *Sluis*; where after some stay, they were so distressed for Victuals, that in the end of *November* they were glad to be gone, and return into *France*.

But by *William Beauchamp* Captain of *Calice*, some of them taken and the rest distressed.

Robert Vere Earl of Oxford is created Duke of *Ireland*; And *Michael de la Pool* a Merchants Son is made Earl of *Suffolk* and Lord Chancellour.

At this time, in a Parliament, *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, and Marquess of *Dublin*, was created Duke of *Ireland*; and *Michael de la Pool* a Merchants Son, had lately been before created Earl of *Suffolk*, and made Chancellour of *England*. And now begins King *Richard* to enter (I may say) upon the Confines of his Destiny. His gracing of undeserving men, and disgracing of men deserving, if they were not the causes, they were at least the occasions of his own disgracing, and destruction in the end. He was now come to full age to do all himself, which was indeed to be of full age to undo himself; for the faults of his younger years might have the excuse to be but errours: but the faults of the age he was now at, were peremptory against him, and admitted no defence. And to hasten the pace of his destiny the faster, the ill counsel which before was but whispered in his ear, was now scarce forborn to be given him aloud. It is told him that he is under tuition no longer, and therefore not to be controuled, as in former times he had been; That to be crost of his will by his Subjects, was to be their subject. It is no Sovereignty, if it be not absolute. At the instigation of which Counsel, the King in a Parliament now assembled, fell to expostulate with the Lords, asking them what years they thought him to be of? who answering, that he was somewhat more than one and twenty; Well then (said he) I am out of your Wardship, and therefore look to enjoy my Kingdom as freely as your selves at the like years enjoy your Patrimonies. But his flattering Favourites should have remembred, that though the King may not be controuled, where he can command; yet he may be opposed where he can but demand, as now indeed he was: for when he came to demand a Subsidy towards his Wars, he was answered, That he needed no Subsidy from his Subjects, if he would but call in the debts which the Chancellour owed him: and if he were so tender of him, that he could not find in his heart to do it himself, they would do that work for him: and thereupon charged him with such crimes, that all his Goods were confiscate, and himself adjudged to dye, if the King so pleased: though some write, his sentence was only to pay a Fine of twenty thousand Marks, and a thousand pounds yearly beside. Upon this provocation, the opposite side seek present revenge. It is devised, that the Duke of *Gloucester* as principal, and other Lords that crossed the Kings courses, should be invited to a supper in *London*, and there be murthered. In the execution of which plot the former Lord Major, Sir *Nicholas Brembar*, had a special hand: but the present Major *Richard Exton*, moved to it by the King, would by no means consent; and thereupon the plot proceeded not. But for all these harsh strains, and many such other that passed this Parliament, a Subsidy was at length granted to the King, of half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth; but with condition, that it should not be issued, but by order from the Lords: and the Earl of *Arundel* was appointed to receive it. But before this time both Houses had directly agreed, that unless the Chancellour were removed, they would meddle no further in the Parliament. The King advertised hereof, sent to the Commons that they should send unto *Eltham* (where he then lay) forty of their House to declare their mindes unto him: but upon conference of both Houses, it was agreed, that the Duke of *Gloucester*, and *Thomas Arundel* Bishop of *Ely*, should in the name of the Parliament go unto him; who coming to the King, declared, that by an old Statute the King once a year might lawfully summon his Court of Parliament, for reformation of all corruptions and enormities within the Realm: and further declared, That by an old Ordinance also it was enacted, That if the King should absent himself forty dayes, not being sick, the Houses might lawfully break up, and return home. At this the King is said to say, Well, we perceive our people go about to rise against us; and therefore we think we cannot do better than to ask aid of our Cousin the King of *France*, and rather submit us to him than to our own Subjects. To which the Lords answered, they wondered at this opinion of his Majesty, seeing the *French* King was the ancient Enemy of the Kingdom, and he might remember what mischiefs were brought upon the Realm in King *John*'s time, by such a course. By these and the like perswasions the King was induced to come to the Parliament: and soon after *John Fortham* Bishop of *Durham* is discharged of his Office of Lord Treasurer, and in his place was appointed *John Gilbert* Bishop of *Hereford*, a Frier of the order of Preachers: Also *Michael de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, is discharged of his Office of Chancellour; and *Thomas Arundel* Bishop of *Ely*, by consent of Parliament, placed in his room. Also by order of Parliament, thirteen Lords were chosen to have oversight under the King, of the whole Government of the Realm: of which thirteen there

The King takes the Government upon himself.

The Chancellour is censured by the Parliament.

A plot to murther the Duke of *Glocester* and others that opposed the King.

But stopped by *Richard Exton* Major.

The Parliament requires to have the Chancellour removed.

If the King absent himself from the Parliament forty dayes, it may lawfully break up.

The Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chancellour are discharged of their Offices.

Thirteen Lords appointed to govern the Realm.

there were three of the New Officers named; as the Bishop of *Ely* Lord Chancellour, the Bishop of *Hereford* Lord Treasurer, and *Nicholas* Abbot of *Waltham*, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: The other ten were, *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander* Archbishop of *York*, *Edmund* of *Langly* Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloucester*, *William* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Exeter*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, *Richard* Lord *Scroop*, and *John* Lord *Devereux*. But this participation of the Government being found inconvenient, held not long. Also in this Parliament it was granted that *Robert de Vere*, lately before created Duke of *Ireland*, should have and receive to his own use 30000. Marks which the *French* men were to give for the Heirs of the Lord *Charles de Blois*; but it was granted upon this condition, That before the next *Easter* he should pass over into *Ireland*, to recover such Lands as the King had there given him: so desirous the Lords and Commons were to have him removed from the Kings presence. But though the King gave way to this torrent of the Parliament for the present, yet as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he dissolved also all that had been done, either against the Lord Chancellour, or against the Duke of *Ireland*, or against *Alexander Nevil*, Archbishop of *York*; and received them into more favour than ever he had done before.

As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, all they had done was presently again undone.

In his tenth year, about the beginning of *March*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, appointed Admiral, and *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, went to Sea, with a warlike power of men and Arms, to watch for the Fleet of *Flanders*, that was ready to come from *Rochel* with Wines; and meeting with them, they set upon them, took of them to the number of a hundred Vessels, all fraught with Wines: so as Wine grew so plentiful, that it was sold for thirteen shillings four pence the Tun; and the best and choicest for twenty shillings. Besides this, they landed in *Flanders*, where they relieved and fortified *Brest*, and demolished two Forts which the Enemy had built against it. But this happy service of the Earl of *Arundel*, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Simon Burley* and Sir *Richard Sturrey*, who continued still about the King, seemed rather to envy than to commend; insomuch that when the Earl of *Nottingham*, that had ever been the play-fellow, and of equal age to him, came to the Court, he was neither received by the Duke of *Ireland* with any good welcome, nor by the King with any good countenance: and therefore indeed, not by the King with any good countenance, because not by the Duke of *Ireland* with any good welcome.

The English Admiral takes 100. Ships all laden with *Rochel* Wines.

1387.

About this time the Duke of *Ireland* sought to be divorced from his lawful Wife, Daughter to the Lady *Isabel*, one of King *Edward* the third's Daughters; and took to Wife one *Lancerona*, a Viscounts Daughter of *Bohemia*, one of the Queens Maids: at which indignity, the Duke of *Gloucester*, that was Unkle to the Lady thus forsaken, took great displeasure; which the Duke of *Ireland* understanding, studied how by some means he might dispatch the Duke of *Gloucester* out of the way. *Easter* was now past,

The Duke of *Ireland* puts away his lawful Wife, near a kin to the Duke of *Gloucester*: and marries a *Bohemian* Maid.

Which the Duke of *Gloucester* offended at,

the time appointed for the Duke of *Ireland*'s going over into *Ireland*; when the King with shew to bring him to the waters side, went with him into *Wales*: and in his company *Michael de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Tresilian*, Lord Chief Justice, and divers others who there consulted how they might dispatch the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Derby*, *Notingham*, with divers others of that Faction. But when the King had remained in those parts a good while, he returned, and brought back the Duke of *Ireland* with him; and so his Voyage into *Ireland* was clean forgotten. About the same time *Robert Tresilian*, Chief Justice, came to *Coventry*, where he indicted two thousand persons. The King and the Queen came to *Groby*; and thither came by his Commandement, the Justices of the Realm, *Robert Belknap* Lord Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorpe*, and *William Borough*, Knights: to whom it was propounded, to answer to these Questions following:

It is plotted to dispatch him out of the way.

Questions propounded by the King to the Judges, against the Lords: who all answer as the King would have them.

First, Whether the new Statute and Commission made in the last Parliament, were against the Kings Prerogative, or no? To which they all answered, It was.

Secondly, how they ought to be punished, that procured the said Statute and Commission to be made? They answered with one assent, that they deserved death, except the King would pardon them.

Thirdly, How they ought to be punished who moved the King to consent to the making of the said Statute and Commission? They answered they ought to lose their lives, unless the King would pardon them.

Fourthly, How they ought to be punished, that compelled the King to the making of that Statute? They answered, they ought to suffer as Traitors.

Fifthly, Whether the King might cause the Parliament to proceed upon Articles by him limited, before they proceed to any other? They answered, That in this the King should overrule; and if any presumed to do contrary, he was to be punished as a Traitor.

Sixthly, Whether the King might not at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart; They all answered, He might.

Seventhly, Whether the Lords and Commons might, without the Kings will, impeach Officers and Justices, upon their Offences, in Parliament, or no? It was answered, They might not; and he that attempted contrary, was to suffer as a Traitor.

Eighthly, How he is to be punished, who moved in the Parliament, that the Statute wherein *Edward* the Second was Indicted in Parliament, might be sent for; by Inspection of which Statute, the present Statute was devised? It was answered, That as well he that moved it, as he that brought the Statute into the House, were to be punished as Traitors.

Ninthly, Whether the Judgement given in Parliament against *Michael de La Pool* were erroneous and revocable: They answered, It was erroneous and revocable: and that if the

Judge

Judgement were now to be given, the Justices would not give the same.

In witness of the Premises, the Justices aforesaid, to these Presents have set their Seals, in the presence of *Alexander* Archbishop of *York*, *Robert* Archbishop of *Dublin*, *John* Bishop of *Durham*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Chester*, *John* Bishop of *Bangor*, *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael* Earl of *Suffolk*, *John Ripon* Clerk, and *John Blake*.

At this time the *Londoners* incurred much obloquy; For, having before been pardoned by the King of some crimes laid to their charge, they were now ready to comply with the King in his desires: and thereupon being impanelled, they indicted some Lords of many crimes informed against them. But not only the Justices aforesaid, but all other Justices and Sheriffs of the Realm were called at this time to *Notingham*; the chief cause was, to understand what power of men they could assure the King of to serve him against the Lords: and further, that whereas he meant shortly to call a Parliament, they should so use the matter, that no Knight or Burgess should be chosen, but such as the King and his Council should name. To which the Sheriffs made answer, that it lay not in their power to assemble any forces against the Lords, who were so well beloved: And as for choosing Knights and Burgesses, the Commons would undoubtedly look to enjoy their antient liberties, and could not be hindered. But yet the King and the Duke of *Ireland* sent into all parts of the Realm, to raise men in this quarrel against the Lords; whereof the Duke of *Gloucester* being advertised he came secretly to conference with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Derby*: who upon consultation determined to talk with the King, with their Forces about them, and the King on the other part, took advice how he might apprehend them apart; and thereupon sent the Earl of *Northumberland*, and others, to the Castle of *Rygate*, to take the Earl of *Arundel*, who lay there at that time: but howsoever it fortuned, they failed of their purpose. After this he sent others to apprehend him, but he being warned by a Messenger from the Duke of *Gloucester*, conveyed himself away by night; and by morning was come to *Haringey* Park, where he found the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earl of *Warwick* with a great power of men about them. The King hearing of this Assembly at *Haringey* Park, called his Council, to hear their opinion what was fit to be done. Some were of opinion, that the King should assemble his friends, and joyning them with the *Londoners*, give them Battel; the chiefest of this mind was the Archbishop of *York*. Others thought best, the King should seek to appease the Lords with fair promises, till a fitter opportunity to suppress them. But the King not yet resolved what course to take, caused only order to be taken that no Citizen of *London* should sell to the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earl of *Arundel*, or to any other of the Lords, any Armour or furniture of War, under a great pain. But for all this the Lords proceeded in their course, and sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *John Lovel*, the Lord *Cobham*, and the Lord *John Devereux*, requiring to have delivered to them such as were about the King, that were Traitors and Seducers both of him and the Realm; and further to declare, that their assembling was for the honour and wealth both of him and the Kingdom. The Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and two or three other about the King, perswaded him to offer *Calice* to the King of *France*, to have his assistance against the Lords. Withal, the King sent to the Major of *London*, requiring to know how many able men the City could make? To which the Major answered, that he thought it could make fifty thousand men at an hours warning. Well then (said the King) go and prove what will be done. But when the Major went about it, he was answered, They would never fight against the Kings friends, and defenders of the Realm. At the same time the Earl of *Northumberland* said to the King: Sir, there is no doubt but these Lords have alwayes been, and still are your true and faithful Subjects, though now distemper'd by certain persons about you, that seek to oppress them; therefore my advice is, that you send to them, to come before your presence in some publick place: and I verily believe they will shew such reasons of their doings, that you will hold them excused. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely* Lord Chancellour, and other of the Bishops there present, approved all of the Earls advice; whereupon the King sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely* to the Lords, requiring them to come to him to *Westminster*, on Sunday then next following: which upon oath given by the Archbishop and the Chancellour, that no fraud nor evil practice should be used against them, they were content to do. But when the Lords were ready to come at the day appointed, they heard of an Ambush laid to entrap them at the *Mews*; and thereupon stayed, so as they came not at the time appointed. Whereupon the King asking why they came not according to their promise: It was answered, Because he kept not his promise: there being an Ambush of a thousand armed men laid to surprize them at the *Mews*. The King hearing this was astonied, and swore he knew of no such thing, and commanded presently the place should be searched: but it was true, an Ambush was laid; but not at the *Mews*, but in a place about *Westminster*, where Sir *Thomas Tryvet*, and Sir *Nicholas Brember* had assembled them. This one action might have made the King sensible of his favourites abusing his Authority; but that where affection makes the construction, all things are taken in a good sense. Or was it perhaps they had a Warrant Dormant, to prosecute the Kings ends without the Kings knowledge? Yet the Lords after this, receiving a safe conduct from the King, came to *Westminster*; of whose coming when the King heard he apparelled himself in his Royal Robes, and with his Scepter in his hand, came into the great Hall, before whom the Lords upon their knees presented themselves, the King bidding them welcome, and taking each of them by the hand. Then the Lord

No man to be gotten to fight against the Lords.

The King would have no Burgesses chosen to the Parliament but such as he should name, but this could not be.

The King seeks to apprehend the Duke of Gloucester, and others.

The Lords require to have some about the King delivered to them

What power the City could make upon a sudden.

The King requires the Lords to come unto him; but they hearing of an Ambush laid for them, forbear.

But upon safeconduct from the King they came, and the King receiveth them in show kindly.

Lord Chancellour making a ſpeech; wherein he blamed them for raiſing of Arms, and requiring to know the cauſe; they anſwered, They had done it for the good of the King and Kingdom, and to take away the Traitors about the King. Upon this the King himſelf ſpake, asking them whether they thought to compel him by ſtrong hand. Have not I (ſaith he) ſufficient men to beat you down? truly in this behalf I make no more account of you than of the baſeſt Skullion in my Kitchin. Yet after theſe great words he liſt up the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who all this while was kneeling, and commanded the reſt alſo to riſe; and then led them courteouſly to his Chamber, where they ſate and drank together. And finally it was concluded they ſhould all meet again, as well theſe Lords, as thoſe they accuſed at the next Parliament; which the King promiſed to call ſpeedily, and each party to receive there according to Juſtice, and in the mean time all parties to be in the King's protection. But when the Favourite-Lords heard this, they told the King plainly, they neither durſt nor would put themſelves to the hazard of ſuch a meeting; and therefore the Duke of *Ireland*, and the reſt of that faction left the Court to be out of the way: But the King not enduring their abſence, appointed *Thomas Molineux* Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, to raiſe an Army, and to ſafe-conduct the Duke of *Ireland* to him. But they being come as far as *Radcoat* Bridge, were encountred by the Earl of *Derby*; and the Duke of *Ireland* not daring to join Battel with him, fled, and being to paſs a River, caſt away his Gantlets and Sword (to be the more nimble) and giving his horſe the ſpur, leapt into the River, and ſo eſcaped: but when theſe things were afterward found, it was verily thought that he had been drowned, till news came he was got into *Holland*; where being no very welcom gueſt, he went from thence into the Biſhoprick of *Utrecht*, and after two or three years ſcambling about in manner of a fugitive, at *Lovain* in *Brabant* he ended his life. A man of many good parts, and worthy enough of his Princes favour, if with that favour he had not grown proud, and in that pride, injurious and inſulting over others no leſs deſerving than himſelf. He was valiant enough againſt any man but the Earl of *Derby*, and of him indeed both the Genius of the Duke of *Ireland*, and of King *Richard* himſelf ſeemed to ſtand in fear; for neither of them durſt meet him in the field, though encouraged to it by thoſe about them.

1388. It is concluded that at the next Parliament all parties ſhould be heard.

The Duke of *Ireland* flies into *Holland*, and after two or three years died at *Lovain*.

The Earl of *Derby* a terrour both to the Duke of *Ireland*, and to the King himſelf.

About this time the Duke of *Suffolk* doubting ſome plots laid to ſurprize him, fled over to *Calice* in diſguiſe, ſhaving his beard, and counterfeiting himſelf a Poulterer, to ſell certain fowl which he had gotten; but being come to *Calice*, was by the Lord *William Beauchamp*, Deputy of the Town, ſent back into *England*: whom the King notwithſtanding permitted to go at large, to make it be thought he was more afraid than hurt, more ſuſpicious than he needed. By this time the Lords had gotten matter enough againſt the King, at leaſt to juſtifie their Arms; and thereupon with an Army of forty thouſand men, they came to *London*, where after ſome debate, they were received: and then the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Derby* and *Nottingham*, went to the King in the *Tower*. To whom, after humble ſalutations, they ſhewed the Letter which he had written to the Duke of *Ireland*, to levy an Army for their deſtruction: likewiſe the Letters which the *French* King had written to him, containing a ſafe conduct for him to come into *France*, there to do acts to his own diſhonour and the Kingdoms.

The Lords with an Army of forty thouſand, come to the King at *London*, and ſhew their intention.

This done, upon the Kings promiſe that he would come the next day to *Weſtminſter* to treat further of theſe matters, the Lords departed; only the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Derby*, at the Kings inſtance, ſtayed all night: but before the King went to bed his mind was clean altered for keeping his promiſe to meet the Lords the next day at *Weſtminſter*: which the Lords underſtanding, they ſent peremptorily to him, that if he came not according to his promiſe, they would chooſe another King, that ſhould hearken to the faithful counſel of his Lords. This touched the King ſo to the quick, that the next morning he went and met the Lords; who there declared to him, how much it concerned the good of the Kingdom, that thoſe Traitors ſo often ſpoken of, ſhould be removed from the Court. To which the King, though much againſt his will, yet at laſt condeſcended; And thereupon preſently *Alexander Nevil* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Thomas Ruſhoke*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and Confeſſor to the King, were expelled the Court: who not willing to come to after-reckoning, fled no man knew whither. They expelled alſo *John Fordham*, Biſhop of *Durham*, Lord Treaſurer; the Lord *Zouch* of *Haringworth*, the Lord *Burvel*, the Lord *Beaumont*, *Albery de Vere*, *Baldwin de Bereford*, *Richard Adderbury*, *John Worth*, *Thomas Clifford*, and *John Lovel*, Knights: but conſtrained to put in ſureties to appear at the next Parliament. Alſo certain Ladies were expelled the Court, as the Lady *Peynings*, the Lady *Mouling*, and others, bound to appear at the next Parliament. There were alſo arreſted and committed to ſeveral Priſons, Sir *Simon Burley*, *William Elmham*, *John Beauchamp*, Steward of the Kings Houſe, Sir *John Salubury*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *James Berneys*, Sir *Nickolas Dagworth*, and Sir *Nicholas Brembar*, Knights. Alſo *Richard Clifford*, *John Lincoln*, *Richard Mitford*, the King's Chaplains: *Nicholas Selake*, Dean of the King's Chapel, and *John Blake* a Lawyer.

They threaten to chooſe a new King.

Hereupon the King removes or puts in peiſion all thoſe whom the Lords required.

Shortly after the Parliament began, (called afterward, the Parliament that wrought wonders.) On the firſt day whereof, were arreſted as they ſate in their places, all the Juſtices (but only Sir *William Shipwith*:) as Sir *Roger Fulthorpe*, Sir *Robert Belknappe*, Sir *John Cary*, Sir *John Holt*, Sir *William Brook*, and *John Allelton*, the King's Serjeant at Law; and were all ſent to the *Tower*, for doing contrary to an Agreement made the laſt Parliament. Alſo in the beginning of this Parliament, *Robert Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevil* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Michael de la Poole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Robert Treſilian* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, were openly called to anſwer *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, *Henry* Earl of *Derby* and *Thomas* Earl of *Nottingham*, upon certain Articles of High Treaſon: and becauſe none of them appeared, it was ordained by the whole conſent

The Parliament that wrought Wonders.

Where all the Judges but one are arreſted and ſent to the Tower.

of Parliament, that they should be banished for ever, and all their Lands and Goods seized into the Kings hands (their intailed Lands only excepted.) Shortly after the Lord Chief Justice *Robert Tresilian*, was found in an Apothecaries house in *Westminster*: where being taken, he was brought to the Duke of *Gloucester*, who caused him the same day to be had to the *Tower*, and from thence drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged. On the morrow after Sir *Nicholas Brember* was brought to his answer; who being found guilty, was beheaded with an Ax which himself had caused to be made for beheading of others. After this Sir *John Salisbury*, and Sir *James Berneys*, lusty young men, were drawn and hanged; as also Sir *John Beauchamp*, Lord Steward of the King's House, *John Blake* Esquire: and lastly, Sir *Simon Burley*, Son to the great Sir *John Burley*, Knight of the Garter, was beheaded on *Tower-hill*; whose death the King took more heavily and more hainously than all the rest. Also all the Justices were condemned to die, but by the Queens intercession they were only banished the Realm, and all their Lands and Goods confiscate, only a small portion of money was assigned them for their sustentation. Finally in this Parliament an Oath was required and obtained of the King, that he should stand unto, and abide such rule and order as the Lords should take: and this Oath was required also of all the Inhabitants of the Realm.

Robert Tresilian Chief Justice, a hanged at *Tyburn*, by the Duke of *Gloucester*.

Divers others executed.

All the Judges banished the Realm.

The King bound by Oath to stand to such order as the Lords should take.

In the latter end of the King's eleventh year, the Earl of *Arundel* was sent to Sea, with a great Navy of Ships and Men of War: with whom went the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Devonshire*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Camois*, Sir *William Elmham*, and divers other Knights, to aid the Duke of *Britain* against the King of *France*: but before they came, the Duke of *Britain* was reconciled to the King of *France*; and so needing not their aid, all this great Fleet returned with doing nothing. And it was indeed a year of doing nothing, unless we reckon some petty In-roads of the *Scots*: and that Sir *Thomas Tryvet* died with a fall off his Horse: and that Sir *John Holland*, the Kings Brother by the Mother, was made Earl of *Huntington*: and that there was contention in *Oxford*, between the Northern and the Southern Scholars, which was pacified by the Duke of *Gloucester*.

1388.

A Truce for three years between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*.

In his twelfth year, Commissioners were appointed to meet at *Balingham*, betwixt *Calice* and *Bologne*, to treat of a Peace between the Realms of *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*: and after long debating, a Truce was at last concluded, to begin at Midsummer next, and to last three years. But now the King to shew his plenary Authority of being at full age, removed the Arch-bishop of *York* from being Lord Chancellour, and put in his place *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*: also he removed the Bishop of *Hereford* from being Treasurer, and put another in his place: The Earl of *Arundel* likewise unto whom the Government of the Parliament was committed and the Admiralty of the Sea, was removed, and the Earl of *Huntington* put in his room.

William Wickham Bishop of *Winchester* made Lord Chancellor.

About this time the Lord *John Hastings*, Earl of *Pembroke*, as he was practising to learn to Just, was stricken about the privy parts, by a Knight called Sir *John St. John*: of which hurt he soon after died. In whose Family, It is memorable, that for many Generations together, no Son ever saw his Father, (the Father being alwaies dead before the Son was born.) The Original of this Family was from *Hastings* the *Dane*, who in the Reign of King *Alured*, long before the Conquest, about the year 890. came with *Rollo* into *England*. But howsoever, in this *John Hastings* ended the then honourable Titles of the *Hastings*; for this man dying without issue, his Inheritances were dispersed to divers persons: The honour of *Pembroke* came to *Francis at Court*, by the Kings gift: the Baronies of *Hastings* and *Welford* came to *Reynold Gray* of *Ruthin*; the Barony of *Abergavenny* was granted to *William Beauchamp* of *Bedford*.

A strange accident in the family of the Hastings, Earls of Pembroke, and the original of their Family.

About this time *John* Duke of *Lancaster* was created Duke of *Aquitain*, receiving at the Kings hands the Rod and the Cap, as investitures of that Duchy. Also the Duke of *York*'s Son and Heir was created Earl of *Richmond*.

In his thirteenth year a Royal Justs was proclaimed to be holden within *Smithfield* in *London*, to begin on Sunday next after the Feast of S. *Michael*, which being published; not only in *England*, but in *Scotland*, in *Almain*, in *Flanders*, in *Brabant*, and in *France*, many strangers came hither: amongst others *Valeran* Earl of S. *Poll*, that had married King *Richard*'s Sister; and *William* the young Earl of *Ostervant*, Son to *Albert de Bavière* Earl of *Holland* and *Heinault*. At the day appointed there issued forth of the *Tower*, about three a clock in the afternoon, sixty Coursers apparelled for the Justs; and upon every one an Esquire of Honour, riding a soft pace: After them came forth four and thirty Ladies of Honour, (*Froissard* saith threescore) mounted on Palfries, and every Lady led a Knight with a Chain of Gold. These Knights being on the Kings part, had their Armour and Apparel garnished with White-Harts, and Crowns of Gold, about their necks; and so they came riding through the streets of *London* unto *Smithfield*. The Just lasted divers daies, *Fabian* saith, four and twenty: All which time the King and Queen lay at the Bishops Palace by *Paul*'s Church, and kept open house for all comers.

1390.

A Royal Justs held in *Smithfield*, and the solemnity of it.

In his fifteenth year the Duke of *Lancaster* went into *France*, having in his train a thousand horse; and met the King of *France* at *Amiens*, to treat of a Peace between the two Kingdoms: but after long debate, a Truce only was concluded for a year.

1392.

About this time the King required the *Londoners* to lend him a thousand pounds: which they refused to do; and not only so, but they abused an *Italian* Merchant, for offering to lend it. This moved the King to some indignation: to which was added the complaint of a Riot committed by the Citizens, against the Servants of the Bishop of *Salisbury* Lord Treasurer; for that where one of the Bishops Servants, named *Walter Roman*, had taken a horse-loaf out of a Bakers Basket as he passed in the streets, and ran with it into his Lords house; the Citizens thereupon assaulted the house, and would not be quieted, till the Major and Aldermen were fain to come, and with much ado appeased them. Upon complaint hereof

The King displeased with the City of *London*, and why: and pacified.

The liberties of the City are ſeiſed, and a Warden is appointed to govern it.

hereof, urged againſt the Citizens, by the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* Lord Treaſurer, and *Thomas Arundel* Arch-biſhop of *York* Lord Chancellor, the Major and Aldermen, and divers other ſubſtantial Citizens are arreſted; the Major is committed to the Caſtle of *Windſor*, and the other to other Caſtles; the liberties of the City are ſeiſed into the Kings hands, and the authority of the Major utterly ceaſed, the King appointing a Warden to govern the City, firſt Sir *Edmund Derligrug*, and afterward Sir *Baldwin Radington*: till at length, by the ſpecial ſuit of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the King was contented to come to *London*, to ſo great joy of the Citizens, that they received him with four hundred on Horſe-back, clad all in one Livery, and preſented the King and Queen with many richgifts; yet all gave not ſatisfaction, to have their liberties reſtored, till they afterwards paid ten thouſand pounds. This it is to provoke a Lion. It may be fortune enough to us, if by any means we can but keep him quiet; for if once we provoke him to lay his paw upon us, it will be hard getting from him, and not be torn in pieces.

1393. In his ſixteenth year, the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, are once again ſent into *France*, to treat of a Peace: but when they could not agree with the *French* Commiſſioners upon Articles propounded, there was only a Truce concluded for four years; though perhaps a further agreement had then been made, but that the King of *France* fell newly again into his old fit of Frenſie, which called away the *French* Commiſſioners from further Treaty.

1375. In his eighteenth year, a Proclamation was ſet forth, That all *Iriſh* men ſhould avoid this Realm, and return home. The occaſion was, becauſe ſo many *Iriſh* were come over, that *Ireland* in a manner was left unpeopled: inſomuch, that where King *Edward* the third had received from thence yearly the ſumm of thirty thouſand pounds, the King now laid forth as much to repel Rebels. Whereupon at *Michaelmas* King *Richard* went himſelf into *Ireland*, attended with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *March*, *Nottingham* and *Rutland*, the Lord *Thomas Piercy* Lord Steward, and divers others of the *Engliſh* Nobility; to whom came in the great *Oneal* King of *Meth*, *Bryan* of *Thomond* King of *Thomond*, *Arthur Macmur* King of *Leymſter*, and *Conhur* King of *Chevency* and *Darpe*: and there King *Richard* ſtayed all that Winter, and after *Chriſtmas* called a Parliament. At which time alſo the Duke of *York*, Lord Warden of *England*, in the King's name called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; to the which was ſent forth of *Ireland* the Duke of *Gloceſter*, that he might declare to the Commons the Kings great occaſions for ſupply of money: whoſe words ſo far prevailed, that a whole tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity.

All *Iriſh* men commanded to avoid the Realm, and why.

King *Richard* goes into *Ireland*.

1397. In his twentieth year was a famous Enterview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*: where was ſet up for King *Richard* a rich Pavilion, a little beyond *Guyſnes*, within the *Engliſh* pale; and another the like for the *French* King, on this ſide *Arge*. The Diſtance betwixt the two Tents was beſet on either ſide with Knights armed with their ſwords in their hands, four hundred *Engliſh* on one ſide, and four hundred *French* on the other. The two Kings before their meeting took a ſolemn Oath for aſſurance of their faithful and true meaning, to obſerve the ſacred laws of amity one toward another, in this enterview. After the two Kings were come together, it was accorded, that in the ſame place where they met, there ſhould be builded at both their coſts a Chapel for a perpetual memory, which ſhould be called, the Chapel of our Lady of Peace. On *Simon* and *Jude's* day, the Kings talked together of Articles concerning the Peace; and having concluded them, they received either of them an Oath, upon the holy Evangeliſts, to obſerve and keep them. This done, the *French* King brought his Daughter *Iſabel*, and delivered her to King *Richard*, who ſhortly after at *Calice* married her; and upon the ſeventeenth of *January*, following, ſhe was Crowned Queen at *Weſtminſter*. A match of great honour, but of little conveniency, and leſs profit; for the Lady being but eight years of age, there could be no hope of Iſſue for a long time, which was King *Richard's* greateſt want; and as little ſupply of his wants otherwiſe, her Portion perhaps ſcarce paying the charges of his journey to fetch her, which coſt him three hundred thouſand Marks.

A famous Enterview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, and the manner of it.

King *Richard* marries *Iſabel* the King of *France's* daughter, being but eight years of age.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* in the thirteenth year of King *Richard's* reign, had been created Duke of *Aquitain*; but when the *Gaſcoigners* would not receive him, ſhewing reaſons why that Dukedom ought not to be ſeparated from the Crown of *England*, his Grant was revoked, and ſo it remained ſtill in Demeſne of the Crown.

At this time, in a Parliament, the Duke of *Lancaſter* cauſed to be legitimated the Iſſue he had by *Katherine Swinford*, before he married her; of whom *Thomas Beaufort* was created Earl of *Somerſet*.

The Duke of *Lancaſter's* iſſue by *Katherine Swinford*, legitimated by Parliament.

This year alſo, the King receiving the money back, which had been lent to the Duke of *Britain*, upon *Breſt*, delivered up the Town unto him; and thereupon, the *Engliſh* ſouldiers that were there in Garriſon were all diſcharged and ſent home: who, at a Feaſt which the King kept at *Weſtminſter*, coming in companies together into the Hall; as ſoon as the King had dined, and was entring into his Chamber, the Duke of *Gloceſter* asked him, if he did mark thoſe men that ſtood in ſuch troops in the Hall: yes marry (ſaid the King) who were they? They were (ſaid the Duke) thoſe Souldiers, who by your rendring up of *Breſt* have been ſent home, and now muſt either ſtarve or ſteal; and therewithal, very unadviſedly in words, taxed the King with unadviſedneſs of his deed. To whom the King in great anger replied, Why Uncle, do you think me either a Merchant, or a Fool, to ſell my Land? By St. *John Baptiſt*, No: But could I refuſe to render the Town, when tender was made me of the money lent upon it? Indeed nothing could more diſcover the Duke of *Gloceſter's* either weakneſs if he knew not that *Breſt* was but only a mortgage; or injuſtice, if knowing it, he would have had the King, though the money were tendred, to have kept it ſtill; but ſuch is the courſe of many, to take part with the Politicks againſt the Ethicks; work their ends by doing unjuſtly, when doing juſtly

The Duke of *Gloceſter* with unadviſed words moves the King to anger.

ought to be their chiefeſt end. However it was, the multiplying of words about this matter, kindled in the King ſuch a diſpleaſure againſt the Duke, that it could never afterwards be quenched, but by his blood. And firſt he complained to his other two Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, of his undutiful behaviour towards him; who told the King, their Brother perhaps might let fall ſome unadviſed words, but they knew his heart to be true and faithful. Yet doubting how far the King might preſs upon them to anſwer for their Brothers faithfulneſs, they retired from Court: which gave the Dukes enemies time to incenſe the King farther againſt him.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* and other Lords conſpire to ſeize upon K. *Richard*, but are diſcovered.

It happened that the Duke of *Gloceſter* had with him one day at his houſe, the Abbot of St. *Albans* that was his Godfather, and the Prior of *Weſtminſter*; and after dinner falling in talk with them, amongſt other communications the Duke required the Prior to tell truth, whether he had any Viſion the night before? To which the Prior was loth at firſt to make a direct Anſwer; but at laſt, being earneſtly requeſted, as well by the Abbot as the Duke, he confeſſed that he had a Viſion indeed, which was, that the Realm of *England* ſhould be deſtroyed through the miſgovernance of King *Richard*. By the Virgin *Mary* (ſaid the Abbot) I had the very ſame Viſion. Whereupon the Duke preſently diſcloſed to them all the ſecrets of his mind; and by their devices contrived an Aſſembly of divers great Lords of the Realm, to meet at *Arundel* Caſtle that day fortnight: at which time he appointed to be there himſelf, with the Earls of *Derby*, *Arundel*, *Marſhall*, and *Warwick*, alſo the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Abbot of St. *Albans*, the Prior of *Weſtminſter*, with divers others. And accordingly all theſe met at *Arundel Caſtle*, at the day appointed; where receiving firſt the Sacrament, by the hands of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, to be aſſiſtant each to other, in all ſuch matters as they ſhould determin, They reſolved to ſeiſe upon King *Richard*, and upon the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, and commit them to Priſon: and all the other Lords of the Kings Council, they determined ſhould be drawn and hanged. But the Earl Marſhal, that was Deputy of *Calice*, and had married the Earl of *Arundel*'s daughter, diſcovered all their counſel to the King; who thereupon, by a plot deviſed by his Council, took his Brother the Earl of *Huntington* with him, and riſing from ſupper, rode that night to the Duke of *Gloceſters* houſe at *Plaſhey* in *Eſſex*. When the King came thither, the Duke was in bed; but informed of it, caſt his Cloak about his ſhoulders, and came down, bidding the Kings grace, with all reverence, welcom. The King courteouſly requeſted him to go and make himſelf ready, for that he muſt needs ride with him a little way, to confer of ſome buſineſs. The Duke preſently made him ready and came down; and as ſoon as the King and his company was gone a little way from the houſe, and the Duke with him, the Earl Marſhal arreſted the Duke, as he had been appointed to do by the King, who immediately was ſent to *Callice*: where after ſome time he was diſpatched of his life, either ſtrangled, or elſe ſmothered with Pillows, as ſome write.

The King by a wile, ſeizeth upon the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and ſends him preſently to *Calice*, where ſoon after he loſt his life.

At the very ſame time was the Earl of *Arundel* apprehended by the Earls of *Rutland* and *Kent*: the Earl of *Warwick* alſo when the King had invited him to dinner, and ſhewed him very good countenance, was taken and arreſted in the place: as likewiſe at the ſame time were apprehended, and committed to the Tower, the Lord *John Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheyney*. Shortly after, the King procured them to be indicted at *Nottingham*, ſuborning ſuch as ſhould appeal them in Parliament; namely *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earl Marſhal, *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Spencer*, and the Lord *William Scroope* Lord Chamberlain; and in the mean time, the King ſent for a power of *Cheſhire* men, to keep Watch and Ward about his Perſon.

Divers other Lords committed to the Tower.

On the 17 of *September*, a Parliament began at *Weſtminſter*; wherein the King complained as well of many things done by the Lords in his Minority, as alſo of the hard dealing which they had uſed towards the Queen, who was three hours at one time on her knees, before the Earl of *Arundel*, for one of her Eſquires, named *John Calverley*, who nevertheleſs had his head ſmitten from his ſhoulders: and all the anſwer ſhe could get, was this, Madam, pray for your ſelf and your Husband, and let this ſuit alone. Thoſe that ſet forth the Kings grievances in this Parliament, were *John Buſhie*, *William Bagot*, and *Thomas Green*. The cauſe of aſſembling the Parliament was ſhewed, That the King had called it for reformation of divers tranſgreſſions againſt the peace of this Land, by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick* and others. Then Sir *John Buſhie*, Speaker of the Parliament, made requeſt on behalf of the Commonalty, that they might be puniſhed according to their deſervings: and ſpecially the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, who then ſat next the King, whom he accuſed of high Treaſon. When the Arch-biſhop began to anſwer, Sir *John Buſhie* beſought the King, That he might not be admitted to anſwer, leſt by his great wit and cunning he might lead men away to believe him. And here Sir *John Buſhie* in all his talk did not attribute to the King titles of honour due and accuſtomed, but ſuch as were fitter for the Majeſty of God than for any earthly Prince. And when the Arch-biſhop was conſtrained to keep ſilence, Sir *John Buſhie* proceeded; requiring on the behalf of the Commons, That the Charters of Pardon, granted to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, ſhould be revoked. The King for his part proteſted that they were drawn from him by compulſion; and therefore beſought them to deliver their opinions, what they thought thereof. Whereupon, the Biſhops firſt gave their ſentence, that the ſaid Pardons were revokable, and might be called in; but pretending a ſcrupuloſity, as if they might not with ſafe conſciences be preſent, where Judgement of blood ſhould paſs, they appointed a Lay-man to be their Prolocutor for that turn. The Temporal Lords likewiſe gave their ſentence, That the Pardons were revokable: only the Judges and Lawyers

Sir *John Buſhie* Speaker of the Parliament, attributes divine titles to the King.

The Lords ſpiritual and Temporal, give their opinions one way, and the Judges and Lawyers another.

Lawyers were not of this opinion. But howſoever the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* is hereupon condemned to perpetual Exile, and appointed to avoid the Realm within ſix weeks. Alſo the Earl of *Arundel* is by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who ſate that day as High Steward, condemned of Treaſon, and on the *Tower-hill* beheaded. There went to ſee the execution, divers Lords, amongſt whom was the Earl of *Nottingham*, that had married his Daughter; and the Earl of *Kent*, that was his Daughters Son: to whom, at the place of his execution he ſaid, Truly it would have beſeemed you rather to be abſent, than here at this buſineſs; but the time will come e're long, that as many ſhall marvel at your misfortune, as they do now at mine. After his death, a fame went, that his head was grown to his body again: whereupon, the tenth day after his burial, his body by the Kings appointment was taken up, and then found to be a Fable. After this, the Lord *Thomas Beaucamp* Earl of *Warwick* was brought forth, and charged with the like Treaſons; but by the interceſſion of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and other Lords, after confeſſion of his fault, was only confin'd into the Iſle of *Man*. Likewiſe the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheyny* were only baniſhed; or (as *Fabian* ſaith) condemned to perpetual Priſon. The Parliament after this was held at *Shrewsbury*; where, for the love the King bore to the Gentlemen and Commons of the Shire of *Cheſter*, he cauſed it to be Ordained, that from thenceforth it ſhould be called and known by the name of the Principality of *Cheſter*: and herewith intituled himſelf Prince of *Cheſter*. At this Parliament alſo, called the Great Parliament, he created five Dukes, and a Ducheſs; one Marqueſs, and four Earls. The Earl of *Derby* was created Duke of *Hereford*; the Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Norfolk*; the Earl of *Rutland*, Duke of *Albemarle*; the Earl of *Kent*, Duke of *Surrey*; the Earl of *Huntington*, Duke of *Exeter*; and the Lady *Margaret Marſhal*, Counteſs of *Norfolk*, was created Ducheſs of *Norfolk*; the Earl of *Somerſet* was created Marqueſs of *Dorſet*; the Lord *Spencer* was made Earl of *Gloceſter*; the Lord *Nevil*, Earl of *Weſtmerland*; the Lord *Scroop*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*: and the Lord *Thomas Piercy* Lord Steward of the Kings Houſe, was made Earl of *Worceſter*; and for the better maintenance of their eſtate, he divided amongſt them a great part of thoſe Lands that belonged to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*. Alſo in this Parliament, the Judges gave their opinions, That when Articles are propounded by the King to be handled in Parliament, if other Articles be handled before thoſe be firſt determined, that it is Treaſon in them that do it. And in this Parliament, the King brought it ſo about, that he obtained the whole power of the Parliament to be conferred upon certain perſons, namely, *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Edmund* Duke of *York*, *Edmund* Duke of *Aumerle*, *Thomas* Duke of *Surrey*, *John* Duke of *Exeter*, *John* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, *Roger* Earl of *March*, *John* Earl of *Salisbury*, and divers others, or to any ſeven or eight of them; and theſe, by vertue of this Grant, proceeded to conclude upon many things, which concerned generally the things of the whole Parliament, to the great prejudice of the State, and a dangerous example in time to come. A general Pardon was alſo granted for all offences, to all the Kings ſubjects, but only to fifty, whoſe names he would not expreſs, but reſerved them to his own knowledge, That when any of the Nobility offended him, he might at his pleaſure name him to be one of the number excepted, and ſo keep them ſtill within his danger. And for the more ſtrengthening the Acts of his Parliament, the King purchaſed the Popes Bulls, containing grievous cenſures and curſes to them that ſhould break them. And now the Heads of the oppoſite Faction having loſt their heads, and all things as well ſettled as could be deſired, the King was ſecure, as thinking himſelf ſafe; and he had indeed been ſafe, if Time and Fortune were not Actors in Revenge, as well as men: or rather, if a ſuperiour power did not interpoſe, whoſe waies are as ſecret as himſelf is invincible.

The Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* is baniſhed.

The Earl of *Arundel* is beheaded.

A Miracle reported of him after his death, but found a fable.

Cheſter made a Principality.

Dukes and Earls created.

What Articles are firſt to be handled in Parliament.

The whole authority of Parliament conferred upon certain perſons.

A general pardon, but only to fifty, and why.

It now fell out, (though Writers differ what it was fell out) for ſome write, that *Thomas Mowbray* accuſed the Duke of *Hereford*; others, that *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* accuſed *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, for ſpeaking words ſounding highly to the Kings diſhonour; to which the Duke of *Norfolk*, being called to anſwer, charged the Duke of *Hereford* before the King, that he lyed falſly. Whereupon a Combat was agreed upon between them. The King laboured to make them friends, but not prevailing, he gave way to proceed in Combat, and the place to be at *Coventry*; where at the day and hour appointed the Duke of *Hereford*, mounted on a white Courſer, barded with green and blew Velvet, imbroidered ſumptuouſly with Swains and Antelops of Goldſmiths work, approached the Liſts. Of whom the Marſhal, being the Duke of *Surrey*, demanding who he was? he anſwered; I am *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, Duke of *Hereford*, that am come hither to do my endeavour againſt *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, as a Traitor, untrue to God, the King, his Realm, and me: Then incontinently he ſwore upon the holy Evangelifts, that his quarrel was true and juſt; and thereupon required to enter the Liſts, where, in a Chair of green Velvet he ſat down and repoſed himſelf. Then came the Duke of *Norfolk*, his Horſe barded with Crimſon Velvet, imbroidered richly with Lions of Silver, and Mulbery-trees; and when he had taken his Oath before the Conſtable the Duke of *Aumerle*, that his quarrel was juſt, he entered the Liſts, and ſat him down in his Chair of Crimſon Velvet, curtained about with white and red Damask. Then the Marſhal viewed their Spears, to ſee that they were of equal length; and the Heralds proclaimed, on the Kings behalf, they ſhould mount on Horſeback, and addreſs themſelves to the Combat: but when they were ſet forward, and had their Spears in their Reſts, the King caſt down his Warder, and the Heralds cryed, Stay, Stay. Then the King cauſed their Spears to be taken from them, and deliberated with his Council, what was fit to be done in ſo weighty a cauſe. After two long hours it was at laſt concluded, that *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* ſhould within

1398.

Thomas Mowbray Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, accuſed each other.

Whereupon a Combat is agreed upon between them, and in what manner.

fifteen

That the King interposeth and banisheth the Duke of *Norfolk* for ever: the Duke of *Hereford* for six years.

fifteen daies to depart out of the Realm, and not return before ten years were expired, upon pain of death; and that *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk* should likewise avoid the Realm, and never return into *England*, upon the like pain. It is observable, that this Censure was passed against the Duke of *Norfolk*, the very same day twelve month in which he had taken order to put the Duke of *Gloucester* to death at *Callice*, whereof he was then Governour. When these Judgements were once read, the King called before him both the Dukes, and made them swear that the one should never come in place where the other was. After this, the Duke of *Norfolk* went into *Almain*, and from thence went to *Venice*; where after some time he died with sorrow. The Duke of *Hereford*, at the taking his leave of the King, had four years of his banishment released; and then went to *Callice*, and from thence to *Paris*: where, of the *French* King he was so kindly received, that by his favour he had obtained in marriage the only daughter of the Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the *French* King, if King *Richard* by Messengers had not hindred him. The Duke might have made his banishment, in manner of a visitation, if he had gone into *Spain*; for there he had two sisters married, the one to the King of *Portugal*, the other to the King of *Spain*, to whom his coming would have been most welcome: but he chose rather to make his stay in *France*, as the place where he might soonest have intelligence out of *England*; and indeed before a year came about, he heard of the death of his Father, the Duke of *Lancaster*: and heard withal that King *Richard* had seised into his hands, all the Lands descended upon him, contrary to his promise.

The delinquencies of great men punished only with banishment; and the danger of it.

It was a custom in those daies, to punish the delinquencies of great men by banishment out of the Realm, a custom not more grievous to the Subject than dangerous to the Prince: for by this course they had means to work so closely in their minds of revenge, that the Fabrick of a Kingdom was in danger to be blown up before their working could be perceived. An example whereof was never more plainly seen than at this time, in the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Hereford*; For they in their banishment meeting often together, and aggravating the grievances of King *Richard*'s Government, fell at last to consult by what means he might best be removed, seeing there was no hope he could ever be reclaimed. In the time of their consultation about it, as if Fortune her self meant to do their work for them, solicitations came from many parts of *England*, to move the Duke of *Hereford* to come now and take the Government upon him, wherein they would be ready to assist him. The Duke heated before by the Arch-bishop's instigation, and now set on fire by this solicitation, gives Fortune no leisure to alter her mind, by delaying the time; but without further deliberation prepares to be going: and taking with him the Arch-bishop, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington*, and Sir *Thomas Ramston*, Knights; *John Norbury*, *Robert Waterton*, and *Francis Coynt*, Esquires, and about some threescore other persons, as many as he could readily get, in three Ships which the Duke of *Britain* lent him, he put to Sea: where hovering about the Coast a while, to mark the countenance of the shores, he landed at last, about the beginning of *July*, at *Ravenspure* in *Yorkshire*. Which no sooner was known, but there repaired to him the Lords, *Willoughby*, *Ross*, *Darcy*, and *Beaumont*; and shortly after, at *Doncaster*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son Sir *Henry Piercy*, with the Earl of *Westmerland*, and great numbers of the Gentry and common sort: of whom though some had invited him to come to take the Government of the Realm upon him, yet he forbore to pretend that for any cause of his coming, but made a solemn protestation, that he came only to take possession of the inheritances descended upon him from his Father, which King *Richard* most unjustly, and contrary to his promise, had seised into his hands: for this was a reason had no objection: the other he reserved, till his power should not need to regard objections. And indeed, no snow-ball ever gathered greatness so fast by rolling, as his Forces increased by marching forward; for by that time he came to *Berkley*, he had got a mighty Army: and within three daies after, all the Kings Castles in those parts were surrendred to him. The Duke of *York* left Governour of the Kingdom, used his best means to raise Forces to resist him; but found few willing to bear Arms against him: whereupon, and perhaps hearing withal that the Dukes coming was but only to take possession of his Inheritance, he thought good to go to *Berkley* to him, to have there some communication about it. At *Berkley* at that time was arrested the Bishop of *Norwich*, Sir *William Elmham*, and Sir *Walter Burleigh*, Knights; *Lawrence Drew*, and *John Golofer*, Esquires. From *Berkley* the two Dukes went forwards towards *Bristow*, where in the Castle were the Lord *William Scroop*, Earl of *Wiltshire*, and Treasurer of *England*; Sir *Henry Green*, and Sir *Henry Bushy*, who were taken and brought forth bound before the Duke of *Lancaster*: and the day after arraigned before the Constable and Marshal, found guilty of Treason for misgoverning the King and the Realm, and presently had their heads smitten off. Sir *John Russel* also was taken there; but he feigning himself to be out of his wits, escaped for that time.

1399.

He lands with three Ships at Ravenspure in Yorkshire.

He pretends his coming to claim the inheritance descended upon him from his Father.

1399.

Many Lords repair to him, and all the Kings Castles are surrendred to him.

The Lord Scroop Treasurer of England; with Sir Henry Green and Sir Henry Bushy, have their heads smitten off.

The Duke of *Lancaster* is solicited to return into *England*.

All this while King *Richard* was in *Ireland*, where he performed Acts in repressing the Rebels there, not unworthy of him; and having with him amongst other of the great Lords, the Duke of *Lancaster*'s Son *Henry*, he there for his towardliness in service, Knighted him. By which it appeared that he had no great fear of the Father, when he graced the Son; and indeed he needed not have feared him, if his own absence out of *England* had not given him advantage. Six weeks were now passed after the Dukes arrival in *England*; in all which time King *Richard* had no notice of it, by reason the winds were contrary to come forth of *England*: But as soon as he heard it, and in what hostile manner he proceeded, he then determined to return instantly into *England*; and had done it but that the Duke of

King Richard being in Ireland, had no notice in six weeks of the Dukes arrival in England.

Hearing it, he prepares presently to return;

Aumerle

Hearing it he prepares precipitately to return: but is otherwise counselled by the Duke of *Aumerle*.

Aumerle his Principal Counsellour (whether out of a good meaning, but grounded upon errors; or out of an ill meaning, but shadowed with colours) by all means perswaded him to stay so long till things fitting for his journey might be made ready. It was King *Richard*'s ill luck to hearken to this ill counsel: but yet he presently sent the Earl of *Salisbury* into *England*, to provide him an Army out of *Wales* and *Cheshire*, against his own coming; which he promised faithfully should be within six days at the most. The Earl landed at *Conway* in *Wales*, and had soon gotten to the number of forty thousand men: but the six dayes passed and no news of the King; which made the Souldiers suspect that he was dead, and thereupon were ready to disband; but at the Earl of *Salisburies* perswasion, they were contented to stay for some dayes longer, and when the King came not in that time neither, they then would stay no longer, but departed and went home. At length, about eighteen days after that the King had sent away the Earl of *Salisbury*, he took shipping, together with the Dukes of *Aumerle*, *Exeter*, and *Surrey*, and divers others of the Nobility; with the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlile*; and landed at *Barkslowly* in *Wales*. He had about him some *Cheshire* men, and was at first in no great doubt of prevailing; but when he heard that all the Castles from the Borders of *Scotland* and *Bristow* were delivered to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and that the greatest part of the Nobility and Commons took part with him, and specially that his principal Counsellours had lost their heads at *Bristow*; then, *solvuntur frigore membra*, he fell so utterly to despair, that calling his Army together, he licensed every man to be gone, and so shift for himself. The Souldiers besought him to be of good chear, swearing they would stand with him to the death: but this encouraged him not at all; so as the next night he stole from his Army, and with the Dukes of *Exeter*, and *Surrey*, the Bishop of *Carlile*, Sir *Stephen Scroop* and some half a score others, he got him to the Castle of *Conway*, where he found the Earl of *Salisbury* determining there to stay, till he might see the world at some better stay. Here the Earl of *Worcester* Steward of the Kings house, broke his white staff, and without delay went to the Duke of *Lancaster*; who understanding that King *Richard* was returned out of *Ireland*, he left the Duke of *York* at *Bristow*, and came back with his power to *Berkely*, and from thence the next day came to *Glocester*, and then to *Rosse*, after to *Hereford*, where came to him the Bishop of *Hereford*, and Sir *Edmund Mortimer*: on the Sunday following he went to *Leymster*, and there the Lord *Carleton* came to him: from thence he went to *Ludlow*, and the next day to *Shrewsbury*, and thither came to him Sir *Robert Leigh*, and Sir *John Leigh*, and many others, being sent from *Chester*, to offer their service; thither also came to him the Lord *Scales*, and the Lord *Bardolph*, forth of *Ireland*: From *Shrewsbury* he went to *Chester*, and from thence sent for his Son and Heir, and likewise for the Duke of *Glocester*'s Son and Heir (whom King *Richard* had left in custody in *Ireland*) with all speed to come into *England*, but the Duke of *Glocester*'s Son through misfortune perished at Sea, or as some write, died of the plague; the sorrow whereof caused, shortly after, his Mothers death. After this, the Duke sent the Earl of *Northumberland* to the King, who upon safe conduct coming to him, declared, that if it might please his Grace to undertake, that there should be a Parliament assembled, in which Justice might be had, and herewith pardon the Duke of *Lancaster* of all things wherein he had offended, the Duke would be ready to come to him on his knees, and as an humble Subject obey him in all dutiful services. Yet upon this conference with the Earl, some say the King required only, that himself and eight more, whom he would name, might have honourable allowance, with assurance of a private quiet life, and that then he would resign his Crown; and that upon the Earls Oath that this should be performed, the King agreed to go with the Earl to meet the Duke: but after four miles riding, coming to the place where they laid an Ambush, the King was enclosed, and constrained to go with the Earl of *Rutland*, where they dined, and from thence to *Flint* to bed. The King had very few of his friends about him, but only the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Carlile*, the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *Nicholas Ferebye*, and *James d' Artois* a *Gascoine*, who still wore a white Hart, the Cognisance of his Master King *Richard*, and neither for Promises nor Threats would be drawn to leave it off.

The Duke of *Lancaster* offers condition to the King.

Which the Earl of *Northumberland* undertakes upon his Oath should be performed.

Hereupon the King goes to meet the Duke, but is entrapped in an Ambush, and carried to *Flint* Castle.

1399.

The King being in the Castle of *Flint*, and Duke *Henry* with his Army approaching near the Town, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Duke of *Aumerle* and the Earl of *Worcester*, went before to the King; whom the King spying from the Walls where he stood, went down to meet, and finding they did their due reverence to him on their knees, he took them up, and taking the Archbishop aside, talked with him a good while; and it was reported, the Archbishop willed him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured not to have any hurt as touching his person. After this the Duke of *Lancaster* came to the Castle himself, all armed; and being within the first gate he there stayed till the King, accompanied with the Bishop of *Carlile*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Stephen Scroop*, who bore the Sword before him, came forth, and sate down in a place prepared for him. As soon as the Duke saw him, he came towards him bowing his knee; and coming forward, did so the second time, and the third, till the King took him by the hand and lift him up, saying, Dear Cousin, you are welcome. The Duke humbly thanking him, said: My Sovereign Lord and King, the cause of my coming at this present is, (your Honour saved) to have restitution of my Person, my Lands, and Heritage: whereto the King answered, Dear Cousin, I am ready to accomplish your will, so that you may enjoy all that is yours without exception. After this coming forth of the Castle, the King called for Wine; and after they had drunk, they mounted on horseback, and rode to *Chester*, the next day to *Nantwich*, then to *Newcastle*, from thence to *Stafford*, and then to *Lichfield*, and there rested Sunday: after that they

The King comes over and finding the Army disbanded, falls to despair, and secretly the next night gets him to *Conway* Castle.

The Dukes reverence to the King in coming to him.

they rode forward, and lodged first at *Coventry*, then at *Daintree*, then at *Northampton*, next day at *Dunstable*, then at St. *Albans*, and so came to *London*. In all which journey they suffered not the King to change his apparel, but made him ride still in one suite of rayment; and that but a simple one, though he in his time was exceeding sumptuous in Apparel, having one Coat which was valued at thirty thousand Marks: and in this sort he was brought the next day to *Westminster*, and from thence the next day had to the *Tower*, and committed to safe Custody. After this, a Parliament was called by the Duke of *Lancaster*, but in the name of King *Richard*; in which many heinous points of Mis-government were laid to his charge, and were ingrossed up in three and thirty Articles, the chief were these.

But yet is he shortly carried away and committed to the Tower.

Articles delivered to the Parliament against King *Richard*.

That he had wastefully spent the Treasure of the Realm.

That without Law or Justice, he had caused the Duke of Glocester, *and the Earl of* Arundel *to be put to death.*

That he had borrowed great summs of money, and given his Letters Patents to repay the same, and yet not one penny ever paid.

That he had said, The Laws of the Realm were in his head, and his breast: by reason of which fantastical opinion he destroyed Noblemen, and impoverished the Commons.

That he changed Knights and Burgesses of the Parliament at his pleasure.

That most tyrannously he said, That the lives and goods of all his Subjects were in his hands, and at his disposition.

That whereas divers Lords were by the Court of Parliament appointed to treat of matters concerning the state of the Kingdom; they being busied about the same Commission, he went about to appeach them of high Treason.

That by force and threats, he enforced the Judges of the Realm, at Shrewsbury, *to condescend to his way, for the destruction of divers of the Lords.*

That he caused his Fathers own Brother, the Duke of Glocester, *without Law to be attached and sent to* Callice, *and there without reason, secretly murthered.*

That notwithstanding the Earl of Arundel, *at his arraignment pleaded his Charter of Pardon, yet he could not be heard, but was shamefully and suddenly put to death.*

That he assembled certain Lancashire *and* Cheshire *men, to make War upon his Lords; and suffered them to rob and spoil, without prohibition.*

That though he had made Proclamation, That the Lords were not attached for any crime of Treason, yet afterward in the Parliament he laid Treason to their charge.

That notwithstanding his Pardon granted to them, he inforced divers of the Lords partakers, to be again intolerably Fined, to their utter undoing.

That without the assent of the Peers, he carried the Jewels and Plate of this Kingdom into Ireland.

He is by Parliament deposed.

Upon these, and some other Articles, he was by Parliament adjudged to be deposed from all Kingly Honour, and Princely Government. And thereupon, the King being advised by his own servants, rather voluntarily to resign the Crown, than by compulsion to be forced to it, on the Munday before the nine and twentieth day of *September*, in the year 1399. he made a solemn resignation, before divers Lords and others, sent to him for that purpose; and an instrument of his resignation being made, he would needs read it before them all himself, and then subscribed it: and withal, made it his suit, that the Duke of *Lancaster* might be his Successour, and King after him; and for a sign of his desire hereof, he took his signet Ring of Gold from his finger, and put it upon the Duke of *Lancaster*; that never man who had used a Kingdom with such violence, gave it over with such patience, or rather such willingness, that he seemed rather to affect it, than that he was any way forced to it. This Resignation of King *Richard* being shewed to the Parliament, both Houses gave their assent; and then Commissioners were appointed to pronounce openly the sentence of his deposing, which was done by the Bishop of *Asaph*, and all Allegiance renounced to him.

He voluntarily resigns his Crown to the Duke of Lancaster.

And now it is easie to be observed, what a wonderful concurrence of fortunes, in behalf of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and against King *Richard*, happened together; whereof if any one had been missing, he had never been turned out of his Throne in such manner as he was: For first, if it had not happened that King *Richard* had been in *Ireland* at the time when the Duke began his attempt, it had not been possible for him to compass his design as he did: And then if King *Richard* being in *Ireland*, he had not by misfortune of weather been kept six weeks from hearing of the Dukes arrival, he had not given him so large a time for raising of Forces, and so more easily might have resisted him: Or after King *Richard* heard of the Dukes arrival, if he had followed the Earl of *Salisbury*, and not stayed so many daies longer than he promised, he had found an Army ready to receive him, sufficient at least to have given a stop to the Dukes proceedings: Or when at last he came over, and found his Army to fail him, if withal his own courage had not failed him, but that he had manfully put it to the hazard of a Battel, as his Souldiers themselves would have had him so do, he could not choose but have made a better end of his business than now he did. But when all is done, there is no warding the blows of Fortune; or to say better, no resisting the Decree of Heaven: but seeing that Decree is an *Abyssus* to us, and may perhaps but be conditional, we shall manifestly be Traitors to our selves, if we use not our uttermost endeavours to divert it: that it may truly be said, King *Richard* lost his Crown, more by his own Treason, than by the Treason of any other.

Of his Taxations.

IN his second year, in a Parliament held at *Glocester*, was granted to be paid by the Merchants, upon every sack of Wooll a Mark, for this present year; and for every pounds-worth of Wares brought from beyond Sea, and sold here, six pence of the buyer. In his third year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, a Subsidy was granted to be levied of the great men

A Subsidy granted where the Commons are spared.

men of the Realm, to the end the Commons might be spared: The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Britain* paid twenty Marks; every Earl six Marks; Bishops and Abbots with Miter, as much: every Monk three shillings four pence: also every Justice, Sheriff, Knight, Esquire, Parson, and Vicar, were charged after a certain rate; but no Commons of the Laity. Also this year in another Parliament, was granted a Tenth by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity: but with this condition, that from henceforth, which was in *March* 1380. till the Feast of St. *Michael*, which should be in the year 1381. there should be no more Parliaments: but yet was not observed. In his fourth year, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, a new kind of Subsidy was granted; of every Priest Secular or Regular, six shillings eight pence; and as much of every Nun; and of every man or woman, married or not married, being sixteen years of age (beggers only excepted) four pence. In his fifth year a Subsidy was granted by the Merchants of certain Customs of their Wools which they bought and sold, called a Maletot, to endure for four years. In his seventh year was granted him one Moiety of a Fifteenth by the Laity: and shortly after a Moiety of the Tenth by the Clergy. In his ninth year, half of a Tenth, and half of a Fifteenth by the Laity. In his eleventh year there was granted him a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity. In his twelfth year at a Parliament was granted of every sack of Wool, forty shillings; whereof ten shillings to be applied presently to the Kings use; the other thirty to remain in the hands of Treasurers, towards the charges of Wars, if any should happen. Also there was a Subsidy granted, of six pence in the pound; whereof, four pence to the use last mentioned, the other two pence to be at the Kings pleasure. In his fifteenth year, at a Parliament, was granted a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity, towards the charges of *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, sent into *France*. In his eighteenth year a Tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity, towards his own journey into *Ireland*. In his twentieth year the Clergy granted him a Tenth, to be paid that year. In his one and twentieth year, upon pretence of having aided the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* against him, he caused blank Charters to be made, which he compelled both Citizens and Gentlemen in the Countrey to seal, whereby he might charge them afterward to pay whatsoever he required. In his two and twentieth year a Fifteenth and a half was granted, and for the Customs of Wools fifty shillings upon every sack, of *English* men born, and three pounds of strangers.

A Maletot what it was.

Blank Charters commanded to be sealed by Gentlemen, that he might charge them afterward at his pleasure.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN his second year, in a Parliament at *Glocester*, it was enacted; That Merchant-strangers might buy and sell in Gross, or buy Retail within this Realm. In his third year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, it was ordained, that the Priviledges and Immunities of the Abbey of *Westminster* should remain inviolate; but with this Proviso, against those that took Sanctuary with purpose to defraud their Creditors, That their Lands and Goods should be liable to their Debts. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, in which the Major of *London*, upon suggestion that the Fishmongers used great deceit in uttering of their Fish, obtained to have it Enacted, That from thenceforth, none of that Company, nor of the Vintners, Grocers, Butchers, or other that sold any provision of Victuals should be admitted Major of the City: but in the Parliament next following were restored to their liberty again, saying that they might not keep Courts among themselves, but that all transgressions of their Customs should be tried at the Majors Court. In his eleventh year, King *Richard* created *John Beauchamp* of *Holt*, Baron of *Kedermin*ſter, by his Letters Patents; the first that was so made: for before this time Barons were alwayes made by calling them to Parliaments by the Kings Writ.

Barons first made by Letters patents.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the second year of this Kings Reign, there came messengers from the new elected Pope *Urban*, to require the Kings aid against such Cardinals as he named Schismaticks, that had elected another Pope, whom they named *Clement*: which Cardinals sent Messengers likewise to crave his aid for them, but through perswasion of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Urban*'s request was granted, and *Clement* rejected. In his fourth year *John Wickliff* set forth his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, in such sort as the Church of *Rome* did then teach. In his sixth year, *Henry Spencer*, Bishop of *Norwich* received Bulls from Pope *Urban*, to grant all privileges of the *Crusado* to all such as would come over and assist him against the Anti-Pope *Clement*; which being debated in Parliament, it was after much opposition agreed, that it should go forward: and thereupon the Bishop not only gathered much money from such as would contribute to the expedition, but drew many great Captains to go themselves in person; as namely, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *William Farington*, the Lord *Henry Beaumont*, Sir *William Elmham*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, and divers others. The money raised by contribution, came to 20000. Franks, and the Army to 3000. Horse, and 15000 Foot; with which Forces, the Bishop passing over into *Flanders*, won the Towns of *Graveling*, *Dunkirk*, and *Newport*: but at last encountred by a mighty Army of the *French*, he was put to the worst, and returned into *England*. In the twelfth year of this Kings Reign, an Act was made that none should pass the Seas to purchase promotions or provisions (as they termed them) in any Church or Churches. Also in this year *Thomas* the late Earl of *Lancaster*, by reason of miracles reported to be done by him, was Canonized for a Saint. At this time also the *Wickleviſts* marvellously increased, Preaching against Pilgrimages and Images, whose greatest opposer was the Bishop of *Norwich*. In his thirteenth year Proclamation

Divers Lords and others undertake the Cross.

Thomas late Earl of Lancaster, Canonized for a Saint.

was made, that all beneficed men abiding in the Court of *Rome*, should return into *England* by a certain day, under pain of forfeiting their Benefices: and all other not Beneficed, under a certain pain likewise. Also about this time a Statute was made, that no Ecclesiastical person should possess Manours, Houses, Lands, Revenues, or Rents whatsoever at the hands of the Feoffee, without the Kings Licence and the chief Lords. In his eighteenth year, the *Wicklevists* were persecuted, and Excommunication pronounced against them by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. In this Schism of the two Popes, the *French* Clergy wrote in behalf of *Clement* their Pope, and sent it into *England*: the Clergy of *England* on the contrary wrote in behalf of Pope *Urban*, and so nothing was agreed.

The Wicklevists persecuted.

Works of Piety in his time.

IN in the twentieth year of this Kings Reign, *William Bateman* Bishop of *Norwich* builded *Trinity* Hall in *Cambridge*. In the third year of his Reign, *John Philpot*, Major of *London*, gave to the City certain Tenements, for the which the Chamberlain payeth yearly to thirteen poor people, to every of them seven pence the week for ever; and as any of those thirteen persons dieth, the Major appointeth one to succeed, and the Recorder another. In the one and twentieth year of his Reign, King *Richard* c used the great Hall at *Westminster* to be repaired, both the Walls, Windows, and Roof. In his time, *Simon* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, slain by the Rebels upon *Tower-Hill*, built the West-gate of *Canterbury*, and from thence to the North-gate, commonly called the long Wall. *Thomas Fitz-Alan*, or *Arundel*, being Bishop of *Ely*, built the great Gate-house of *Ely* House in *Holborn*; and being after Bishop of *Canterbury*, he built a fair Spire Steeple at the West end of his Church there, called to this day, *Arundel* Steeple, and bestowed a tunable ring of five Bells upon the same.

Trinity Hall in Cambridge by whom founded.

Arundel Steeple in Canterbury by whom built.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

IN his third year, so great a mortality afflicted the North parts of *England*, that the Countrey became almost desolate. In his sixth year, on the 24th day of *May*, there happened so great an Earth-quake, or (as some write) a Water-shake, that it made Ships in the Havens to beat one against the other. In *July*, in the year 1389. whilst the King was at *Sheene*, there swarmed in his Court such multitudes of Flies and Gnats, skirmishing with one another, that in the end they were swept away with Brooms by heaps, and Bushels were filled with them. In his twelfth year, in *March*, first there were terrible Windes; afterwards followed a great mortality, and after that a great dearth, that a bushel of Wheat was sold for thirteen pence, which was then thought a great price; for the years before it was sold for six pence, and Wool was sold for two shilling a stone. In his fourteenth year, on *Christmas* day, a Dolphin was taken at *London-Bridge*, being ten foot long, and a monstrous grown Fish. In his eighteenth year, an Exhalation, in likeness of fire appeared in the night in many places of *England*; which when a man went alone, went as he went, and stayed as he stayed; sometimes like a Wheel, sometimes like a Barrel, sometimes like a Timber-log: but when many went together, it appeared to be a far off. Also in a Parliament time there was a certain Image of Wax made by *Necromancy* (as was said) which at an hour appointed, uttered these words.

The price of Wheat and Wool in a dearth.

AD Aphin taken at London-Bridge.

A strange Exhalation.

An Image of Wax, made by Necromancy, spake certain words.

The Head shall be cut off; the Head shall be lift up aloft; the feet shall be lift up above the Head: and then spake no more. This happened in the Parliament called the *Marvellous* Parliament, not long before the Parliament that *wrought Wonders*. In his one and thirtieth year, a River not far from *Bedford*, suddenly ceased his course, so as the channel remained dry by the space of three miles; which was adjudged to signifie the revolting of the Subjects from their natural Prince. In his two and twentieth year, almost through all *England*, all Bay-trees withered, and afterwards grew green again; which was supposed to import some strange event. About the year 1280. the making of Guns was found by a *German*, which may well be reckoned amongst casualties, seeing it was found by casualty; for this *German* having beaten Brimstone in a Morter to powder, and covered it with a stone, it happened that as he struck fire a spark chanced to fall into the powder; which caused such a flame out of the Mortar, that it raised the stone a great height: which after he perceived, he made a Pipe of Iron, and tempered the powder with some other ingredients, and so finished that deadly Engine. The first that used it were the *Venetians* against the Inhabitants of *Genoa*.

All Bay-Trees withered: and after grew green again.

Guns found about this time by a German.

Of his Wives.

KIng *Richard* in his time had two Wives, the first was *Anne* Daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the Fourth, and Sister to the Emperour *Wenceslaus*; who lived his Wife ten years, and died without issue at *Sheene* in *Surrey*, in the year 1392. Whose death King *Richard* took so heavily, that he caused the buildings of that Palace to be thrown down and defaced; as though to revenge himself upon the place, could ease his mind, and mitigate his sorrow. His second Wife was *Isabel*, Daughter of *Charles* the sixth King of *France*; She was married to him at eight years of age, and therefore never co-habited. After King *Richard*'s death she was sent home, and married afterward to *Charles* Son and Heir to the Duke of *Orleance*.

Of His Personage and Conditions.

HE was the goodliest personage of all the Kings that had been since the Conquest; tall of stature, of straight and strong limbs, fair and amiable of countenance; and such a one as might well be the Son of a most beautiful Mother. Concerning his conditions, there was more to be blamed in his Education, than in his Nature; for there appeared in him many good inclinations, which would have grown to be abilities, if they had not been perverted by corrupt flatterers in his youth. He was of a credulous disposition,

disposition, apt to believe, and therefore easie to be abused. His greatest transgression was, that he went with his friends *ultra aras*, where he should have gone but *usque ad aras*. His greatest imbecillity, that he could not distinguish between a flatterer and a friend. He seemed to have in him both a *French* Nature and an *English*; violent at the first apprehension, calm upon deliberation. He never shewed himself more worthy of the Government, than when he was deposed as unworthy to Govern; for it appeared, that his Regality was not so dear unto him, as a private quiet life: which if he might have enjoyed, he would never have complained that Fortune had done him wrong.

Of his Death and Burial.

KIng *Richard* after his Resignation, was conveyed to the Castle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pomfret*; where the common fame is, that he was served with costly meat, like a King, but not suffered once to touch it, and so died of forced Famine: But Starved. *Thomas Walsingham* referreth it altogether to a voluntary pining of himself, through grief of his misfortunes. But one Writer, well acquainted with King *Richard*'s doings, saith, that King *Henry* sitting one day at his Table said sighing, Have I no faithful friend that will deliver me of him who will be my death? This speech was specially noted by one Sir *Piers* of *Exton*, who presently with eight persons in his company went to *Pomfret*, commanding the Esquire that took the Assay before King *Richard*, to do so no more, saying, Let him eat now, for he shall not eat long. King *Richard* sitting down to dinner, was served without Assay; whereat marvelling, he demanded of his Esquire, why he did not his duty; Sir (said he) I am otherwise commanded by Sir *Piers* of *Exton*, who is newly come from King *Henry*. When King *Richard* heard that word, he took the Carving Knife in his hand, and stroke the Squire on the head, saying, The Devil take *Henry* of *Lancaster*, and thee together: And with that word Sir *Piers* entred the Chamber, with eight armed men, every of them having a Bill in his hand. King *Richard* perceiving this, put the Table from him; and stepping to the foremost man, wrung the Bill out of his hands, and slew four of those that thus came to assail him: but in conclusion was felled with a stroke of a Poll-axe, Murthered. which Sir *Piers* gave him upon the head, with which blow he fell down dead: Though it be scarce credible, that a man upon his bare word, and without shewing any warrant, should be admitted to do such a fact. Sir *Piers* having thus slain him, wept bitterly: a poor amends for so hainous a trespass. King *Richard* thus dead, his body was embalmed, and covered with lead, all save the face, and then brought to *London*; where it lay at *Pauls* three dayes together, that all men might behold it, to see he was dead. The Corps was after had to *Langley* in *Buckinghamshire*, and there buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers: but afterward by King *Henry* the fifth, it was removed to *Westminster*, and there honourably entombed, with Queen *Anne* his Wife; and that beautiful Picture of a King, sitting Crowned in a Chair of State, at the upper end of the Quire in S. *Peters* at *Westminster*, is said to be of him: although the *Scots* untruly write, that he escaped out of Prison, and led a solitary and vertuous life in *Scotland*; and there died, and is buried (as they hold) in the Black-Friers at *Sterling*. He lived three and thiry years, reigned two and twenty and three months.

Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Valour in his time were so many, that to reckon them all would be a hard task; and to leave out any would be an injury: yet to give an instance in one, we may take *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, whose valour was no less seen abroad than at home: In *France*, in *Germany*, in *Spain*; in all which places, he left Trophies of his Victories. But of learned men we may name these: *William Thorne* an *Augustine* Frier of *Canterbury*, an Historiographer: *Adam Merimouth*, a Canon of *Pauls* Church in *London*, who wrote two Historical Treatises; one intituled *Chronicon 40. annorum*; another *Chronicon 60. annorum*. *William Packington* sometimes Secretary to the *Black Prince*, an excellent Historiographer. *William Badby* a *Carmelite* Frier, Bishop of *Worcester*, and Confessour to the Duke of *Lancaster*: *John Bourg*, Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*: *William Sclade*, a Monk of *Buckfast* Abby in *Devonshire*: *John Thoresby* Archbishop of *York*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, and a Cardinal: *William Berton* Chancellor of *Oxford*, an adversary to *Wickliffe*: *Philip Pepinton* Abbot of *Leicester*, a Defender of *Wickliffe*: *Walter Brit*, a Scholar of *Wickliffe*'s, a Writer both in Divinity and other Arguments: *John Sharp*, a great adversary to *Wickliffe*, who wrote many Treatises: *Peter Pateshul*, a great favourer of *Wickliffe*. *Marcel Ingelno*, an excellent Divine, one of the first Teachers in the University of *Heydelberg*: *Richard Withee* a learned Priest, and an earnest follower of *Wickliffe*: *John Swasham* Bishop of *Bangor*, a great adversary to the *Wickleviists*: *Adam Eston*, a great Linguist, and a Cardinal: *John Trevise*, a *Cornish* man, and a secular Priest, who translated the Bible: *Bartholomew*, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; *Polychronicon* of *Ranulph Higden*, and divers other Treatises: *John Moon*, an *English* man, but a Student in *Paris*, who compiled in the *French* Tongue, *The Romant of the Rose*; translated into *English* by *Geoffry Chaucer*, and divers others.

The Romant of the Rose translated into English by *Geoffry Chaucer*, by whom composed.

The Majors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings Reign.*

In his first year,
Sir *Nicolas Brember* was Major.
Nicholas Twiford, *Andrew Pikeman*, Sheriffs.

In his Second year,
John Philpot was Major.
John Boseham, *Thomas Cornwallis*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
John Hadley was Major.
John Helisdon, *William Barra*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
William Walworth was Major.
Walter Doget, William Knighthode, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
John Northampton was Major.
John Rotu, John Hinde, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Northampton continued Major.
Adam Bramme, John Sely, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *Nicholas Brembar* was Major.
Simon Winchcome, John More, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *Nicholas Brembar* continued Major.
Nicholas Exton, John French Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *Nicholas Brembar* continued Major.
John Organ, John Churchman, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Nicholas Exton was Major.
William Standon, William More, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Nicholas Exton continued Major.
William Venor, Hugh Falstalfe, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Nicholas Twiford was Major.
Thomas Austen, Adam Carlehul, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
William Venor was Major.
John Walcot, John Love, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Adam Bamme was Major.
John Francis, Thomas Vivent, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
John Hinde was Major.
John Shadworth, Henry Vamere, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
William Standon was Major.
Gilbert Maſield, Thomas Newington, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
John Hardley was Major.
Drew Barintin, Richard Whitington, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir *John Froyſhe* was Major.
William Bramſton, Thomas Knolls, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir *William More* was Major.
Roger Ellis, William Sevenoke, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Adam Brown was Major.
Thomas Wilford, William Parker, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,
Sir *Richard Whitington* was Major.
John Wodcock, William Aſcham, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
Sir *Drew Barintin* was Major.
John Wade, John Warner, Sheriffs.

The

The Reign of KING HENRY THE FOURTH.

Of his coming to the Crown.

An. Dom. 1399.

After the Resignation of King *Richard*, and the sentence of his Deposing openly read in Parliament, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* riseth up from his seat; and first, making the Sign of the Cross upon his forehead and breast, he said, *In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*: *I* Henry *of* Lancaster *claim the Crown of* England, *as descended by right line from King* Henry *the third*: And having thus spoken, he sate down again. Upon this the Archbishop conferred with the Lords, and having heard their opinions, he turned to the Commons, asking them, if they would joyn with the Lords, in choosing *Henry* of *Lancaster* for their King; who all with one voyce cryed, Yea, Yea: whereupon going to the Duke, he bowed his knee, and taking him by the hand led him to the Royal Seat: and then began a Sermon, taking for his Text, out of the first Book of the Kings, *cap.* 9. *Vir dominabitur in populo*: wherein he declared what a happiness it is to a Nation to have a King of Wisdom and Valour, and shewed the Duke of *Lancaster* to be such an one; and as much the defects in both, of the late King *Richard*. The Sermon ended, the King thanked them all for his Election; and testified to them, that he meant not to take advantage against any mans estate, as coming in by Conquest: but that every one should freely enjoy his own, as in times of lawful succession. And now a time was appointed for his Coronation; accordingly, upon the 13 day of *October* following, the very day wherein the year before he had been banished, he was Crowned at *Westminster*, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites and Ceremonies accustomed. At his Coronation he was anointed with an Oyl which a religious man had given to *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*, together with this Prophecie, That the Kings anointed with this Oyl, should be the Champions of the Church. This Oyl, coming to the hands of King *Richard*, as he was looking amongst his jewels, going then into *Ireland*, he was desirous to be anointed with it, but that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* told him, it was not lawful to be anointed twice: whereupon putting it up again, at his coming afterwards to *Flint*, the Archbishop got it of him, and kept it till the Coronation of King *Henry*, who was the first King of the Realm that was anointed with it. The day before the Coronation, the King in the Tower made one and forty, some say but twelve Knights of the *Bath*, whereof four were his own Sons, *Henry*, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Humphrey*, all then alive; and with them, three Earls, and five Barons. Upon the Feast-day, many claimed Offices as belonging to their Tenures, to which, upon shewing their right, they were admitted. And now the King made divers new Officers: The Earl of *Northumberland* he made Constable of *England*; the Earl of *Westmerland* was made Lord Marshal; Sir *John Serle*, Chancellour; *John Newbery* Esquire, Treasurer: and Sir *Richard Clifford* was made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Lord *Henry* his eldest Son, being then about thirteen years of age, was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester*, and soon after also Duke of *Aquitain*: and the Crown was by Parliament Entailed to King *Henry*, and the Heirs of his body lawfully begotten.

King Henry claim the Crown as defended from King Henry the third.

He is Crowned the very day wherein the year before he had been banished.

Anointed with a special Oyl.

After this a Parliament is holden, in which the Acts made in the eleventh year of King *Richard* were revived, and the Acts made in his one and twentieth year where wholly repealed; and they who by that Parliament were attainted, were restored to their Lands and Honours: whereupon *Richard* Earl of *Warwick* was delivered out of Prison, and the Earl of *Arundel*'s son recovered his Inheritance; and many other also that were banished, or imprisoned by King *Richard*, were then fully restored to their liberty and estates. Also the King gave to the Earl of *Westmerland* the County of *Richmond*, and to the Earl of *Northumberland* the Isle of *Man*, to be holden of him by bearing the sword wherewith he entred into *England*. And now was the time for shewing of spleens. Sir *John Baget* then Prisoner in the Tower, accused the Earl of *Aumerle* for speaking words against the Duke of *Lancaster*, now King: also the Lord *Fitz-water* accused him for the death of the Duke of *Gloucester*. The Lord *Morley* appealed the Earl of *Salisbury* of Treason, and one *Hall* accused the Duke of *Exeter*, for conspiring the Death of *John* of *Gaunt* the King's Father: but King *Henry* having entred a Throne in a storm, was willing now to have a calm; and therefore laying aside the ones Accusations, he accepted of the others Excuses, and received

Accusations against many, but resolved as by the King.

ceived the Duke of *Aumerle*, and the Duke of *Exeter* into as much favour, as if they had never been accused.

King Henry acquaints foreign Princes by what Title he came to the Crown.

And to qualifie the hard opinion wich forein Princes might conceive of King *Richard*'s Deposing, he sent Ambassadours into divers Countreys, to make it known, by what title, and by what favour of the people he came to the Kingdom. To the Court of *Rome* he sent *John Trenevant* Bishop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheyney* Knight, and *John Cheyney* Esquire: into *France* he sent *Walter Sherlow* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worcester*: Into *Spain* he sent *John Trevor* Bishop of *Asaph*, and Sir *William Parre*: and into *Germany* he sent the Bishop of *Bangor*, and certain others. Most of these Princes seemed either not to regard what was done, or were easily perswaded that all was done well: only *Charles* King of *France* was so distemper'd with this indignity offered to his son in Law King *Richard*, that by violence of his passion he fell into his old pangs of Frensie, but somewhat recovered, he resolved to revenge it; wherein many Lords of *France* shewed themselves forward, but specially the Earl of St. *Paul*, who had married King *Richard*'s half sister: yet having prepared an Army in readiness, when afterward they heard of King *Richard*'s death, they dissolved it again, as considering the time was then past. The *Aquitains* also, and specially the Citizens of *Burdeaux*, as being the place where King *Richard* was born, were mightily incensed: but Sir *Robert Knolls* Lieutenant of *Guyen*, and afterward *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worcester*, being sent to them by the King, so perswaded them, that with much ado they continued in obedience.

It was about this time moved in Parliament, what should be done with King *Richard*, (for he was not as yet murthered:) whereupon *Thomas Mercks* Bishop of *Carlile*, a learned man and wise and who had never given allowance to the deposing of King *Richard*, now that he was in a place of freedom of speech, rose up and said:

The Bishop of *Carl.* his bold speech in behalf of King *Richard*, and against King *Henry*.

"My Lords, The matter now propounded "is of marvellous weight and consequence; "wherein there are two points chiefly to be "considered; the first, Whether King *Richard* "be sufficiently put out of his Throne: the se- "cond, Whether the Duke of *Lancaster* be "lawfully taken in. For the first, how can that "be sufficiently done, when there is no power "sufficient to do it? The Parliament cannot, "for of the Parliament the King is the head; "and can the body put down the Head? You "will say, But the head may bow it self down; "and may the King resign? It is true; but "what force is in that which is done by force? "and who knows not that King *Richard*'s Re- "signation was no other? But suppose he be "sufficiently out, yet how comes the Duke of "*Lancaster* to be lawfully in? If you say by "Conquest, you speak Treason; for what Con- "quest without Arms? and can a Subject take "Arms against his lawful Soveraign, and not "be Treason? If you say, by Election of the "State, you speak not reason; for what power "hath the State to elect, while any is living "that hath right to succeed? But such a Suc- "cessour is not the Earl of *Lancaster*, as descen- "ded from *Edmund Crouchback*, the elder son "of King *Henry* the Third, though put by the "Crown for deformity of his body; for who "knows not the falseness of this allegation? "seeing it is a thing Notorious, that this *Edmund* "was neither the elder brother, nor yet crook- "backt, (though called so for some other rea- "son) but a goodly personage, and without "any deformity. And your selves cannot for- "get a thing so lately done, who it was that in "the fourth year of King *Richard* was decla- "red by Parliament to be Heir to the Crown, "in case King *Richard* should die without issue. "But why then is not that claim made? because "*Silent leges inter arma*, What disputing of Ti- "tles against the stream of Power? But how- "soever it is extreme injustice, that King *Ri- "chard* should be condemned, without being "heard, or once allowed to make his de- "fence. And now, my Lords I have spoken "thus at this time, that you may consider of it "before it be too late; for as yet it is in your "power to undo that justly, which you have "unjustly done.

Much to this purpose was the Bishop's speech; but to as little purpose as if he had gone about to call back Yesterday. The matter was too far gone; and scarce a person there present, that had not a hope of either a private or a publick benefit by that which was done. Yet against this speech of the Bishop there was neither Protesting nor Excepting; It passed in the House as but one mans opinion; And as for the King, it was neither fit he should use much severity against any member of that Parliament which had so lately shewed so much indulgence towards him; nor indeed safe, to be too hot in his Punishment, when he was yet scarce warm in his Government. Yet for a warning to use their liberty of speech with more moderation hereafter, the Bishop was arrested by the Marshal, and committed to prison in the Abby of S. *Albans*, but afterward without further censure set at liberty, till upon a conspiracy of Lords, wherein he was a party, he was condemned to dye, though through extremity of grief he prevented execution. But as for King *Richard* and *Edward Mortimer* Earl of *March*, enough was spoken by the Bishop in both their behalfs to undo them both; and indeed King *Richard* was soon after made away: the Earl secured himself by retiring far off, to his Lordship of *Wigmore*; avoiding the danger of Contention, by not entring the Lists of Aspiring. But although the Divine Providence, for causes hidden from humane knowledge, gave way at this time to the advancement of the younger, the house of *Lancaster*; yet in the third Generation after, the elder, the House of *Clarence* recovered its right in King *Edward* the Fourth: that we may know it is but staying the leisure of Heaven, for every one to have his Right, either in Person, or by Proxie.

But did King *Richard* more hurt than good.

1400.

But whether incited by this speech of the Bishop, or otherwise out of the rancor of envy in some, and malice in others, it was not long after, before there grew in the minds of many both Lords and other, a malignant inclination towards

towards King *Henry*; and came first to be a Conspiracy in the House of the Abbot of *Westminster*. This Abbot was a kind of a Book-statesman, but better read in the Politicks of *Aristotle* than of *Solomon*; who remembring some words of King *Henry*, which he had spoken long before, when he was but Earl of *Derby*, That Princes had too little, and Religious men too much; and fearing, left being now King, he should reduce his words into act, he thought it better to use preventing Physick beforehand, than to stand to the hazard of a curing afterward: and thereupon invited to his house the discontented Lords; as namely *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, *Thomas Holland* his brothers son, Duke of *Surrey*, *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle*, *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Spencer* Earl of *Glocester*, *John* Bishop of *Carlile*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and *Maudlin* one of King *Richard*'s Chapel: who after dinner conferring together, and communicating their spleens against King *Henry* one with another, they resolved at last, both to take away the Kings life, and of the way how to do it. The device was this: They would publish a solemn Justs, to be holden at *Oxford*, at a day appointed, and invite the King to honour it with his presence; and there, in the time of acting the Justs, when all mens intentions should be otherwise busied, they would have him be murthered. This device was resolved on; Oaths for secrecy were taken; and Indentures sextipartite for performing conditions agreed upon between them, sealed and delivered. The Justs are proclaimed; the King is invited, and promiseth to come; secrecy of all hands kept most firmly to the very day. But though all other kept counsel, yet Fortune would not, but she discovered all; For it fortuned, that as the Duke of *Aumerle* was riding to the Lords to *Oxford*, against the day appointed, he took it in the way to go visit his Father the Duke of *York*: and having in his bosome the Indenture of Confederacy, his Father as they sat at dinner chanced to spy it, and asked what it was? to whom his son answering, It was nothing that any way concerned him; By S. *George* saith his Father, but I will see it; and therewithal snatching it from him, read it; and finding the Contents, and reviling his Son for being now the second time a Traitor, before to King *Richard*, and now to King *Henry*, he commanded his Horses instantly to be made ready, and with all the speed he could make, rode to *Windsor*, where the King then lay: but the younger years of his son out-rid him, and came to the Court before him; where locking the Gates, and taking the Keys from the Porter, pretending some special reason, he went up to the King, and falling on his knees, asked his Pardon. The King demanding, for what offence? he then discovered the whole Plot: which he had scarce done, when his Father came rapping at the Court-gates, and coming to the King, shewed him the Indenture of Confederacy which he had taken from his son. This though it amazed the King, yet it informed him of the truth of the matter, whereof he was before doubtful; and thereupon lays aside his journey to see the Justings of others in jest, and takes care but he be not justled in earnest out of his Throne himself. In the mean time the confederate Lords being ready at *Oxford*, and hearing nothing of the Duke of *Aumerle*, nor seeing any preparation for the Kings coming, were certainly perswaded that their Treason was discovered. Whereupon falling into consideration of the case they were in, they found there was no place left for them of Mercy, and therefore were to stand upon their Guard, and provide the best they could for their safety. To which purpose, the first thing they did was to apparel *Maudlin* in Princely Robes, a man as like to King *Richard* in countenance and personage, as one man lightly can be to another, and to give forth that he was King *Richard* escaped out of Prison, thereby to countenance their proceedings: The next thing was to dispatch messengers to the King of *France*, and require his assistance. This done they set forward in Battel-array towards *Windsor*, against King *Henry*; but finding him gone to *London* before they came, they then deliberated what course to take: Some advised to set King *Richard* at liberty, before their counterfeit *Richard* should be discovered; Others thought best to follow the King to *London*, and set upon him unprovided, and before he had gathered Forces. In this division of Advices, when they could not do both, they did neither; but as men amazed marched on, though they knew not well whither, till they came to *Colbrook*: by which time the King had gathered an Army of twenty thousand, and was marching towards them: but they not thinking so well of their cause, that they durst put it to the trial of a battel; or perhaps staying for aid out of *France*, withdrew themselves back to *Sunning* near to *Reading*, where the young Queen lay: to whom their coming gave some flashes of comfort, but quenched before they were throughly kindled: and from thence they march to *Cicester*, where the Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* took up their lodging in one Inn; the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Glocester* in another. And now a strange Accident, beyond the reach of all consultation, gave a period to their Design; for who would think that a private company durst oppose those Lords having their Army so near them? Yet the Bayliff of the Town (upon Intelligence no doubt that these Lords were up in Arms against the King,) taking with him a company of Townsmen, in the night assaulted the Inn where the Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* lay; who thus assaulted made shift to defend themselves till three a clock in the afternoon: but then, being in danger to be taken, a Priest, one of their company set divers houses in the Town on fire, thinking thereby to divert the Assailants from prosecuting the Lords to save their houses: but this inflamed them the more; and so hotly they pursued their assault, that they wounded the Duke and the Earl to death; who dying that night, their heads were stricken off and sent up to *London*. With them also were taken, Sir *Bennet Shelly*, Sir *Bernard Brocas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and eight and twenty other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen; who were sent to *Oxford*, where the King then lay,

A Conspiracy of Lords, began in the house of the Abbot of *Westminster*.

Which was to invite the King to a Justs at *Oxford*, and there to seize upon him.

How discovered.

The Lords provide an Army, but are by the King discovered.

By what accident.

lay, and there were put to execution. The Duke of *Exeter* in the other Inn, hearing of this assault fled out of the backside towards the Camp, intending to bring the whole Army to the rescue; but the Souldiers having heard a clamour, and seeing fire in the Town, supposing the King had been come with all his Forces, out of a sudden fear dispersed themselves and fled: which the Duke seeing, he also with Sir *John Seelly*, fled into *Essex*, where wandring and lurking in secret places, he was at last apprehended as he sate at supper in a friends house, and led to *Plashey*, and there shortly after beheaded, the place, where by his counsel and countenance, the Duke of *Glocester* formerly had been apprehended: That we may observe how the Divine Providence in revenging of injuries, takes notice, and makes use of the very circumstance of place where the injuries are done. The Earl of *Glocester* fled towards *Wales*, but was taken and beheaded at *Bristow*. *Maudlin* the counterfeit King *Richard*, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and afterward hanged and quartered; with Mr. *Fereby*, another of King *Richard*'s Chaplains. Divers other Lords and Knights, and Gentlemen, and a great number of mean persons, were in other places put to death; that so much Noble blood, at one time, and for one cause, hath scarce been heard or read of. The Abbot of *Westminster*, in whose house the plot was contrived, hearing of these misfortunes, as he was going between the Monastery and his Mansion, fell suddenly into a Palsie; and shortly after, without speech, ended his life. About this time also, a strange piece of Treason is reported to have been practised against the Kings life: that there was found in his bed-cloaths an Iron with three sharp spikes standing upright; that when the King should have laid him down, he might have thrust himself upon them. But seeing there is no farther mention of inquiring after it, it seems to have been but an idle rumour not worth believing.

Maudlin the counterfeit King Richard is hanged and quartered.

Another Treason is practised against the King.

1402. *Owen Glendour stirreth up the Welch to rebel.*

But now that the hot *English* blood was well allayed, the *Welch* blood springs up as hot; For now *Owen Glendour* an Esquire of *Wales*, brought up at the Innes of Court in *London*, partly out of a desire to revenge a wrong done him (as he conceived) in a suit for lands in controversie between the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin* and him, but chiefly out of an humour of aspiring, endeavoured to draw the *Welchmen* to a general defection, telling them, that the *English* being at variance amongst themselves, now was the time to shake off their yoak, and to resume their own ancient Laws and Customs. To whose perswasions the *Welch* men hearkening, made him their King and Captain; and he having gotten a competent Army, sets first upon his Old Adversary *Reynold* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, and takes him prisoner; yet with promise of releasement, if he would marry his daughter, which offer though the Lord *Grey* at first not only refused, but scorned, yet out of necessity at last he was contented to accept; when notwithstanding his deceitful Father in law trifled out the time of his enlargement till he died. But the *Welchmen* growing confident upon this success, break into the borders of *Herefordshire*, making spoil and prey of the Country as freely as if they had leave to do it; for indeed none opposed them but only the Lord *Edmund Mortimer*, who had formerly withdrawn himself to the Castle at *Wigmore*; and having assembled the forces of the Countrey, and joyning battel with them, was taken Prisoner, and then fettered and cast into a deep and vile Dungeon. It was thought if *Glendour* had as well known how to use his victory, as to get it, he might at this time have put the *English* yoak into a great hazard to be shaken off: but he having killed 1000. of the *English*, thought he had done enough for that time, and so giving over the pursuit, retired. The inhumanity of the *Welch* Women was here memorable, who fell upon the dead carkasses of the *English*, first stripping them, and then cutting off their privy parts and noses; whereof the one they thrust into their mouths, the other they pressed between their buttocks. Many noble men, specially his Kinsmen the *Percies* solicited King *Henry* to deliver *Mortimer*; but the King was deaf of that ear, he could rather have wished both him and his two Sisters in Heaven, for then he should be free from conceal'd Competitors.

These affronts were at this time suffered in the *Welch*, because the King was now imployed in a more dangerous service with the *Scots*; for they taking advantage of the distraction in the Kingdom (as it was always their custom to do) had made an In-rode into the Countrey of *Northumberland*; and suddenly one night set upon the Castle of *Werk*, took and spoiled it, and then returned. In revenge whereof, the *English* invaded and spoiled certain Islands of the *Orkneys*. Then the *Scots* set forth a Fleet, under the conduct of Sir *Robert Logon*; but before he came to any action, he was encountred, and the greatest part of his Fleet taken. But these were but such affronts, as often happen between troublesome neighbours; for all this while the Peace was still in being between the Nations: but at last it brake out into an open war upon this occasion. *Robert* King of *Scots* had offered to match his Son *David* with a Daughter of *George* Earl of *Dunbarre*, and had received money of him in part of her portion; and afterward, would neither suffer the Match to proceed, nor yet pay back the money: but married his son to a Daughter of *Archibald* Earl of *Douglass*. Upon which indignity, *George* of *Dunbarre*, flies into *England* to King *Henry*, and with his aid, makes divers incursions into *Scotland*: Whereupon *Robert* King of *Scots* sent to King *Henry*, that if he would have the Truce between them to continue, he should deliver to him *George* of *Dunbarre*. King *Henry* answered, that he had given him a safe conduct, and could not now recall it with his Honour; but as for continuing the Truce, King *Robert* might do in that what he thought best. Upon this answer, the King of *Scots* presently proclaimed War against him; But King *Henry* as ready in that matter as he, stayed not for King *Robert*'s invading of *England*: but himself with a puissant Army invaded *Scotland*, burning Castles and Cities, and not-sparing Churches and Religious Houses. About the

The Peace between England and Scotland, how it became open War.

the end of *September*, he beſieged the Caſtle of *Maydens* in *Edinghourgh*, where Prince *David*, and the Earl of *Douglaſs* were: At which time, *Robert* D. of *Albany*, who in the King of *Scots* ſickneſs managed the buſineſs, ſent an Herald to K *Henry*, proteſting upon his honour, That if he would ſtay but ſix dayes he would give him battel. King *Henry* rewarded the Herald, and ſtayed; but ſix times ſix dayes paſſed, but neither the Duke of *Albany*, nor any other for him appeared. And now Winter came on, victuals grew ſcant, and which was worſt, a mortality began in the *Engliſh* Camps; for which cauſes, King *Henry* removed his ſiege, and returned into *England*. As ſoon as he was gone, Sir *Patrick Hepborne* a *Scottiſh* man, having a good opinion of his valour, thought to do great matters; and with a competent Army of the men of *Lough-dean*, he invaded *Northumberland*, making great ſpoil and loading his Souldiers with prey and priſoners: but in the Retreat marching looſly, and licentiouſly, was ſet upon by the Earl of *Northumberland* Vice-Warden, at a Town called *Neſbie*, where *Hepborne* himſelf and all the flower of *Lough-dean*, were ſlain; Sir *John* and *William Cockburne*, Sir *Will. Buſſe*, *John* and *Tho. Hoblington*, Eſquires, and a multitude of Common Souldiers taken Priſoners: On the *Engliſh* part few ſlain, and none of any rank or quality. In revenge whereof, *Archibald Douglas* with an Army of twenty thouſand entred *Northumberland*; but in a place called *Hamildon*, were encountred by the *Engliſh*, under the leading of *Henry* L. *Piercy*, ſurnamed *Hotſpurre*, and *George* Earl of *March*, who put them to flight; and after the ſlaughter of Ten thouſand of them, took five hundred priſoners: whereof the chief were *Mordack* Earl of Fife, (Son of the General, who in the fight loſt one of his Eyes) *Thomas* Earl of *Murrey*, *Robert* Earl of *Angus*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Mentith*; and amongſt the ſlain, were Sir *John Swinton*, Sir *Adam Gourdon*, Sir *John Leviſton*, Sir *Alexander Ramſey*, and three and twenty other Knights.

The *French* and *Owen Glendour*, loſt without ſucceſs

In this mean time, *Glendour* of *Wales* had ſolicited the King of *France* for aid, who ſent him Twelve hundred men of quality; but the windes were ſo contrary, that they loſt twelve of their Ships, and the reſt returned home. The *Engliſh* deriding this ill ſucceſs of the *French*, ſo exaſperated the *French* King, that preſently after, he ſent twelve thouſand, who landed ſafely, and joyned with the *Welſh*; but as ſoon as they heard of the *Engliſh* Armies approach, whether miſtruſting their own ſtrength, or ſuſpecting the *Welſh*-mens faithfulneſs, they ran to their Ships and diſgracefully went home.

King *Henry* marries the Lady *Jane de Navarre*, the relict of *John Montford* ſurnamed the Conqueror.

King *Henry's* Ambaſſadors lately ſent into *Britain* to fetch the Lady *Jane de Navarre*, Dutcheſs of *Britain*, the relict of *John de Montford* ſurnamed the Conqueror, with whom the King by Procurations had contracted Matrimony, in the beginning of *February* returned with her in ſafety: The King met her at *Wincheſter*, where the ſeventh of *February* the marriage was ſolemnized.

About this time ſome affronts were offered by the *French*. *Valerian* Earl of S. *Paul*, with 1700 men landed in the *Iſle* of *Wight*, where he burnt two Villages and ſome few Cottages, but hearing the people of the Iſland to have aſſembled, he made haſte to his Ships, and returned home. Alſo *John* Earl of *Clermont* (the Heir of *Bourbon*) won from the *Engliſh* the Caſtles of St. *Peter*, St. *Mary*, and the *New-Caſtle*: The Lord *de la Brett*, won the Caſtle of *Calaſin*; places of great conſequence to the *Engliſh*.

Another Conſpiracy hatching againſt King *Henry*, and why.

And now to make King *Henry* ſenſible that a Crown can hardly ever ſit eaſie upon the head, if it be not ſet on right at firſt, a new Conſpiracy is hatching againſt him. The *Piercies* Earls of *Northumberland* & *Worceſter*, with *Henry Hotſpur*, began about this time to fall off from K. *Henry*, their reaſon was, Firſt, becauſe the King at their requeſt refuſed to redeem their kinſman *Mortimer* from *Glendour's* ſlavery; and then becauſe he denied them the benefit of ſuch priſoners as they had taken of the *Scots*, at *Hamildon*, or *Neſbie*: whereupon they went of themſelves, and procured *Mortimer's* delivery, and then entred into a League offenſive and defenſive with *Glendour*; and by their Proxies, in the houſe of the Archdeacon of *Bangor*, they agreed upon a Tripartite Indenture under their hands and ſeals, to divide the Kingdom into three parts; whereby all *England* from *Severn* and *Trent* South and Eaſtward was aſſigned for the portion of the E. of *March*: all *Wales* & the lands beyond *Severn* Weſtward, were aſſigned to *Owen Glendour*: and all the remainder of land from *Trent* Northward, to be the portion of the Lord *Piercy*. In this, as *Glendour* perſwaded them, they thought they ſhould accompliſh a Propheſie; as though K. *Henry* were the Mould-warp curſed of Gods own mouth, and they were the Lion, the Dragon and the Wolf which ſhould divide the Land among them. In this mean time King *Henry*, not acquainted with this Conſpiracy, cauſed a proclamation to be made, intimating that the Earl of *March* had voluntarily cauſed himſelf to be taken Priſoner, to the end, the Rebels having him in their cuſtody, might pretend ſome colour for their Conſpiracy; and therefore he had ſmall reaſon to take care for his deliverance. Hereupon the *Piercies* aſſiſted with a Company of *Scots*, and drawing to their party the Earl of *Stafford* and *Richard Scroope* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and many others, purpoſed to joyn with the Captain of the *Welſh*; but firſt they framed certain Articles againſt the King, and ſent them to him in writing; That he had falſified his Oath given at his landing, ſwearing, That he came but only to recover his Inheritance, and would not meddle with the King, or with the Crown. That moſt traiterouſly he had taken Arms againſt his Soveraign Lord, impriſoned him, and then moſt barbarouſly cauſed him to be murthered. That ever ſince the death of King *Richard* he had unjuſtly kept the Crown from his kinſman *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, to whom of right it belonged. That upon no occaſion he had impoſed divers Taxes upon the people. That by his Letters he procured Burgeſſes and Knights of the Parliament to be choſen; for which cauſes and many other, they defied him, and vowed his deſtruction, and the reſtoring of the Earl of *March* to his right. King *Henry* could not but know, that all theſe Articles againſt him were true; yet ſeeing the knowing it hindered him not from ſeeking to get the Crown when he had it not, it could leſs hinder him from ſeeking to keep it now that he had it: and if he were able, being a private man, to get it from a

Articles framed by the Lords againſt King *Henry*, and ſent unto him.

King, he was likely to be more able, being now a King to keep it from private men; and as for any objections that Conſcience could make, he had enough to anſwer them all: For, if his Title were good againſt K. *Richard*, by his Reſignation, it was good againſt *Mortimer* by his ſwearing Allegiance; and upon theſe grounds, with a minde as confident as if all circumſtances were of his ſide, he raiſed an Army, and marched towards the Lords, taking care they might by no means joyn with the *Welſh*, and about *Shrewsbury* on Saturday S. *Mary Magdalens* Eve he encountred them: in which fight though the *Scots* and *Henry Hot-ſpur* ſhewed much valour, yet the victory reſted on the Kings ſide; *Hot-ſpur* himſelf was ſlain, the Earl of *Worceſter* was taken priſoner, together with Sir *Richard Vernon*, Sir *Theobald Treſſil*, the Baron of *Kinderton*; and the reſt fled. On the Kings part (beſides the Earl of *Stafford*, who had that morning revolted from the Conſpirators) were ſlain, Sir *Hugh Shirley*, Sir *John Clifton*, Sir *John Cockayn*, Sir *Nicholas Cauſell*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, Sir *John Calverley*, Sir *John Maſſie* of *Puddington*, Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, and Sir *Robert Gauſell*, all which had been but that morning dubbed Knights, with Sir *Thomas Weudſley*, who dyed afterwards of his wounds; of Common Souldiers about 1600: but of the Conſpirators above 6000, whereof 36 the King ſlew with his own hands; but was once unhorſed by *Douglaſs*, who in his preſence ſlew Sir *Walter Blunt*, with divers others, that day in all things attired like to the King; for which exploit, *Douglas* (being after by the fall of his Horſe taken priſoner) was by the Kings command carefully attended, and without Ranſom ſet at liberty. In this battel, the young Prince *Henry*, though wounded in the face with an Arrow, yet was not wounded in his courage, but continued fighting ſtill. After this Victory, the King cauſed publick thanks to be given to God, and then cauſed the Earl of *Worceſter* to be beheaded, and many other of that Rebellion to be drawn, hanged and quartered, and their heads placed on *London* Bridge: And then the King ſent his Son Henry Prince of *Wales*, with his whole Army into that Countrey; but before his coming, *Owen Glendour* was abandoned by all his Company: and lurking in the Woods, was there famiſhed: many of his aſſociates were taken and put to death. Whileſt the Prince was in *Wales*, *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, of his own accord, came and ſubmitted himſelf to the King, proteſting his innocency, as not being once acquainted with any intent of Treaſon and Rebellion; whoſe excuſe the King received for the preſent with gentle language, the rather for that he had the poſſeſſion of *Berwick* Caſtle and other places of ſtrength in his power: but yet he wiped not off the ſcore of his Miſdemeanors out of his mind.

1403. King *Henry* with an Army encounters the Lords where *Henry Hot-ſpur* is ſlain; the Earl of *Worceſter* taken priſoner, with divers others.

King *Henry* ſlayes 36 of his adverſaries with his own hands.

The Earl of *Worceſter* beheaded.

Owen Glendour lurking in the Woods, is famiſhed.

And now with the fourth year of his Reign ended all the great Troubles of this King *Henry* the fourth: thoſe that follow are but ſuch accidents as are frequent in all times both abroad and at home. The *Britains* under the leading of the Lord of *Du Caſtile* ſpoyled the Town of *Plimouth*. In revenge whereof, the Weſtern-men, under command of *William Wilford*, ſet forth a Fleet, which arriving in *Britain*, took forty Ships laden with Oyl and Wines, and burnt forty more. Again, the *French* landed a thouſand men in the *Iſle of Wight*, where they got together a great booty of Cattel; but the Iſlanders coming upon them took away their booty, and made many of them leave their Carkaſſes for a booty to the Iſland. Yet the *French* would not leave ſo, but a while after, as having gotten new ſpirits, they caſt Anchor before the Iſle of *Wight*, and require no leſs than to have the Iſland into their poſſeſſion: but a reſolute anſwer of the Iſlanders frighted them away, and made them glad they were gone. Soon after this the Duke of *Orleance*, brother to the *French* King, in a vaunting ſtyle, ſent a challenge to King *Henry* to meet him in the field, each of them to have a hundred in his Company. To which the King anſwered, That for his own valour it had ſufficiently been tried; and for this Challenge of the Dukes, neither the perſon nor the cauſe were worthy of his undertaking. Upon this refuſal of the Kings, divers taunts and jeers were bandied between them, till at laſt the Duke in great paſſion falls upon *Vergie* a Town in *Guyen*, but after three months aſſaulting it, being valiantly defended by Sir *Robert Antfield* and 300 *Engliſh* men, he was glad to give over with loſs, and return into *France*. Preſently upon this the Admiral of *Britain*, accompanied with the Lord *Du Caſtile*, and Thirty ſail of Ships, attempted to land at *Dertmouth* in *Devonſhire*, but were repelled, and the Lord *Du Caſtile*, and two of his Brothers, and four hundred of his men were ſlain, beſides two hundred taken priſoners; of whom the Lord *Baquevile* Marſhal of *Britain*, was one. After this five hundred men of Arms, five hundred Croſs-Bowes, and a thouſand *Flemmings*, under the Conduct of the Earl of St. *Paul*, laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Marck*, three leagues from *Callice*; but firſt by Sir *Philip Hall* Captain of *Callice*, and after by Sir *Richard Aſton* Lieutenant of the *Engliſh pale*, they were forced to retire and flie; The Earl of St. *Paul* eſcaped to St. *Omers*, but left many of his men of quality behind him, and more taken Priſoners. After this, *Thomas* D. of *Clarence*, the Kings ſecond Son and the Earl of Kent, with competent Forces entred the Haven of *Sluce*, where they burnt four Ships riding at Anchor, and returned to the relief of *Callice*, beſieged at that time by the *French*; and in the way took three Carricks of *Genoua* richly laden, and brought them into the Chamber of *Rye*. And theſe were the Troubles of this King abroad. About this time a Parliament was aſſembled at *Coventry*; which by ſome was called, the Lay-mens Parliament, becauſe the Sheriffs were appointed, that none ſhould be choſen Knights for the Counties, nor Burgeſſes for the Cities and Towns, that had any skill of the Laws of the Land.

1404.

The Duke of Orleance ſends a challenge to King *Henry*: and how he anſwers it.

But now at home the Reliques of the former Northern Rebellion began to revive; for now *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Richard Scroop* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earl Marſhal, the Lords *Haſtings*, *Fauconbridge*, and *Bardolf*, with divers others, conſpired at a time appointed, to meet upon *Yorkſwould-Downs*, and there bid defiance to King *Henry*. Articles of Grievances were framed, and ſet up in all publick places, which drew multi-

1405. Another Conſpiracy againſt King *Henry*.

multitudes to be partakers of the enterprize. But now *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmerland*, with the Lord *John* the Kings third Son, the Lord *Henry Fitz-Hughes*, *Ralph Evers*, and *Robert Humphreville* make head against them; and coming into a Plain in the Foreſt of *Galtree*, they ſate down right againſt the Arch-Biſhop and his Forces, which were twenty thouſand; and *Weſtmerland* perceiving the Enemies Forces to be far more than theirs, he uſed this Policy: he ſent to the Arch-Biſhop, demanding the reaſon why he would raiſe Forces againſt the King? Who anſwering, That his Arms were not againſt the King, but for his own defence, whom the King upon the inſtigation of Sycophants, had threatned: withal he ſent him a ſcrowl of their grievance, which *Weſtmerland* read, and ſeemed to approve, and thereupon deſired a conference with him. The Arch-Biſhop more credulous than wiſe, perſwaded the Earl Marſhal to go with him to the place appointed to confer. The Articles are read and allowed of; and thereupon *Weſtmerland* ſeeming to commiſerate the Souldiers, having been in armour all day, and weary, wiſhed the Arch-Biſhop to acquaint his party as he would his, with this their mutual agreement; and ſo ſhaking hands, in moſt Courtly friendſhip drank unto him. Whereupon the Souldiers were willed to diſband, and repair home; which they had no ſooner done, but a Troop of Horſe, which in a colourable manner had made a ſhew to depart, wheeled about, and afterward returned: and being come in ſight of the Earl of *Weſtmerland*, arreſted both the Arch-Biſhop and the Earl Marſhal, and brought them both Priſoners to the King at *Pomfret*; who paſſing from thence to *York*, the Priſoners likewiſe were carried thither, and the next day both of them beheaded, At *Durham* the Lords *Haſtings* and *Fauconbridge*, with two Knights, were executed. *Northumberland*, with the Lord *Bardolfe*, fled firſt to *Berwick*, and after into *Scotland*, where they were entertained by *David* Lord *Flemming*: whereupon the King gave Summons to the Caſtle of *Berwick*; which at firſt they refuſed to obey, but upon the planting and diſcharging of a Piece, they preſently yielded without compoſition: and here *William Graystock*, *Henry Bayston*, and *John Blinkenſop*, Knights, and five other were preſently put to execution, and many others committed to ſeveral Priſons. About this time *James* Son and Heir of *Robert* King of *Scotland*, a child of nine years old, attended by the Earl of *Orkney*, as he was ſailing into *France*, was taken by certain Mariners of *Norfolk*, who brought him to the King at *Windſor*, the 30 of *March*, 1408. and the King ſent them to the *Tower* of *London*.

Northumberland and *Bardolfe*, after they had been in *Wales*, *France*, and *Flanders*, to raiſe a power againſt King *Henry*, returned back into *Scotland*; and after a year with a great power of *Scots* entred *England*, and came into *York-ſhire*, making great ſpoil and waſte as they paſſed: but Sir *Thomas Rokeſby* Sheriff of *York*, levying the forces of the County, upon *Bramham-Moor* gave them Battel; in which *Northumberland* was ſlain, *Bardolfe* taken, but wounded to death, and the reſt put to flight. About this time alſo, Sir *Robert Umphreville* Vice-Admiral of *England*, with ten men of War entred *Scotland*, burnt their *Galiot*, and many other ſhips over againſt *Leith*, and brought away with him fourteen tall Ships laden with Corn and other ſtaple commodities, which at his return he ſent into the Markets round about; and thereby brought down the prizes of all things, and purchaſed to himſelf the name of *Mend-market*.

The Prince had been a Student in Queens Colledge in *Oxford*, under the Tuition of his Unkle *Henry Beaufort*, Chancellor of that Univerſity, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, and laſtly made a Cardinal, by the title of *Euſebius*. From *Oxford* the Prince was called to Court, and the Lord *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worceſter* was made his Governour: but coming afterward to be at his own diſpoſing, whether being by nature valorous, and yet not well ſtayed by time and experience; or whether incited by ill Companions, and emboldened by the opinion of his own greatneſs, he ran into many courſes ſo unworthy of a Prince, that it was much doubted what he would prove when he came to be King once. It is ſaid he lay in wait for the Receivers of his Fathers Rents, and in the perſon of a thief ſet upon them and robbed them. Another time, when one of his Companions was arraigned for Felony before the Lord Chief Juſtice, he went to the Kings Bench Barr and offered to take the Priſoner away by force; but being withſtood by the Lord Chief Juſtice, he ſtepped to him, and ſtruck him over the face; whereat the Judge nothing abaſhed, roſe up and told him, That he did not this affront to him, but to the King his Father, in whoſe place he ſate; and therefore to make him know his fault, he commanded him to be committed to the *Fleet*. You would have wondered to ſee how calm the Prince was in his own cauſe, who in the cauſe of his Companion had been ſo violent; for he quietly obeyed the Judges ſentence, and ſuffered himſelf to be led to Priſon. This paſſage was a little pleaſing to the King, to think that he had a Judge of ſuch courage, and a Son of ſuch ſubmiſſion: but yet for theſe and ſuch other pranks he removed him from being Preſident of the Council, and placed in it his third Son *John*. This made the Prince ſo ſenſible of his Fathers diſpleaſure, that he thought it neceſſary to ſeek by all means to recover his good opinion; which he endeavoured to do by a way as ſtrange as that by which he loſt it; for attiring himſelf in a garment of blue Sattin, wrought all with eylet-holes of black ſilk, at every hole the needle hanging, by which it was ſowed, and about his arm a thing in faſhion of a hounds Collar, ſtudded with S S. of Gold, he came to the Court at *Weſtminſter*: to whom the King (though not well in health) cauſed himſelf, in a Chair, to be brought into his Privy Chamber; where in preſence of but three or four of his Privy Council, he demanded of the Prince the cauſe of his unwonted habit and coming; who anſwered, That being not onely his Subject but his Son, and a Son ſo tenderly always regarded by him, he were worthy of a thouſand deaths, if he ſhould intend or but imagine, the leaſt offence to his Sacred Majeſty; and therefore had fitted himſelf to be made a ſacrifice: and therewithal reached his dagger, holding it by the point to

But by a policy of the Earl of *Weſtmerland* defeated.

The Archbiſhop of *York* and *Mowbray* Earl Marſhal beheaded.

1408.

The Earl of *Northumberland* ſlain.

Sir *Robert Humphreys* called Mend-market, and why.

1410.

Prince *Henry's* diſorderly courſes.

He ſtrikes the Lord Chief Juſtice, who commits him to the *Fleet*.

In what manner the Prince preſenteth himſelf to his Father.

his Father, For (ſaid he) I deſire not to live longer, than I may be thought to be what I am and ſhall ever be, your faithfull and obedient Vaſſal. With this or the like anſwer, the King was ſo moved, that he fell upon his Sons neck, and with many tears imbracing him, confeſſed that his ears had been too open to receive reports againſt him, and promiſing faithfully, That from thenceforth no reports ſhould cauſe any diſ-affection towards him. The King about this time, made his Son *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and his Son *Humfrey*, Duke of *Glocester*; he made alſo Sir *Thomas Beaufort* Earl of *Dorſet*, and the Earl of *Arundel* he created Duke of *York*.

The King makes his Son *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and his Son *Humfrey*, Duke of *Glocester*; alſo Sir *Thomas Beaufort* he made Earl of *Dorſet*, and the Earl of *Arundel* Duke of *York*.

1412.

The reſt of King *Henry's* dayes, from this time forward, being ſcarce a year, was free from all trouble both abroad and at home, unleſs perhaps he might be troubled in mind for having ſhed ſo much *Engliſh* and Noble blood; for expiation whereof, or elſe to the end he might joyn Valour and Devotion in one Action together, which hitherto he but uſed ſingly, he took upon him the *Cruſade*; and at a Council in *White-Fryers*, order was taken, and great preparation was made for his journey to *Jeruſalem*: But it was otherwiſe decreed in Heaven, and yet not ſo otherwiſe, but that he ended his life in *Jeruſalem*, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

King *Henry* takes upon him the *Cruſade*.

Of his Taxations.

IN the very beginning of his Reign, it might paſs inſtead of a Taxation, that he found in King *Richard's* Coffers, in money and Jewels, to the value of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. In his fourth year, an extraordinary Subſidy was granted him; twenty ſhillings of every Knights Fee, and of every one that had twenty ſhillings a year in Land, twelve pence, and upward, according to that rate; and of every one that had twenty pounds in goods, twelve pence, and upward, according to that rate; but with caution and proteſtation, That it ſhould not hereafter be drawn for a precedent; and that no Record thereof ſhould be made. In his ſixth year the Clergy granted to the King a Tenth. In his ſeventh year, the Clergy granted a tenth and a half, and the Commons two fifteens. In a Parliament holden the ninth year of his Reign, the King moved to have allowed him in every year, wherein there was no Parliament kept, a Tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity; to which demands the Biſhops aſſented, but the Commons would not. In his ſeventh year, a Parliament began which laſted almoſt a whole year, in which a Subſidy was at laſt granted; ſo ſharp, that even Prieſts and Fryers who lived of Alms, were forced every one to pay a Noble.

Of Laws and Ordinances made in his time.

Controverſies in Religion firſt puniſhed by burning.

IN this Kings dayes, burning and execution by fire for Controverſies in Religion was firſt put in practice.

Alſo in the firſt year of his Reign, an Act was made, That no perſon of what degree ſoever, ſhould after that day alledge for his excuſe, any conſtraint or coarcting of his Prince, for doing of any unlawfull act; and that ſuch excuſe, after that day, ſhould ſtand him in no ſtead.

Alſo an Act was made, That no Lord, nor other, might give any Liveries to any but their houſhold and menial Servants. In his twelfth year, the King cauſed a new Coin of Nobles to be made, which was of leſs value than the old Noble by four pence.

Alſo that all Ripiers, and other Fiſhers from any of the Sea-coaſts ſhould ſell their Fiſh in *Cornhill* and *Cheapſide* themſelves, and not to Fiſhmongers that would buy to ſell again.

The *Dutchy* Court inſtituted by K. *Henry*

Alſo this King inſtituted the *Dutchy* Court, which he did in honour of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, to the end the Lands belonging to the *Dutchy*, might in all following times be diſtinguiſhed and known from the Lands of the Crown. In his ſixth year, the King called a Parliament at *Coventry*, and ſent Proceſs to the Sheriffs, that they ſhould chooſe no Knights nor Burgeſſes that had any knowledge in the Laws of the Realm; by reaſon whereof, it was called, the *Unlearned Parliament*. In his ſeventh year, the Mayor of *London*, for preſervation of Fiſh, obtained, that all Wears which ſtood between *London* and ſeven mile beyond *Kingſton*; as alſo ſuch as ſtood between *London* and *Graveſend*, ſhould be pulled up and taken away.

The unlearned Parliament, and why ſo called.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

BY reaſon of diſcord between *John* of *Gaunt*, and *Wickham* Biſhop of *Winchester*, the Biſhop either in durance, could not, or in fear, durſt not come to the Parliament Houſe, at a time when the King required a ſupply of mony, but the Clergy unanimouſly affirming, that without their Brother, the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* preſence, they neither can nor will conſult of any thing, he is preſently ſent for, and by the King ſecured; In the Parliament laſt mention'd the Commons preſented a Petition to the King and the upper Houſe, deſiring that the King might have the Temporal poſſeſſions of the Biſhops and Clergy; the value whereof they pretended would be ſufficient maintenances for a hundred and fifty Earls, one thouſand five hundred Knights, ſix thouſand two hundred Eſquires, and a hundred Hoſpitals for maimed Souldiers. They craved likewiſe, that Clerks convict ſheuld not be delivered to the Biſhops Priſon; and that the ſtatute made in the ſecond year of the King againſt *Lollards* might be repealed. But the King denied their Petition, and in Perſon commanded them from thenceforth, not to preſume to trouble their Brains about any ſuch buſineſs, for he was reſolved to leave the Church in as good ſtate as he found it. In the twelfth year of his Reign certain learned men in *Oxford*, in their Sermons maintained the Opinions of *Wickliffe*, but the Biſhops and Doctors of the Univerſity inhibited and condemned them. In his time was great Schiſm in the Church, by reaſon of two Anti-Popes; but afterwards in an aſſembly of Cardinals and Biſhops, a third man was elected, named *Alexander* the fifth, who had been trained up at *Oxford*.

The Temporal poſſeſſions of the Clergy required to be given to the King; and how great it was.

A Schiſm in the Church, by two Anti-Popes.

Work

Works of Piety done in his time.

KIng *Henry* founded a Colledge at *Battlefield* in *Shropshire*, where he overcame the Lord *Henry Piercy*. In his third year, the Conduit upon *Cornhil* was begun to be built. Also in his time Sir *Robert Knolls* made the stone Bridge of *Rochester* in *Kent*; and founded in the Town of *Pomfret* a Colledge and an Hospital: He also re-edified the body of the *White-Fryers* Church in *Fleet-street*, where he was afterward buried: Which Church was first founded by the ancestors of the Lord *Grey* of *Codnor*. In the eighth year of his Reign, *Richard Whittington* Mayor of *London* erected an house or Church in *London*, to be a House of Prayer, and named it after his own name, *Whittington Colledge*; with lodgings and weekly allowance for divers poor people. He also builded the Gate of *London*, called *Newgate*, in the year 1420. which was before a most loathsome prison. He builded also more than half of St. *Bartholomews* Hospital in *West-Smithfield*, and the beautiful Library in the *Gray-Fryers* in *London*, now called *Christs* Hospital: He also builded a great part of the East end of *Guild-Hall*, and a Chappel adjoyning to it, with a Library of Stone, for the custody of the Records of the City. But he that exceeded all at this time in Works of Piety, was *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*; his first Work was the building of a Chappel at *Titchfield*, where his Father, Mother, and Sister *Perrot* were buried: Next he founded at *Southwick* in *Hampshire*, near the town of *Wickham*, the place of his birth, as a supplement to the Priory of *Southwick*, a Chauntry, with allowance for five Priests for ever: He bestowed Twenty thousand Marks in repairing the Houses belonging to the Bishoprick: He discharged out of prison in all places of his Diocess, all such poor Prisoners as lay in execution for Debt, under Twenty pounds: He amended all the High-wayes from *Winchester* to *London*, on both sides the river. After all this, on the fifth of *March*, 1379. he began to lay the foundation of that Magnificent Structure in *Oxford*, called *New-Colledge*, and in person laid the first stone thereof; in which place before, there stood St, *Neot's* Hall, built by K. *Alfred* at St. *Neot's* intreaty; and for the affinity of the name, came to be called *New-Colledge*. In the year 1387. on the 26. of *March*, he likewise in person laid the first Stone of the like foundation in *Winchester*, and dedicated the same, as that other in *Oxford*, to the memory of the Virgin *Mary*. The *Grocers* in *London* purchased their Hall in *Cunny-hope-Lane* for 320 Marks; and then laid the foundation thereof on the tenth of *May*. King *Henry* founded the Colledge of *Fodringhey* in *Northamptonshire*; to which King *Henry* the fifth gave Land of the Priories of *Monks aliens*, by him suppressed.

John Gower the famous Poet, new builded a great part of St. *Mary Overies* Church in *Southwark*, where he lies buried. In the second year of this King, a new Market in the *Poultrey*, called the *Stocks*, was builded for free sale of Foreign Fishmongers and Butchers. In his twelfth year the *Guild-Hall* of *London* was begun to be new edified; and of a little Cottage made a goodly house, as now it is. Also in this Kings time *John Colepepper*, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas founded a free Schooll with competent yearly maintenance in West *Peckham* in *Kent*.

The Conduit in Cornhil begun to be built.

Whittington Colledge by whom founded.

Newgate by whom builded.

William Wickham Bishop of Winchester, his Works of Piety.

He builded New-Colledge in Oxford.

Also the like Colledge in Winchester.

John Gower the famous Poet his Work of Piety.

The Stocks in the Poultry builded.

Guild-hall in London began to be builded.

Casualties happening in his time

IN his third year, in the month of *March*, appeared a blazing Star; first betwixt the East and the North, and then sending forth fiery beams towards the North: fore-shewing perhaps the effusion of blood that followed after in *Wales* and *Northumberland*. In the same year at *Danbury* in *Essex*, the Devil appeared in likeness of a Gray Fryer; who entring the Church, put the people in great fear, and the same hour with a Tempest of Whirl-wind and Thunder, the top of the Steeple was broken down, and half the Chancel scattered abroad. In his seventh year, such abundance of water brake suddenly over the Banks in *Kent*, that it drowned Cattle without number. Also this year the Town of *Royston* in *Hartfordshire* was burnt. In his ninth year was so sharp a Winter, and such abundance of Snow, continued *December*, *January*, *February* and *March*, that almost all small Birds died through hunger.

The Devil appears in the likeness of a Gray-Friar.

A Snow that continued four Months.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, the first was *Mary*, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Humfrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *Essex*, and *Northampton*; she died before he came to the Crown, in the year 1394. His second Wife was *Joan*, Daughter to *Charles* the first King of *Navarre*, she being the Widow of *John de Montford* surnamed *Stremy*, or the Conqueror, Duke of *Britain*; who dyed without any issue by King *Henry*, at *Havering* in *Essex*, the year 1437. In the fifteenth year of King *Henry* the sixth, and lieth buried by her Husband at *Canterbury*. He had four Sons and two Daughters; of his Sons, *Henry* his eldest was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Father, King of *England*. His second Son was *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, and Steward of *England*; who was slain at *Beaufort* in *Anjou*, and died without issue. His third Son was *John* Duke of *Bedford*; he married first with *Anne* Daughter of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*; and secondly with *Jacoba* Daughter of *Peter* of *Luxemburg*, Earl of St. *Paul*, but died also without issue. His fourth Son was *Humfrey*, by his Brother King *Henry* the fifth created Duke of *Glocester*, and was generally called the good Duke: he had two Wives, but died without issue, in the year 1446, and was buried at St. *Albans*; though the vulgar opinion be, that he lies buried in St. *Pauls* Church. Of King *Henry* the fourths Daughters, *Blanch* the elder was married to *Lewis Barbatus*, *Palatine* of the *Rhene*, and Prince Elector: *Philippa* his younger Daughter, was married to *John* King of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

CConcerning his body, He was of middle stature, slender limbs, but well proportioned.

Concerning

Concerning his mind, of a ſerious and ſolid diſpoſition, and one that ſtood more upon his own legs than any of his Predeceſſors had done: in caſes of difficulty not refuſing, but not needing the advice of others; which might confirm but not better his own. He was neither merry nor ſad, but both: beſt pleaſed when he was oppoſed, becauſe this was like to do him good, by ſharpning his invention; moſt angry when he was flattered, becauſe this was ſure to do him hurt, by dulling his Judgment. No man ever more loved, nor leſs doated upon a Wife than he. A good Huſband, but not uxorious; that if there be reins to that paſſion, we may know he had them. It may be thought he affected the Crown, not ſo much out of Ambition as out of Compaſſion, becauſe the oppreſſions of his Countrey he could not ſo well help being a Subject, as a King; for otherwiſe we may truly ſay, he was a loſer by the Crown, being not ſo great for a King, as he was before for a Subject. The Crown rather was a gainer by him, which hath ever ſince been the richer for his wearing it. We may think he was either weary of his life, or longing for death; for why elſe would he take upon him the *Cruſado*, having been told by a skilful Soothſayer, That he ſhould dye in *Jeruſalem*? but it ſeems he did not believe him.

Of his death and Burial

IN the forty ſixth year of his Age, having Peace both at home and abroad, and being of too active a ſpirit to be idle, he took upon him the *Cruſado*, and great proviſion was made for his Journey to *Jeruſalem*: but alas, his Journey to *Jeruſalem* required no ſuch proviſion, for being at his Prayers at St *Edward's* ſhrine, he was ſuddenly taken with an Apoplexy, and thereupon removed to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter's* houſe; where recovering his Senſes, and finding himſelf in a ſtrange place, he asked what place it was? and being told that he was in the Abbots houſe, in a Chamber called *Jeruſalem*: Well then (ſaid he) Lord have mercy upon me, for this is the *Jeruſalem* where a Soothſayer told me I ſhould dye. And here he died indeed, on the 20. day of *March*, in the year 1413. when he had lived ſix and forty years, reigned Thirteen and a half. It is worth remembring, That all the time of his ſickneſs, his will was to have his Crown ſet upon his bolſter by him; and one of his fits being ſo ſtrong upon him, that all Men thought him directly dead; the Prince coming in, took away the Crown: when ſuddenly the King recovering his ſenſes, miſſed his Crown; and asking for it, was told, the Prince had taken it: whereupon the Prince being called, came back with the Crown, and kneeling down, ſaid, *Sir, to all our Judgments, and to all our griefs, you ſeemed directly dead, and therefore I took the Crown as being my Right: but ſeeing to all our Comforts, you live, I here deliver it much more joyfully than I took it, and pray God you may long live to wear it your ſelf.* Well (ſaith the King ſighing) what right I had to it, God knows. *But* (ſaith the Prince) *if you dye King, my Sword ſhall maintain it to be my Right againſt all oppoſers.* Well (ſaith the King) I refer all to God: but I charge thee on my Bleſſing, That thou adminiſter the Laws indifferently, avoid Flatterers, defer not to do Juſtice, or be ſparing of mercy. And then turning about, ſaid, *God bleſs thee, and have mercy on me.* And with thoſe words gave up the Ghoſt. His body with all Funeral Pomp was conveyed to *Canterbury*, and there ſolemnly buried.

He dies of an Apoplexy.

His Admonition to the Prince.

Of Men of Note in his time.

OF Men of Valour in his time, of whom there was ſtore, I ſhall need to ſay no more than what hath already been ſaid in the body of the ſtory; only I cannot but remember Sir *Robert Knolls*, who was born of mean parentage, made himſelf famous over all Chriſtendom; and dying at a Manner of his in *Norfolk*, was brought to *London*, and buried in the Church of the White-Friers in *London*, which himſelf had re-edified. But for men of Learning, I muſt ſet in the firſt place, *William Wickham*, a man of no Learning, yet well worthy to hold the place. In relating of whoſe life, I muſt have leave to expatiate a little. His Fathers name was *John Long*, or as ſome ſay, *Perot*; but as *Campian* proveth, *Wickham*; and not from the place of his dwelling, though he was Parish-Clerk of *Wickham* in *Hampſhire*, where he taught Children to write: In which quality his Son *William* proved ſo excellent, that *Nicholas Woddal*, Conſtable of *Winchester* Caſtle, took him from his Father, and kept him at School, firſt at *Winchester*, afterward at *Oxford*; till himſelf being made Surveyor-General of the Kings Works, he ſent for this *William* to ſerve him as his Clerk: who in ſhort time grew ſo expert in that imployment that *Adam Tarleton* Biſhop of *Winchester*, commended him to the King, who imployed him preſently in ſurveying his Fortifications at *Dover*, and *Queenborough* Caſtles, and afterward made him Surveyor of his Buildings at *Windſor* Caſtle, and his Houſes of *Henly* and *Eaſt-Hampſtead*. And here firſt Envy roſe up againſt him, for having cauſed to be Engraven on a ſtone of a Wall at *Windſor* Caſtle, theſe words, *This made William Wickham*. Some that envied his riſing, complained to the King of his inſolency, as arrogating to himſelf, that excellent piece of Building to be done at his charge: but *Wickham* called before the King about it, made anſwer, That his meaning was not, neither by any indifferent Conſtruction could it import, that *Wickham* made that Building, but that the ſame Building made *Wickham*, as being a means of the Kings great favour toward him: This anſwer pacified the King, who took him daily more and more into his favour; and being now entred into the Miniſtry, was firſt made Parſon of St. *Martins* in the Fields, then Miniſter of St. *Martins le Grand*, afterwards Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Provoſt of *Wells*, and Rector of *Meyhens* in *Devonſhire*; ſo as at one time he had in his hands ſo many Eccleſiaſtical Livings, that the value of them in the Kings Books amounted to eight hundred ſeventy ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings: beſides which, he was honoured with many Temporal places of great profit and reſpect, as to be his principal Secretary, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Maſter of the Wards and Liveries, Treaſurer of the Kings Revenues in *France*, and ſome other Offices. After which

William Wickham his parentage and riſing.

the

the Bishoprick of *Winchester* falling void, means was made to the King to bestow that place upon him. And here, the second time, did envy rise up against him, informing the King that he was a man of little or no learning, and no way fit for such a dignity; Whereupon the King made stay of granting it: but when *Wickham* came before the King, and told him, That what he wanted in personal learning, he would supply with being a founder of Learning: This so satisfied the King, that he bestowed the place upon him. After this he was made Lord Treasurer of *England*; and here the third time did envy rise up against him: for the King requiring of his Subjects a supply of money, it was answered, That he needed no other supply than to call his Treasurer to accompt. This blow strook deep upon the Bishop; for he was presently charged to give accompt for eleven hundred ninety six thousand pounds: and whilst he was busie in preparing his accompt, all his Temporalties, upon importunity of *John* of *Gaunt*, were seised into the Kings hands, and given to the Prince of *Wales*, and himself upon pain of the Kings displeasure, commanded not to come within twenty miles of the Court. In this case he dismisseth his Train, and sendeth copies abroad of his accompt, if it might be received; but was hindred by the working of *John* of *Gaunt* against him, upon this ground (as was thought:) Queen *Philippa* Wife to King *Edward* the Third, upon her death-bed, by way of Confession, told *Wickham*, that *John* of *Gaunt* was not the lawful Issue of King *Edward*, but a suppositious Son: for when she was brought to bed at *Gaunt* of a Daughter, knowing how desirous the King was to have a Son, she exchanged that Daughter with a *Dutch* Woman for a Boy, whereof she had been delivered about the same time with the Queen. Thus much she confessed, and withal made the Bishop swear, That if the said *John* of *Gaunt* should at any time either directly or indirectly attempt the Crown; or that rightfully, through want of Issue, it should devolve unto him; that then he should discover this matter, and make it known unto the King and Council. Afterward the Queen being dead, and the Bishop finding *John* of *Gaunt*, as he thought, too much aspiring, he secretly told him this relation, and this adjuration of his supposed Mother, advising him not to seek higher than a private state; for else he was bound by an Oath to make it known to all the World. Thus far the Bishop did well; but when he saw the Son of *John* of *Gaunt* not only aspiring, but possessed of the Crown, why did he not then discover it, and joyn at least with the Bishop of *Carlile*, in opposing it? Certainly, we may know, that either the whole relation was but a Fable, or that *Wickham* was a Temporizer, or that *John* of *Gaunt* was a most patient man, to suffer the affront of such an indignity, with less than the death of him that did it. But howsoever it was, it is certain, the Duke bore a mortal grudge to the Bishop; who had no way to withstand such an Enemy, but by making *Alice Pierce* his friend, by whose means, after two years, he was restored to all his Livings; and afterward King *Edward* being dead, and *Alice Pierce* banished, by the means of a greater friend than *Alice Pierce* (his full purse) he obtained in the second year of King *Richard*, a general Pardon under the great Seal of *England*; and from that time forward enjoyed a quiet life, and died in the fourth year of this King *Henry* the fourth, being then of the age of above 80 years, and lieth buried in the Church of St. *Swithins* in *Winchester*, in a Monument of his own making in his life-time; leaving for his Heir *Thomas Perrot*, the Son of his sister *Agnes*, married to *William Perrot*.

John of Gaunt said to be a suppositious Son.

Roger Walden his Rising and Fall.

Another great example of the volubility of Fortune in Professors of Learning, was *Roger Walden*, who dyed in the ninth year of this King: He was at first a poor Scholar in *Oxford*; and the first step of his rising, was, to be a Chaplain in the Colledge there of St. *Maries*; from thence by degrees he got to be Dean of *York*; and after this, a high step, to be Treasurer of *England*; and yet a higher after that upon the banishment of *Thomas Arundel*, to be Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*: But being now at the top, he came down again: for in this Kings time, *Thomas Arundel* being restored to the Arch Bishoprick, *Walden* was not only put out of that place, but was called to accompt for the Treasureship; and though he shewed his *Quietus est*, yet all his Temporalties where seized, and his person imprisoned, till by the mediation of the now Arch-Bishop *Arundel*, he was made Treasurer of *Callice*, and after promoted to be Bishop of *London*.

The next place after these is justly due to *Geoffry Chaucer*, and *John Gower*, two famous Poets in this time, and the Fathers of *English* Poets in all the times after. *Chaucer* dyed in the fourth year of this King, and lieth buried at *Westminster*: *Gower*, in this Kings ninth year, and was buried at St. *Mary Overies* Church in *Southwark*. And now come others to be remembred, who lived and died in this Kings time. *Hugh Legate* born in *Hartfordshire*, a Monk of St. *Albans*, who wrote *Scholies* upon *Boetius de Consolatione*. *Nicholas Gorham*, born also in *Hartfordshire*, a Dominick Fryer, and the *French* Kings Confessor, though an *English* man, *Walter Disse*, so called of a Town in *Norfolk*, where he was borne, Confessor to the Duke of *Lancaster*. *Laurence Holbeck*, a Monk of *Ramsey*, who wrote an Hebrew Dictionary. *John Cotton* Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*. *Richard Scroop*, brother to *William Scroop* Lord Treasurer of *England*, made Archbishop of *York*; and writing an invective against King *Henry*, lost his head. *William Thorpe*, an earnest follower of *John Wickliffe*, for which he was committed to *Saltwood* Castle, where he died. *Stephen Patrington*, born in *Yorkshire*, and *Robert Masseal*, a *Carmelite* Frier of *Ludlow*; both of them Confessors to King *Henry* the Fifth. *Boston* a Monk of the Abbey of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church, and other Treatises. *John Purvey*, who was convented for teaching Doctrine contrary to the Church of *Rome*, and compelled to recant. *Thomas Rudburn* Bishop of St. *Davids*, who wrote a Chronicle. *Nicholas Riston* who considering the strife between the then Anti-Popes, wrote a Book, *De tollendo Schismate*. *Robert Wansham* a Monk in *Dorsetshire*, who wrote a Book in Verse,

Verse; *Of the Original and Signification of words*; *Robert Wimbledon* an excellent Preacher, as appeareth by the Sermon he made upon this Text, *Redde Rationem Villicationis tuæ.*

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings Time.*

In his first year,
Sir *Thomas Knolls* was Mayor.
William Waldren, William Hende, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir *John Francis* was Mayor.
John Wakel, William Ebet, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *John Shadworth* was Mayor.
William Venor, John Fremingham, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
John Walcot was Mayor.
Richard Marlow, Robert Chichely, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *William Aſcham* was Mayor.
Thomas Falconer, Thomas Pool, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Hinde was Mayor.
William Louth, Stephen Spilman Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *John Woodcock* was Mayor.
Henry Barton, William Cromer, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *Richard Whittington* was Mayor.
Nicholas Watton, Geoffry Brooke, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *William Standon* was Mayor.
Henry Pontfract, Henry Halton, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *Drew Barentine* was Mayor.
Thomas Buck, William Norton Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Richard Marlow was Mayor,
John Law, William Chichely, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir *Thomas Knolls* was Mayor,
John Penne, Thomas Pike, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir *Robert Chichely* was Mayor.
John Rainwel, William Cotton, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
William Waldren was Mayor.
Ralph Lovenham, William Sevenoke, Sheriffs.

THE

The REIGN of KING HENRY The FIFTH.

An. Dom. 1412.

HENRY of *Monmouth* (so called from the place in *Wales*, where he was born) eldest Son of King *Henry* the Fourth, succeeded his Father in the Kingdome of *England*, to whom the Lords of the Realm swore Homage and Allegiance, before he was yet Crowned; an Honour never done before to any of his Predecessors: and afterwards on the ninth of *April*, in the year 1412. he was Crowned at *Westminster*, by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites and Solemnities in such case accustomed: And as the Scripture speaks of *Saul*, *That as soon as Samuel had anointed him King, he had a new heart given him, and he became another man than he was before:* so was it with this King *Henry*. For presently after his Coronation, he called before him all his Companions, who had been *fratres in malo* with him, strictly charging them not to presume to come within ten miles of his Court, until such time as they had given good proof of their amendment in manners; and lest any of them should pretend want of maintenance to be any cause of their taking ill courses, he gave to every one of them a competent means whereby to subsist. And knowing (as he did) the fashion of the *Scots* and *Welsh*, that in times of change they would commonly take advantage to make Inroads upon the Borders, he therefore caused Forts and Bulwarks in fit places to be erected, and placed Garrisons in them, for preventing or repelling any such Incursions. Immediately after this, he called a Parliament, where a Subsidy was granted without asking, and in this Parliament the Commons began to harp upon their old string, of taking away the Temporalties of the Clergy: and the Bishops fearing how it might take in the Kings ears, thought it best to divert him, by striking upon another string, which they knew would be more pleasing to him, which was, to shew him the great right he had to the Crown of *France*. And thereupon *Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in a long Narration deduced the King's right from *Isabel* Daughter to *Philip* the Fourth, married to King *Edward* the Second; from whom it descended by direct line to his Majesty, and no hinderance of enjoying it, but pretension of the *Salique* Laws; which (said he) was neither according to the Law of God, nor yet intended at first to that Nation: and though his Predecessors by reason of their Incumbrances forbore to prosecute their claim, yet he being free from all such incumbrances, had no less power than right to do it. This indeed struck upon the right string of the Kings inclination; for as he affected nothing more than true glory, so in nothing more than in Warlike Actions. Hereupon nothing was now thought of, but the Conquest of *France*. First therefore he begins to alter in his Arms the bearing of *Semy-de-Luces*, and quarters the Three *Flower-de-Luces*, as the Kings of *France* then bare them: and that he might not be thought to steal advantage, but to do it fairly, he sent Ambassadors to *Charles* the sixth, then King of *France*, requiring in peaceable manner the surrender of the Crown of *France*: which if he would yield unto, then King *Henry* would take to Wife his Daughter *Katharine*; but if he refused to do it, then King *Henry* would with Fire and Sword enforce it from him, or lose his life. The Ambassadours sent, were the Duke of *Exeter*, the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord High Admiral, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, with five hundred Horse; who coming to the Court of *France*, were at first received and feasted, with all the honour and shew of kindness that might be: but as soon as their Message was delivered, and that it was known what they came about, the Copy of their entertainment was altered, and they were sent away with as little Complement, as they were before received with Honour; only told, That the King would speedily make answer to the King their Master by his own Ambassadours; and speedily indeed he did it; for the Earl of *Vendosin*, *William Baratier* Archbishop of *Bourges*, *Peter Fresnel*, Bishop of *Lyseaux*, with others, were arrived in *England*, as soon almost as the *English* were returned. But being come, the Archbishop of *Bourges* made a long Oration in the praise of Peace, concluding with the tender of the Lady *Katharine*, and 50000 Crowns with her in Dower, besides some Towns of no great importance. To which King *Henry* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* made answer, that these offers were trifles, and that without yielding to his Demands, he would never desist from that he intended. And with this Answer the *French* Ambassadours were dismissed. It is said, That about this time, the Dauphin (who in the King of *France* his sickness managed the State) sent to King *Henry* a Ton of Tennis Balls, in derision of his youth, as fitter to play with them, than to manage Arms; which

King *Henry* hath homage sworn to him before he was Crowned.

Being once Crowned, he discharged all his disorderly Companions.

A Subsidy granted him without asking.

The Bishops shew him his right to the Crown of *France*.

He quarters in his Arms the three *Flower-de-luces*.

He sends Ambassadors into *France* to claim the surrender of the Crown.

The King of *France* returns answer by his Ambassadours.

The Dauphin of *France* sends King *Henry* a Ton of Tenis Balls in derision, and King *Henry*'s Answer.

King *Henry* took in such scorn, that he promised with an Oath, It should not be long e're he would toss such Iron Balls amongst them, that the best Arms in *France* should not be able to hold a Racket to turn them. And now all things are prepared and in a readiness for the King's Journey into *France*, his men shipped, and himself ready to go on Shipboard; when suddenly a Treason was discovered against his Person, plotted by *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, *Henry* Lord *Scrop* of *Masham*, Lord Treasurer, and *Thomas Grey* Earl of *Northumberland*, and plotted and procured by the *French* Agents. These being apprehended, and upon examination confessing the Treason, and the money (which was said to be a Million of Gold) by them for that end received, were all of them immediately put to death. From this *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, second Son of *Edmund* of *Langley*, did *Richard* afterward Duke of *York* claim and recover the Crown from the *Lancastrain* Family. This Execution done, and the wind blowing fair, King *Henry* weighs Anchor, and with a Fleet of 1200 Sail, (*Grafton* saith but 140 Ships) but *Engherant* saith, 1600. attended with Six thousand Spears, and 14000 Foot, besides Engineers and Labourers, he puts to Sea; and on our Lady Eve landed at *Caux*, where he made Proclamation, That no man upon pain of death should rob any Church, or offer violence to any that were found unarmed: and from thence passing on, he besieged *Harfleur*; which when no succour came within certain dayes agreed upon, the Town was surrendered and sacked. Of this Town he made the Duke of *Exeter*, Captain, who left there for his Lieutenant, Sir *John Falstesse*, with a Garrison of 1500 men. It is said, that when King *Henry* entred *Harfleur*, he passed along the streets bare-foot, until he came to the Church of St. *Martin*; where with great devotion he gave most humble thanks to God for this first atchieved Enterprize. From thence he marched forward, and coming to the River of *Soame*, he found all the Bridges broken; whereupon he passed on to the Bridge of St. *Maxence*, where 30000 *French* appearing, he picht his Camp, expecting to be fought with; and the more to encourage his men, he gave the Order of Knighthood to *John* Lord *Ferrers* of *Groby*, *Reynold Graystock*, *Piercy Tempest*, *Christopher Morisby*, *Thomas Pickering*, *William Huddleston*, *Henry Mortimer*, *John Horbalton*, *Philip Hall*: but not perceiving the *French* to have any mind to fight, he marched by the Town of *Amyens* to *Bowes*, and there stayed two dayes, expecting Battel; and from thence marched to *Corby*, where the Peasants of the Countrey, with certain men of Arms sent from the Dauphin, charged the right wing of the *English*, which was led by *Hugh Stafford* Lord *Bourchier*, and won away his Standard, but was recovered again by *John Bromeley* of *Bromeley*, a Commander in the Lord *Stafford*'s Regiment, who with his own hand slew him that had taken the Colours; and then taking them up, displayed the same, with sight whereof, the *English* were so encouraged, that they presently routed the *French*, and put them to flight; which valiant exploit, the Lord *Stafford* recompensed, by giving to *Bromeley* an Annuity of fifty pounds a year out of his Lands in *Staffordshire*. After this the King marched towards *Callice*, so strictly observing his Proclamation against Church-robbing; that when one was complained of for having taken a Silver Pixe out of a Church, he not only caused the same to be restored, but the Souldier also to be hanged: which point of Discipline both kept the rest from offending in that kind, and drew the people of the Countrey, under-hand to relieve his men with all things necessary. The *French* King hearing that King *Henry* had passed the River of *Soame*, by advice of his Council, (who yet were divided in Opinion) sent *Montjoy* the *French* King at Arms to defie King *Henry*, and to let him know he should be fought with; which King *Henry*, though his Army was much infected with Fevers, whereof the Earl of *Stafford*, the Bishop of *Norwich*, the Lord *Molines* and *Burnel*, were lately dead: yet he willingly heard, and rewarded the Herald for his message; and first having cleared a passage over a Bridge, where of necessity he was to pass, on the 22 of *October*, he passed over with his Army. At which time the Duke of *York* that led the Rereward, had discovered the Enemy to come on apace; whereof he sent word to the King, who thereupon made a stand: and appointing his Officers what course to hold, and encouraging his Souldiers, they all attended when the Battel should begin. The *French* Army was divided into three Battels; in the first were placed Eight thousand men at Arms, four thousand Archers, and Fifteen hundred Cross-bows, the Wings consisting of Two thousand two hundred men at Arms. This Battel was led by the Constable of *France* himself, the Dukes of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eewe*, *Richmond* and *Vendosme*, the Lord *Dampier*, the Lord Admiral of *France*, the Admiral *Buciqualt*, and others. The middle Battel, wherein were more men at Arms, was commanded by the Dukes of *Barre* and *Alanson*, and by the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Salings*, *Blamont*, *Grantpre*, and *Rousey*. In the Rereward were all the Remainder of the *French* Forces, guided by the Earls of *Marle*, *Dampmartin*, *Fauconbridge*, and the Lord *Lonrey*, Captain of *Ardy*. The *Frenchmen* thus ordered, being six times, some say ten times as many as the *English* (who were not above nine thousand) thought of nothing but of the booty they should get. In the mean time King *Henry* having made choice of a piece of ground half fenced on his back with the Village, wherein they had rested the night before, on both sides having strong hedges and ditches, begun there to order his Battel; but first he appointed an ambush of two hundred Archers, which upon a Watch-word given, should discharge their whole flight upon the whole flank of the Enemies Horse. The Vaunt-guard consisting of Archers only, was conducted by the Duke of *York*, who out of an Heroick courage made suit for that place; with whom were joyned the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby*, and *Fanhope*. The main Battel was led by the King himself, which consisted of Bill-men, and some Bow-men: with him were the Duke of *Gloucester* his Brother

A Treason discovered against King *Henry*.

Richard Earl of *Cambridge*, *Henry* Lord *Scrop*, Lord Treasurer, and *Thomas Grey* Earl of *Northumberland* put to death.

1415.

King *Henry* passeth with an Army into *France*.

His Devotion.

His strict Discipline.

The *French* Army, how marshalled.

Six times as many as the *English*.

King *Henry*'s Army how marshalled.

ther, the Earl Marshal, *Oxford*, and *Suffolk*. The Rereward was led by *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, the Kings Uncle, consisting of all sorts of weapons; the horsmen, as wings guarded the companies on both sides. The King to prevent the fury of the *French* Cavalry, by the direction of the Duke of *York*, appointed divers stakes studded with Iron at both ends, of six foot long, to be pitched behind the Archers, and appointed Pioneers to attend to remove them, as they should be directed. These things thus ordered, publick Prayers were humbly made, and the On-set was presently given by the *French* Horsemen; whereupon Sir *William Orpington*, according to direction, caused the Bow-men behind the hedges to let flie their Arrows, which so galled the *French* Horses, that either they cast their Riders, or through their unruliness, so opened their Ranks, that the Right wing of the *English* Horse had way to come in upon the *French* Foot; and withal, the *French* Horse disorderly retiring, they were miserably trodden down and dis-ranked by their own company. Upon which, the King with his main Battel came on with such resolution, that himself in person charged the Duke of *Alanson*, by whom he was well-near unhorsed; but afterward, having first slain two of the Dukes men, he charged the Duke again, and with his Sword beat him from his Horse; whom the King's Guard, notwithstanding the King cryed out to the contrary, slew outright: and with his fall the main Battel of the *French* first gave ground, then turned their backs, and lastly cast away their weapons and fled. But then certain of the *French* Horsemen that first ran away, led on by *Robert Bondile* and the Captain of *Agincourt*, meaning to wipe away the blot of running away from Souldiers, by fighting with Boyes, set upon the Pages and Landresses that were left in the Camp; who gave such a lamentable shreek, that King *Henry* verily thought some fresh forces had been come: whereupon he caused all the Arrows that were sticking in the field to be gathered, and the stakes to be plucked up, and made ready to be again used: amongst which the Duke of *York*'s body was found, miserably hacked and defaced: the sight whereof, together with danger of a second Charge, made King *Henry* give order, the Prisoners should be all slain, except only some principal men, whom he caused to be bound back to back, and so left. For which fact, though done in cold blood, yet the King could not justly be taxed with cruelty, seeing the number of the Prisoners was more than of his own Souldiers; and nothing could give assurance of safety, but their slaughter, But all was not yet done; for the Earls of *Marle* and *Fauconbridge*, with six hundred men at Arms, who had stood still all day, began now to stir, and gave a brave charge upon King *Henry*'s Army: but being but few, and their horses galled with the stakes,, they had only the honour to dye bravely; and indeed they slew more of the *English*, than the whole Army had done before. And now at last, the King being satisfied by the scouts, that no Enemy was more to be seen, he asked what the place was called? and being told, *Agincourt*; Well then (said he) this shall be from henceforth called the Battel of *Agincourt*: and presently he caused the whole Army, in their array as they were, to give God thanks; causing the Clergy there present, to sing the Psalm of *David*, *In exitu Israel de Ægypto*; and made Proclamation, that every one at the verse, *Non nobis Domine, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*, should kneel down, and the horsemen bow their bodies: and then singing *Te Deum* and other Holy Hymns, they marched to the Enemies Camp, where the Souldiers had liberty given them to take the spoil.

A Policy.

The Duke of York slain.

The prisoners taken were all slain; how justified.

This Battel was fought at *Agincourt*.

1416.

His devotion after the Victory.

A great Victory no doubt, but yet a victory by which the *English* gained not one foot of ground in *France*, more than they had before; and which *Monstrelet* attributeth not so much to the valour of the *English*, as to the indiscretion of the *French*, who had so straightned the Vantguard of their Army, and pent them up so close together, that they had not room to draw out their Swords, so true is that saying, *Quos Deus vult perdere dementat*. The next day after the Battel, *French* Heraulds came to ask leave to bury their dead, and had it, and the *English* Heraulds appointed to make search, made return, That there were slain of the *French* above Ten thousand, whereof 126 were of the Nobility bearing Banners; of Knights and Gentlemen of Coat-Armour, seven thousand eight hundred seventy four, whereof 500 were Knighted the night before the Battel, and of common Souldiers, about 1600. Amongst the slain of the Nobility, were *Charels le Brets*, High Constable, *Jaques* of *Chatillon*, Admiral of *France*, the great Admiral of *France*, the Master of the Cross-Bows, the Duke of *Alanson*, *Brabant*, and *Barres*, the Earls of *Nevers*, *Marle*, *Vaudemont*, *Beaumont*, *Grand-pee*, *Roussy*, *Fauconbridge*, *Foys*, and *L'ostruck*. There were taken Prisoners, *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*, *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, the Lords *Dauvert*, *Fossieux*, *Humiers*, *Roy*, *Canny*, *Fauconrd*, *Noel*, *Bouciqualt*; to the number in all of Fifteen hundred. On the *English* part were slain, *Edward* Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, and not full Six hundred in all; but (saith *Caxton*) not above six and twenty in all; and *Paulus Æmilius* saith, besides the two Lords, only two Knights, and but ten private Souldiers in all: a Miracle rather than a Victory. But not only King *Henry* was the death of the *French* Lords before named, in the field with his Sword: but of another great Prince at home, with his Victory; for *Lewis*, the Dauphin, eldest Son of *Charles* the sixth, King of *France*, presently upon it, without any other cause apparent, fell sick and died. Yet King *Henry*, to make his Enemies the better contented with their overthrow, and to take away the envy of his Victory, at his return into *England* with his Prisoners, which was on the sixth of *November* following, presently gave strait order, That no Ballad or Song should be made or sung, more than of Thanksgiving to God for his happy Victory and safe return; but without words of either disgracing the *French*, or extolling the *English*. At his entrance into *London*, the City presented him with a Thousand pounds, and Two Basons of Gold worth five hundred pounds more. The bodies of the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Suffolk* were

An error of the *French* in ordering their Battel, cause of the overthrow.

The number of *French* slain in the Battel.

And who of the Nobility.

The small number of the *English* that were slain.

The Dauphin with grief dieth.

brought into *England*, and the Dukes buried at *Fodringham* in *Northamptonshire*, the Earls at *New-Elme* in *Oxfordshire*.

The Emperour *Sigismund* comes into *England*.

About this time the Emperour *Sigismund*, Cousin-german to King *Henry*, having been first in *France*, came accompained with the Archbishop of *Rhemes*, Ambassadour from the *French* King, into *England*; for whom there were thirty great Ships sent from the King to waft him over: but approaching to land at *Dover*, the Duke of *Glocester*, with a company of Gentlemen, having their Swords drawn, stept up to the knees in water, saying to him, That if he came as the Kings Friend, he should be welcome; but if as claiming any Jurisdiction, they would resist him: whereupon the Emperour renounceth all Imperial Authority, and is thereupon admitted to Land, and received with as much honour as could be done him; and afterward together with *Albert* Duke of *Holland*, who was lately likewise arrived at *Winchester*, is elected Companion of the Order of the Garter, and sate in their Cells at the solemnity of the Feast. A principal cause of the Emperour's coming, was to mediate a Peace between *England* and *France*; wherein he had brought King *Henry* to a good degree of inclination; till news came of the besieging of *Harfleu* by the *French*, and of the Earl of *Arminiack*'s setting upon the Duke of *Exeter*, being Governour there: and then he presently grew so averse from Peace, that he would hearken no more to any Treaty of it. Not that he misliked they should treat of Peace with their Swords in their hands, as all wise men would do; but that to treat of Peace, and in the time of the Treaty to do acts of Hostility, was an affront to all honesty, and not to be tolerated with any patience.

1417.

Harfleu besieged by the Earl of *Arminiack*.

And now the Earl of *Arminiack* having set down before the Town, the Vice-Admiral of *France* brought up the whole Navy of the *French*, with intent whilst the Earl should assail it by land, to have entred the Town by the waters side: but of this purpose the valour and diligence of the Duke of *Exeter* prevented them. As soon as King *Henry* had Intelligence hereof, he would presently have gone himself; but being disswaded by the Emperour, he sent his Brother the Duke of *Bedford*, with the Earls of *March*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, *Devonshire*, and divers others, with two hundred Sail, to the rescue of *Harfleu*; who upon the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, came to the mouth of the River *Seyne*: whereupon, *Nerbon* the *French* Admiral set forward, and got the mouth of the Haven: and here began a fight, which was resolutely maintained on both sides, until the *English* having sunk five hundred Vessels one and other of the *French*, and taken three great Carricks of *Genoua*, won the Harbour; and at last, though with some opposition made by their Gallies, relieved *Harfleu*, and made the Earl of *Arminiack* glad to raise his siege. Upon the news hereof, the Emperour desisted from mediating any further for Peace with *France*; and entring into a League Defensive and Offensive with King *Henry*, wherein only the Pope was excepted, on the 19. of *October* he departed towards *Germany*, whom King *Henry* accompanied to *Calice*, whither the Duke of *Burgundy* came to confirm the League concluded on before by the Earl of *Warwick* and him, concerning *Flanders* and *Artois* only. In the mean time the *French* had hired divers Carricks and other great Ships of the *Genoeses* and *Italians*, which joyning with the *French* Fleet, lay at the mouth of the River of *Seyne*, under the command of *Jaques* Bastard of *Burbon*, to hinder all succours from coming to *Harfleu*; but *John* Earl of *Huntington* (Son to the Duke of *Exeter* beheaded at *Chichester*) being sent to scowr the Coasts, encountred with him, and after a long fight took him Prisoner, and three of his great Carricks, with all the money for the half years pay of the Fleet, and sinking three other of his Carricks, and dispersing the rest, cleared the mouth of the River, and then returned to the King at *Southampton*. And now upon the Twenty third of *July*, in the fourth year of his Reign, the King himself, with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glocester*, the Earls of *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Devonshire*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, and *Somerset*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh*, *Clynton*, *Scroop*, *Matrevers*, *Bourchier*, *Ferrers* of *Croby*, *Ferrers* of *Chertley*, *Fanhope*, *Grey* of *Codnor*, Sir *Gilbert Umphreville*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and an Army consisting of Twenty five thousand five hundred twenty eight fighting men, besides a Thousand Artificers and Pioneers, took shipping at *Portsmouth*, and upon the first of *August* landed in *Normandy* near to the Castle of *Tonque*, which he presently besieged, and upon the ninth of *August* had it yielded to him; at which time the Earl of *Salisbury* took the Castle of *Albervilliers*, which the King gave to him and his heirs, being the first Land given by the King in *France*.

The Emperour enters League Offensive and Defensive with King *Henry*.

King *Henry* with a great Army passeth into *France*, and besiegeth *Tonque* Castle, and takes it.

At the winning of *Tonque*, the King made eight and twenty Knights; and from thence marched with his Army to *Caen*; where to prevent the Citizens from sallying out, he cast up a Mount; and then making many assaults, but finding them to do little good, he caused his Pioneers to undermine the Walls: which being done, upon the fourth of *September*, he offered the Besieged their lives, if they would submit; which they refusing, he thereupon made a shew of a general assault, whilst many of his men entred the city under the foundation, of whom the Duke of *Clarence* with his Company was the first: and then coming upon the backs of those that defended the Walls, easily overcame them; and then the wholy Army entred without resistance. The next day the King caused all the principal men of the Town to come before him at their Senate-house, where some of them for their stubborn refusing the grace he had offered them, were adjudged to death, and the rest fined. The spoil of the Town was distributed amongst the Souldiers. The Captain of the Castle stood out a while; but being advertised that the King had sworn to shew no mercy, if he did not surrender, he gave twelve Hostages, That if he were not relieved before the Twentieth of *September*, he would then give it up; which not coming, he performed; and so the King had possession both of *Caen* and the Castle.

Five hundred *French* Ships sunk by the *English*.

Harfleu reliev'd by the Duke of *Bedford*.

And now *Charles* the new Dauphin, being but seven-

Difference between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Dauphin, makes eaſie way for K. *Henry's* proceedings.

ſeventeen years of age, and bare of money, had got into his poſſeſſion all the Jewels, Plate, and Money of the Queen his Mother; which ſo inceniſed her againſt him, that to do him a ſpight, ſhe placed the Duke of *Burgundy* in chief authority about the King, who by reaſon of his infirmity, was unable himſelf to manage the States and the Duke having now the Sword in his hand, meant firſt to repreſs the growing boldneſs of the Dauphin, and afterward to repel the common Enemy: And the Dauphin likewiſe, envying the Dukes advancement above him, meant firſt to take down his ſwelling greatneſs, and afterward to fall upon the foreign Adverſary. And thus while private reſpects were preferred before publick, whilſt the Duke and the Dauphin had their firſt intentions one againſt another, not looking after King *Henry*, but in the ſecond place, after their own turns ſerved, an eaſie way was left for King *Henry's* proceedings, and he went on at his pleaſure with ſmall oppoſition. He ſent the Duke of *Clarence*, who took in the City of *Bayeux*, as
1418. likewiſe the Duke of *Gloceſter* the City of *Liſieux*; whilſt himſelf remaining ſtill at *Caen*, put out of the City the Natives that were impotent or young Infants, to the number of 1500. and in their places put *Engliſh* people, and finding a great maſs of money and Plate, depoſited by

King *Henry's* liberal dealing with the Citizens of *Caen*.

the Citizens in the Caſtle, he cauſed the ſame upon proof, to be reſpectively delivered to the right owners, upon condition they would acknowledge him for their Sovereign; which moderate and juſt dealing won him more hearts, than the force of his Arms had won him knees; ſpecially with the *Normans*, who are eaſier to be drawn with gentleneſs and love, than forced by violence and compulſion. From hence the King marched the firſt of *October* to *Corſye* Caſtle, which within three dayes yielded. The fourth of *October* he came to *Argenton*, which not relieved by a day agreed upon, was likewiſe ſurrendred. The Town of *Alanſo* endured eight dayes ſiege, but in the end did as other their Neighbour-Towns had done. From *Alanſon* the Earl of *Salisbury* was ſent to *Fayles*, to view the ſtrength thereof, whom the King preſently followed, where the beſieged concluded, if it were not relieved before the ſecond of *January*, then to yield up the Town. No Relief coming, the Town was yielded up, and ſoon after upon the like terms, the Caſtle. From hence the King returned to *Caen*, to put in execution a Proclamation he had formerly made; That if the Inhabitants of *Normandy* that were fled, returned not by a day aſſigned, he would then grant their Lands to his Souldiers: and thereupon he gave to the Duke of *Clarence*, during his life, the Vicounties of *Auge*, *Orver*, and *Pontieu*, with all the Lands of thoſe that were not returned according to the Proclamation. All the Lent the King lay at *Bayeux*, whilſt his Navy ſtill kept the Seas, and daily took many *French* Ships, but on the ſixteenth of *July* ſuch a Tempeſt took them, that they were driven to fall in with *Southampton*; and yet, with all their diligence, could not ſo ſave themſelves, but that two Ballingers, and two great Carricks laden with Marchandize were in the very Haven drowned. In the mean time the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Talbot* beſieged the ſtrong Caſtle of *Damfront*: the Duke of *Clarence* took *Courton* and *Burney*; and many other being taken, as *Chambois*, *Beebelcayn*, *Harcourt*, *Fauxgernon*, *Crevecuer*, *Auxyllers*, *Bagles*, in all of them he placed Captains and Garriſons, and particularly in *Freſny*, Sir *Robert Brent*, lately made Viſcount: The Duke of *Gloceſter* alſo, with the Earl of *March*, and the Lord of *Cobnor*, took in all the Iſle of *Conſtantine*, except *Cherebourg*, and thence returned to the King, but was ſent back to take in that City alſo; which after ſome time, when no Relief came, was, together with the Caſtle, likewiſe ſurrendred; although by this time the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Dauphin, by mediation of the Pope, were reconciled, and began to joyn their Forces to make reſiſtance. And now the Duke of *Exeter* the King's Uncle, with a ſupply of Fifteen thouſand men out of *England*, came to the King, who preſently took in the City of *Eureux*; and the Earl of *Ryme*, the ſtrong Caſtle of *Mille le Voſco*.

King *Henry* beſiegeth *Roan*. His policies in the ſiege.

The next thing attempted was the ſiege of *Roan*, a City ſtrongly fortified, both with Walls and Ditches; and to which there was no convenient paſſage, but by the City of *Loviet*; to this City therefore he firſt layes ſiege, which when relief came not within a time agreed on, was ſurrendred; and yet there was another impediment to be removed, a Stone-bridge, which hindred the approach to *Roan*, being exceeding ſtrongly guarded: For this, King *Henry* diviſed Floats of Wicker covered with Beaſts Hides, by which the Duke of *Clarence* with his Quarter paſſed the River, and then laid ſiege to the Town on that ſide; and for the other ſide, he had other devices made with Hogſheads and Pipes, faſtned to Fir-poles and Barges, with which he paſſed his men over at pleaſure; and in the mean time he cauſed divers of his Souldiers that could ſwim, to make ſhew of paſſing the River three miles off another way; with which the *French* men being deluded, drew all their Forces thither, and by this means the Fort being left unfurniſhed of ſufficient guard, was preſently forced to ſurrender, and the Souldiers were taken to the Kings Grace. The Bridge being thus gained, the Duke of *Exeter* was ſent, and with him *Windſor* the Herald, to ſummon the Citizens to ſurrender the Town; who not onely gave proud anſwers, but alſo made a ſally forth, though with the loſs of Thirty of their men. Upon this obſtinacy of theirs, the King preſently orders his ſiege, his own quarter was the *Chartreux*, the Duke of *Clarence* at St. *Gervaſe*, the Duke of *Exeter* at Port St. *Dennis*, and every great Commander had his quarter aſſigned, ſo as the City was begirt round, and a great chain of Iron ſet upon piles, and a ſtrong wooden Bridge for paſſage from one Camp to the other, was made over the River. At this time the Earl of *Kilmayne* with ſixteen hundred *Iriſh*, came to the King, and had their quarter aſſigned them, who behaved themſelves with great valour. The Kings Couſin-german, the King of *Portugal*, ſent likewiſe a Navy of Ships to the mouth of the River *Seyne*, which ſtopped all paſſage of ſuccour to *Roan*. Many policies and practices were

uſed

But nothing prevailed, till at last, Famine.

used against the City, but none prevailed, till famine forced it; for there being in *Roan* 210000 persons at the beginning of the siege, and the siege continuing long, it grew to that extremity, that the Citizens drank nothing but vinegar and water, and had little to eat but Rats and Mice, Cats and Dogs, and such like: Great numbers of the poorer sort were thrust out of the City, who not suffered to pass the *English* Army, miserably perished; only upon *Christmass-Day*, in honour of Christs Birth, the King relieved and suffered to pass as many as were at first put out, but not others that were put out the second time, but suffered them to perish.

In this distress, a Parley is required by the Citizens; who notwithstanding their misery, yet stood upon such high terms, that nothing was concluded, only a Truce for eight dayes was granted them; the Eight dayes ended, and nothing yet agreed upon amongst themselves, they crave one day longer, and neither in that day could any thing be agreed on: Then they crave four dayes more, in which the multitude and common people so pressed the Magistrates, and Governours of the City, that on the fourth day, being about the nineteenth of *January*, the City was surrendred, and the Inhabitants themselves, and all their Goods were yielded to the Kings mercy; the Duke of *Exeter* was appointed to take possession, who accordingly entred with his Souldiers. The next day after, being *Friday*, the Twentieth of *January*, the King himself made his Entry, with four Dukes, ten Earls, eight Bishops, sixteen Barons, and others, & was by the Clergy conducted to our Ladies Church; where after publick Thanksgiving, he took Homage and Fealty of the Burgesses and Inhabitants; making Proclamation, That all that would come and acknowledge him to be their Sovereign, should enjoy the benefit of his Protection, and retain their Possessions: whereupon many came in, and many Towns were surrendred. In this time of the Kings lying at *Roan*, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Honfleu*, *Munster de Villiers*, *Eure*, and *New-Castle*; the Duke of *Clarence* took *Vernon*, and *Nanot*; and the Earl of *Warwick*, *la Roche Guyon*.

Roan is yielded up to King *Henry*.

1419.

1420.

And now the Duke of *Burgundy* seeing the great successes of King *Henry*, could think of no better way for his own safety, than to make a reconciliation between the two Kings; to which end, Ambassadors are sent to procure their metting: at which time, King *Henry* for their service already performed, and in hope of more hereafter, made the valiant *Gascoigne* Captain *le Beauff*, Earl of *Longueville*, Sir *John Gray* Earl of *Tankervile*, and the Lord *Bourchier* Earl of *Eure*. Upon the last of *May*, King *Henry* accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Glocester*, and *Exeter*, his Unkle *Beaufort*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, with the Earls of *March*, and *Salisbury*, and a Thousand men at Arms, entred the place appointed for the meeting of the two Kings. The *French* Queen (her Husband being taken with the Frenzy) with the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and the Earl of St. *Paul*, and a company of *Ladies*; amongst whom, as a bait to intangle the Kings affection, was the Kings Daughter, the beautiful Lady *Katharine*; with whose sight, though the King was marvellously taken, yet he made no shew thereof, till other things should be agreed upon; but the Dauphin having made means to the Duke of *Burgoigne* to hinder all agreement, nothing was effected; whereupon at their parting, the King told the Duke, That he would have both the Lady, and all his other demands; or else drive the King of *France* out of his Kingdom, and him out of his Dukedom. Upon this, the Duke thought it best to agree with the Dauphin; and upon this, the sixth of *July*, Articles of their Reconcilement are signed and sealed. In the mean time the Earl of *Longueville* surprized the Town of *Pontboyse*, but had scarce been able to make good the surprize, if the Duke of *Clarence* had not come to his succour. From thence the Duke marched to *Paris*, and there stayed two dayes; but perceiving no shew of sally to be made, he returned to *Pontboyse*, whither the King himself came; and from thence marching on, took in the Castle of *Vayson Villeirs*; and on the last of *August*, the Castles of *Gysors*, and *Galyard*, and *Dumal*: so that now all *Normandy* (*Mount St. Michael* only excepted) was reduced to the possession of the King of *England*, which had been wrongfully detained from him, ever since the year 1207.

A metting for reconciliation appointed between the two Kings of *England* and *France*.

The Dauphin all this while, though outwardly having made a reconcilement with the Duke of *Burgoigne*, yet inwardly bearing a spleen against him, intended nothing so much as his destruction: which to effect, he procured a meeting between the Duke and him, and all the Peers of the Realm at *Mountfreu*; where the Duke, though humbling himself in reverence to the Dauphin on his knee, was most barbarously murthered; which act, was so much the less to be pitied in the Duke, by how much in the like kinde, upon the like interview, he had caused *Lewis* the Duke of *Orleance* to be murthered. But though this barbarous act might justly incense *Philip* Earl of *Carolois* the Duke of *Burgoigne's* Heir to seek revenge; yet as a wise and politick Prince, he forbore for the present, to make any shew of choler or distemperature; and considering with himself, that difference between the Dauphin and him, would but give King *Henry* the greater advantage, he endeavoured to propose an overture of Peace between the two Kings: And to that end Ambassadors are sent from the King of *France*, and the young Duke of *Burgoigne*, whom the King kindly entertained, but seemed to intimate unto them, that he could give no great credit to their propositions, unless the Lady *Katharine* would joyn in them, whose innocence he knew would never abuse him. Whilst these things are in agitation, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Fresney*, and the Earls *Marshal* and *Huntington*, entred into *Maine*, who approaching *Mentz*, was encountred by the Forces of the Dauphin, whereof they slew Five thousand, and took two hundred prisoners; for which, news being brought to *Roan*, whither King *Henry* was come to solemnize the Feast of Christ's Birth, Thanksgiving to God was publickly made; and in the instant thereof, arrived other Ambassadours from the King and Queen of *France*, and a Letter from the

The Duke of *Burgoigne* treacherously murthered by the Dauphin.

the Lady *Katharine* to King *Henry*, was secretly by the Bishop of *Arras* delivered. The conclusion of all was, That the King of *England* should speed himself to *Troyes*, there to be espoused to the Lady *Katharine*; and to have assurance of the Crown of *France*, after the decease of the present King *Charles*. Whereupon with a Guard of Fifteen thousand choise Soulders, accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Huntington*, *Longueville*, *Tankerville*, and *Eure*, the King of *England* came to *Troyes* in *Champaign*, upon the 18th. day of *May*; where he was met by the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and divers of the *French* Nobility, who attended him to the Palace, where the Queen with her Daughters, the Dutchess of *Burgoigne*, and the Lady *Katharine*, gave him Princely entertainment; and after some intercourse of Complement between the Princes and the Ladies, King *Henry* tendred to the Lady *Katharine*, a Ring of great value, which she (not without some blushing) received; and afterward upon the Twentieth day of *May*, she was affianced to him in St. *Peter*'s Church, and on the third of *June* following, the Marriage was solemnized; and therewithal King *Henry* was published to be the only Regent of the Realm, and Heir apparent to the Crown of *France*: the Articles whereof, with all convenient expedition were Proclaimed both in *England* and in *France*, and the two Kings, and all their Nobles, and other Subjects of account, were sworn to observe them; and in particular the Duke of *Burgoigne*.

King *Henry* affianced to the Lady *Katharine*, the King of *France*'s Daughter; and withal proclaimed Regent of *France*, and heir apparent of the Crown.

And thus was the Salique Law violated, and the Heir Male put by his Succession in the Crown, which the *Genius* of *France* will not long endure, a while it must; and therefore the main endeavour of both Kings now is, to keep him down, whom they had put down. And thereupon on the fourth of *June* King *Henry* with the *French* King, *James* King of *Scots*, who was newly arrived, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, the Prince of *Orange*, one and twenty Earls, five and forty Barons, with many Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army consisting of *French*, *English*, *Scottish*, *Irish*, and *Dutch*, to the number of six hundred thousand, marched towards the Dauphin; and upon the seventh day laid siege to the Town of *Seyns*, which sided with the Dauphin, which after four days siege was yielded up. From thence they removed, having the Duke of *Bedford* in their company, who was newly come out of *England* with large supplies of men and money to *Monstreau*, which was taken by *Escalado*, only the Castle held out still: during the siege whereof, King *Henry* created an Officer of Arms, to be King of Heraulds over the *English* men, and intitled him *Garter*; whom he sent with offers of mercy to the Castle, but was by the Captain thereof reproachfully upbraided; for punishment of which his presumption, a Gibbet was erected, and in view of Monsieur *Guitrey*, the said Captain and twelve of his friends were executed. Whereupon those of the Castle treated for Peace; but the King in eight days together would not grant so much as a Parly: so that after six weeks siege, they were enforced (their lives saved) simply to yield. From thence the King marched to *Melun* upon *Seyn*, and besieged it the thirtieth of *July*; the Captain whereof was *Barbason* a *Gascoigne*, no less politick than valiant, who countermined some, and stopt other Mines made by the *English*, and fought hand to hand in the Barriers with King *Henry*: yet at last through Famine and Pestilence was forced to yield; but being suspected to have had a hand in the murther of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, he was sent Prisoner to *Paris*; and presently thereupon, both the Kings with their Queens, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and his Dutchess, with a Royal Train came thither, where the *French* King was lodged in the house of St. *Paul*, and the King of *England* in the Castle of *Louvre*. And here the three States of *France* anew under their hands and seals in most authentick manner, ratified the former Articles of King *Henry*'s Succession in the Crown of *France*; the Instruments whereof were delivered to the King of *England*, who sent them to be kept in his Treasury at *Westminster*.

King *Henry* with an Army of six hundred thousand marcheth against the Dauphin.

Garter King of Arms when first created.

And now King *Henry* began to exercise his Regency, and as a Badge of his Authority, he caused a new Coin which was called a *Salute*, to be made, whereon the Arms of *France* and *England* were quarterly stamped: He placed and displaced divers Officers, and appointed the Duke of *Exeter* with five hundred men, to the Guard of *Paris*: He awarded out Process against the Dauphin, to appear at the Marble-Table at *Paris*, which he not obeying, Sentence was denounced against him, as guilty of the Murther of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and by the Sentence of the Parliament, he was banished the Realm.

King *Henry* makes a new Coin in *France*, called a *Salute*.

After this, the King making *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence* his Lieutenant General of *France* and *Normandy*, on the 6. of *January*, with his beloved Queen *Katharine* left *Paris*, and went to *Amyens*, and from thence to *Callice*; and thence landing at *Dover*, came to *Canterbury*, and afterward through *London* to *Westminster*, where the Queen upon St. *Matthias*'s day, the 24. of *February* was crowned; the King of *Scots* sitting at dinner in his State, but on the left hand of the Queen, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Kings Uukle the Bishop of *Winchester* being on the right hand. All were served with covered Messes of Silver, but all the Feast was Fish, in observation of the Lent season.

1421.

A Coronation Feast all of Fish.

After this, the King took his Progress through the Land, hearing the complaints of his poor Subjects, and taking order for administring of Justice to high and low; and then met the Queen at *Leicester*, where they kept their Easter.

In the mean time the Duke of *Clarence* making a Road into *Anjou*, came to the City of *Ampers*, where he Knighted Sir *William Rosse*, Sir *Henry Goddard*, Sir *Rowland Vydor*, Sir *Thomas Beaufort* his natural Son; and returning home laden with prey, was advertised, that the Duke of *Alanson* intended to intercept his passage: whereupon he sent the scout-Master, *Andrew Fogoss*, a *Lombard*, to discover the face of the Enemy, who being corrupted, brought report, That their number was but small, and those but ill ordered; that if he presently charged, there could be no resistance. The

Duke

Dukes Credulity caused him to draw all his Horses together; and leaving his Bows and Bills behind, which were his chiefest strength, with his Horse only he makes towards the Enemy: but the Traitor leading to a straight, where by his appointment an Ambush was laid, that the Duke could neither retreat nor flee, he soon perceived the Treachery, but finding no remedy, he manfully set Spurs to his Horse, and charged upon the Enemy; but over-laid with multitude, and wearied with fight, was himself, with the Earl of *Tankervile*, the Lord *Roose*, the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *John Lumley*, Sir *John Verent*, and above Two thousand *English* slain: The Earls of *Somerset*, *Suffolk*, and *Pearch*, Sir *John Berkley*, Sir *Ralph Nevil*, Sir *William Bowes*, and 60 Gentlemen were taken Prisoners. The body of the Duke of *Clarence* was by Sir *John Beaufort* his base Son, (the Duke dying without other Issue) convey'd into *England*, and buried at *Canterbury* besides his Father: and this disaster happened upon Easter-Eve. The King was at *Beverly* when he heard of his Brothers death, and presently thereupon dispatched away *Edmund* Earl of *Mortaigne* into *Normandy*, making him Lieutenant thereof; and then calls his High Court of Parliament to *Westminster*, requiring aid by money, to revenge his Brothers death; which was readily granted: and the King thus provided, sent his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* with an Army to *Callice*, consisting of four thousand men at Arms, and four and twenty thousand Archers, whom about the middle of *May* he followeth himself, and safely arriving at *Calice*, hasted to relieve *Charters*, which the Dauphin with seven thousand men had besieged; but hearing of the Kings coming was retired to *Tours*. the King of *Scots*, with the Duke of *Glocester*, about the eighth of *July* besieged *Dreux*; which agreed, if it were not relieved by the Twentieth of that month, then to surrender it: no relief coming, it was surrendred. The King pursued the Dauphin from place to place, but could not overtake him, but in the way surprized the Town of *Bangency*, where all that craved it, he took to mercy, as likewise he did at *Rongemont*; from thence he went to *Orleance*, and from thence to *Vignes St. Ton*, and from thence to *Paris*; where having fitted himself with supplies he went and sate down before *Menixe* in *Brye*, which after some opposition, he also took; and thereby had possession of all the Fortresses in the Isle of *France*, in *Loonans*, in *Brye*, and in *Champaigne*.

The Duke of *Clarence* by treachery slain, with divers others.

Upon St. *Nicholas* day, in the year 1422. Queen *Katharine* was brought to bed of a Son at *Windsor*, who was by the Duke of *Bedford* and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Countess of *Holland* Christned by the name of *Henry*; whereof, when the King had notice, out of a Prophetick rapture he said; *Good Lord! I* Henry *of* Monmouth *shall small time reign, and much get; and* Henry *born at* Windsor *shall long time reign, and lose all; but God's Will be done.*

1422

Queen *Katharine* is brought to bed of a Son at *Windsor*; and King *Henries* Prophetical speech of him.

About this time the Dauphin laid siege to *Cosney*, which the King was intentive to relieve, as being a Town of the Duke of *Burgoign's*; and therefore tendred it more than if it had been his own; and making over-hasty Journeys, he over-heat himself with Travel; and coming to *Senlys*, found himself so ill at ease, that he was forced to remain there, and to send his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* to prosecute his design; which the Duke performed, and the Dauphin upon his approach, retired into *Berry*; whereof in mockage he was after called the King of *Berry*. But the Kings Fever and Flux increasing, he was removed to *Bois de Vincens*; where growing worse and worse, within a few dayes he died. But somewhat before his departure, he had made his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* Lieutenant General of *Normandy*, and Regent of the Kingdom of *France*, and his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, he had made Protector of *England*, and of his Sons Person: Exhorting all to be true and faithful to the Duke of *Burgoign*, to be at unity amongst themselves, to be loyal to their young Prince, to be serviceable to his dearly beloved Queen, to hold and preserve what he by his Valour and Gods assistance had won; and never to conclude contract of Amity with the Dauphin or Duke of *Alanson*, untill they had submitted themselves to the Kings Grace. And so giving God thanks for all his favours and blessings bestowed upon him, in the midst of saying a Psalm of *David*, he departed this life; who might have justly prayed God with *David*, *Take me not away in the midst of my dayes*, for he died about the age of five or six and thirty years, which in *David's* account is the midst of the number of the dayes of mans life: but though he died in the midst of his Dayes, yet he died in the fulness of his Glory: and of whom it may be said, —*Jamque arce potitur, Ridet anhelantes durri ad fastigia montis:* When he had reigned nine years and five months.

King *Henry* with over-hasty Journeys in *France*, falls sick and dies.

His Exhortations to his Lords at his death.

Of his Taxations.

IN his first year, an incredible sum of money was given him by the Clergy, to divert him from a motion propounded to take away their Temporalties; and in the same year a Subsidy was granted him both by the Clergy and the Laity. In his fourth year was granted him, towards his wars in *France*, two whole Tenths of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity; which being far too short to defray his great charge, he was forced to pawn his Crown to the Bishop of *Beaufort* his Unkle for a great sum of money, as also certain Jewels to the Lord Mayor of *London*, for Ten thousand Marks. In his ninth year at a Parliament at *Westminster*, for revenge of the Duke of *Clarence's* death, two Tenths of the Clergy, and one Fifteenth of the Laity, which because the haste of the business could not stay the usual course of Collection, the Bishop of *Winchester* brought in presently Twenty thousand pounds, to receive it again when the Subsidy should be gathered. The same year also the Duke of *Bedford* in the Kings absence called a Parliament, wherein was granted towards his Wars, one Fifteenth, to be paid in such money as was at that time current. These were all the Subsidies that were given him, notwithstanding his many and great Atchievements, by which it appears what great

King *Henry* pawneth his Crown to raise money.

matters

matters a moderate Prince may do, and yet not grieve his Subjects with Taxations.

Of Laws and Ordinances made by him, or in his time.

HE Ordained the King of Heraulds over the *Englifh*, which is called *Garter*.

In his ninth year in a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, it was ordained that no man ſhould offer Gold in payment, unleſs it were weight; and thereupon were appointed ballances and weights.

No gold to be offered in payment unleſs it were weight and thereupon Weight ordained.

An act made in the thirteenth year of King *Richard* the ſecond, which diſabled the Alien-Religious to enjoy any Benefices within *England*, was in the beginning of this King's Reign put in execution; and further, this King excluded alſo the *French* from all preferment Eccleſiaſtical; and thoſe Priors Aliens Conventual who had inſtitution and induction, were bound to put in ſecurity, not to diſcloſe, or cauſe to be diſcloſed, the Counſel and ſecrets of the Realm.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

Sir *John Old Caſtle* cenſured for maintaining *Wickliff's* Doctrine.

IN the beginning of his Reign, the *Wickleviſts* increaſed greatly, of whom Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was chief; who by marriage of a Kinſwoman of the Lord *Cobham's* of *Cooling* in *Kent*, obtained that Title. This Knight being very valorous, and in great favour with the King, was in a Synod at *London* accuſed for maintaining of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine; whereof the King being informed, ſent for him, and inſtantly dealt with him to ſubmit himſelf to the Cenſure of the Church: But Sir *John OldCaſtle* told the King, that he owed his Subjection only to his Majeſty: and as for others, he would ſtand for the Truth againſt them, to the uttermoſt of his life. Upon this he was ſerved by Proceſs to appear in the Arch-Biſhop's Court, and not appearing, was condemned of Contumacy; and afterwards in a Synod at *Rocheſter*, was by the Arch-Biſhop pronounced to be an Heretick; who then enacted that Decree: That the Holy Scriptures ought not to be Tranſlated into the *Engliſh* tongue. But mark the Judgment that fell upon his own Tongue, whoſe Roots and Blade ſhortly after (as it is recorded) grew ſo big in his mouth and throat, that he could neither ſpeak, nor ſwallow down meat, but in horror lay languiſhing, till at laſt ſtarved by famine, he ſo died. In the mean time Sir *John Oldcaſtle* wrote his Belief, and preſented it himſelf to the King; which the King would in no wiſe receive, but ſuffered him in his Preſence and Privy Chamber to be ſummoned, who appearing before the Arch-Biſhop, after divers Examinations, was condemned of Hereſie, and committed to the *Tower* of *London*, from whence ſhortly after he eſcaped, and got into *Wales*. The King by his Proclamation, promiſed a thouſand Marks to any that ſhould bring him in; but ſo much was his Doctrine generally favoured, that the Kings offer was not much regarded, but he continued four years after undiſcovered: At laſt he was taken in the Borders of *Wales*, within a Lordſhip belonging to the Lord *Powes*, who brought him to *London*, before the Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of the Realm; where in the end he was condemned, and finally was drawn from the *Tower* to St. *Giles's* Field, and there hanged in a Chain by the middle, and after conſumed by fire, the Gallows and all. At the time of his firſt Conviction, four years before, it was rumor'd, that twenty thouſand men in Arms were aſſembled in St. *Giles's* Field: whereupon the King, at midnight, himſelf in perſon went thither, where he found many indeed, who upon examination confeſſed, that they came to meet their Captain Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, but without any intent againſt the King: yet was Sir *Roger Acton*, and eight and twenty others of them apprehended, and executed in *Smithfield*; and all the Priſons in and about *London* were filled with them.

A Judgement of God upon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for denying the Scriptures to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*.

Sir *John Old Caſtle* condemned of Hereſie, is hanged in St. *Giles's* field in a chain by the middle.

In his third year, the Order of Church Service throughout *England*, was changed from the uſe of *Pauls* to the uſe of *Saliſbury*, to the great diſliking of many in thoſe dayes.

In his fourth year, a Council was holden at *Conſtance*, whither he ſent Ambaſſadors, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Biſhops of *Saliſbury*, *Bath* and *Hereford*, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and the Prior of *Worceſter*; In which Council it was decreed, that *England* ſhould have the Title of the *Engliſh* Nation, and ſhould be accounted one of the five principal Nations in rank before *Spain*; which often before had been moved, but never granted till then. And herein were all *Wickliff's* Poſitions condemned; Alſo *John Huſs*, and *Hierome* of *Prague* (notwithſtanding the Emperors ſafe Conduct) were both of them burned. In this Council, the Schiſm of Anti-Popes, which had continued the ſpace of nine and twenty years, was reformed. *Benedict* the 13. had been elected by the *Spaniard*; *Gregory* the 12. by the *French*; *John* the 24. by the *Italians*: And now in this Council, begun in *February*, 1414, and continued above three years; wherein were aſſembled, beſides the Emperor, the Pope, and the Palſgrave of *Rhein*, four Patriarchs, twenty ſeven Cardinals, ſeven and forty Arch-Biſhops, one hundred and threeſcore Biſhops, Princes, and Barons with their attendants, above thirty thouſand; The foreſaid elected Popes were all put down, or elſe reſigned; and in the place, as legitimate Pope, was elected *Otho Columna* by the name of *Martin* the Fifth.

In a Council holden at *Conſtance*, *England* ranked before *Spain*.

John Huſs burned.

Three Anti-Popes put down, and a fourth eſtabliſhed.

In this year alſo fell out an accident, which ſhews the ſtrict obſervance of Eccleſiaſticall Cenſures in thoſe dayes. The Wives of the Lord *Strange*, and Sir *John Truſſel* of *Warmington* in *Cheſhire*, ſtriving for place at a Sermon in St. *Dunſtan's* Church in the Eaſt, their Huſbands being preſent, fell themſelves to ſtriving in their Wives behalf, and great part-taking there was on both ſides, ſome ſlain, and many wounded. The Delinquents were committed to the Counter, the Church ſuſpended; and upon examination, the Lord *Strange* being found guilty, was by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* adjudged to this Penance, which was accordingly performed: The Parſon of St. *Dunſtans* went before, after whom followed all the Lords Servants in their Shirts; after them went the Lord himſelf bareheaded, with a wax Taper in his hand; then followed the Lady bare-footed;

Penance enjoyned for ſtriving in the Church.

and then last, came the Arch-deacon *Reynold Renwood*: in which order they went from *Pauls* where the Sentence was given, to St. *Dunstans* Church. Where at the re-hallowing thereof, the Lady filled all the vessels with water; and according to the Sentence, offered to the Altar an Ornament of the value of ten pounds: and the Lord a Pixe of Silver of five pounds. A Penance no doubt which the Lord and the Lady would have redeemed with a great deal of money, if the discipline of the Church had in those dayes allowed it: but it seems the commutation of Penance was not as yet come in use.

In his ninth year, in a Parliament at *Leicester*, a hundred and ten Priories alient were suppressed, because they spoke ill of his Conquests in *France*; and their possessions were given to the King: but by him, and King *Henry* the sixth were afterward given to other Monasteries, and Colledges of Learned men.

Works of Piety by him, or others in his time.

THis King re-edified his Royal Mannor, which was then called *Sheene*, now *Richmond*, and founded two Monasteries not far from it; the one of *Carthusians*, which he named *Bethleem*; the other of Religious men and women of the Order of St. *Bridget*, which he named *Sion*: He also founded the Brotherhood of St. *Giles* without *Cripplegate* in *London*. In the second year of his Reign, *Moor-gate* near to *Coleman-street* was first made, by *Thomas Fawkener* Mayor of *London*, who caused also the Ditches of the City to be cleansed, and a common Privy that was on the *Moore* without the Wall, to be taken down, and another to be made within the City upon *Walbrook*, into the which Brook he caused the water of the City to be turned by Grates of Iron, in divers places. In his sixth year, *William* of *Sevenoke* Mayor of *London*, founded in the Town of *Sevenoke* a Free-School, and Thirteen Alms-houses. This man was found at *Sevenoke* in *Kent*, a new born Infant of unknown Parents, but by charitable people was Christned and brought up, bound Prentice in *London*, and came at last to be Mayor of the City. Also *Robert Chichely* Mayor of *London* gave liberally to the Alms-houses founded by his Brother *Henry Chichely*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, at *Higham Ferrers* in *Northamptonshire*, where they were born. But *Henry Chichely* the Arch-Bishop founded two Colledges in *Oxford*; one called *Bernard* Colledge, renewed by Sir *Thomas White*, and named St. *Johns* Colledge; the other called *All-Souls*, which continueth at this day as he left it. Also *John Kempe*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, converted the Parish-Church of *Wye* in *Kent*, where he was born, into a Colledge of Secular Priests,

Moor-gate when first built.

The strange fortune of William Sevenoke.

Saint John's colledge, and All-Souls Colledge in Oxford, by whom founded.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN the fifth year of his Reign, a great part of the City of *Norwich* was burnt, with all the house of the Friers Preachers, and two Friers of that Order. In his third year, on the Feast of the Purification, seven Dolphins came up the River of *Thames*, whereof four were taken.

Seven Dolphins in the River of Thames.

Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married *Katharine* the Daughter of King *Charles* the sixth of *France*, who was his Queen two years and about three months, married at *Troys* in *Champaign* the third day of *June*, 1420. and afterward *February* the 14. Crowned at *Westminster*. She surviving King *Henry*, was re-married to *Owen Tewdor* an Esquire of *Wales*, who pretended to be descended from *Cadwallader* the ancient King of *Wales*, though some write him to be the Son of a Brewer, whose meanness of Estate was recompensed by the delicacy of his personage, so absolute in all the lineaments of his body, that the onely contemplation of it might well make her forget all other circumstances. By him she had three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jasper*, and *Owen*, and a Daughter that lived but a while. Her Son *Owen* took the habit of Religion at *Westminster*, the other two were by King *Henry* the sixth (their half-Brother) advanced in honour: *Edmund* was created Earl of *Richmond*, and marrying the sole Heir of *John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerset*, was Father by her, unto *Henry* the seventh, King of *England* the only Heir of the House of *Lancaster*. *Jasper* her second Son was first created Earl of *Pembroke*, and after Duke of *Bedford*, but died without lawfull Issue. This Queen, either for Devotion, or her own safety, took into the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*; who dying the second of *January* 1436. she was buried in our Ladies Chappel within St. *Peter's* Church at *Westminster*; whose Corps taken up in the Reign of King *Henry* the seventh, her Grand-child, (when he laid the Foundation of that admirable Structure) and her Coffin placed by King *Henry* her Husband's Tomb, hath ever since so remained, and never since re-buried, where it standeth (the cover being loose) to be seen and handled of any that will. By her King *Henry* had only one Son, named *Henry*, who succeded him in the Kingdom.

Owen Tewdor married King Henry 5. Widow.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, lean of body, and his bones but small, but strongly made, somewhat long necked, black hair'd, and very beautifull of face, swift in running, so as he with two of his Lords, without Bow or other Engine, would take a wilde Buck or Doe in a large Park. He delighted in Songs and Musical Instruments, insomuch that in his Chappel amongst his private Prayers, he used certain Psalms of *David*, translated into *English* Metre by *John Lydgate* Monk of *Bury*. And indeed it may be truly said of him as was said of *Æneas*: *Quo justior alter, Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis*; for he seldom fought battel where he got not the Victory; and never got Victory whereof he gave not the Glory to God, with publick Thanksgiving. He was a better man, a King than a Subject; for till then he was not in his right Orb, and therefore no marvail if he were something exorbitant. He was of a merciful disposition, but not to the prejudice of wisdom; as thinking wise cruelty to

be

he better than foolish Pity, He was no less politick than valiant, for he never fought Battel, nor won Town, wherein he prevailed not as much by stratagem as by force. He was so temperate in his diet, and so free from Vain-Glory, that we may truly say, he had something in him of *Cæsar* which *Alexander* the great had not, that he would not be drunk; and something of *Alexander* the Great, which *Cæsar* had not, that he would not be flattered. He was indeed a great effecter of Glory, but not of the Glory of the blast of mens mouths, but of the Glory that fills the sails of Time. He died of full years, though not full of years: if he had lived longer, he might have gone over the same again, but could not have gone further. If his love were great to Military men, it was not small to Clergy-men; insomuch as by many he was called the Prince of Priests.

King *Henry* called the Prince of Priests.

Of his Death and Burial.

SOme say he was poysoned, which *Polydore Virgil* saith, was much suspected. The *Scots* write, that he died of the Disease called Saint *Pharo*, which is a Palsie and a Cramp: *Enguerrant* saith, That he died of St. *Anthonie*'s fire. But *Peter Basset* Esquire, who at the time of his death was his Chamberlain, affirmeth that he died of a Pleurisie, which at that time was a sickness strange and but little known. Being dead, his body was embalmed and closed in Lead; and laid in a Chariot Royal richly apparelled in cloth of Gold, was conveyed from *Bois de Vincennes* to *Paris*, and so to *Roan*, to *Abbeville*, to *Callice*, to *Dover*, and from thence through *London* to *Westminster*, where it was interred next beneath King *Edward* the Confessour; upon whose Tomb Queen *Katharine* caused a Royal Picture to be laid, covered all over with silver Plate gilt, but the head thereof altogether of massie silver: All which at that Abbeys suppression were sacrilegiously broken off and transferred to prophaner uses. He died the last day of *August*, in the year one thousand four hundred twenty two, when he had reigned nine years and five months, lived eight and thirty years; though some say, two years fewer.

Of Men of Note in his time.

MEn of Valour in his time were so frequent, that we may know it to be a true saying, *Regis ad exemplum*; and men of Learning likewise in such numbers, that we may know the Prince to have been their Patron. First *Alan de Lin* a *Carmelite* Fryer in that Town, who wrote many Treatises; Then *Thomas Otterbone* a *Franciscan* Fryer, who wrote an History of *England*; Then *John Segnerd*, who kept a School in *Norwich*, and wrote sundry Treatises, reproving as well the Monks and Priests, as Poets for writing of filthy Verses. *Robert Rose* a *Carmelite* Fryer in *Norwich*, who writing many Treatises, yet said nothing against the *Wicklavists*. *Richard Cayster* born in *Norfolk*, a man of great holiness of life, favouring (though secretly) the Doctrine of *Wickliffe*: *William Wallis* a Black Fryer in *Lyn*, who made a Book of Moralizations upon *Ovid*'s *Metamorphosis*; *William Taylor* a Priest and Master of Art in *Oxford*, a stedfast follower of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine, and burnt for the same at *Smithfield*, in *London*, the last year of this Kings Reign. *Bartholomew Florarius*, called so of a Treatise which he wrote called *Florarium*; who wrote also another Treatise of Abstinence, wherin he reproveth the corrupt manners of the Clergy, and the profession of the Fryers Mendicants. Also *Titus Livius de Foro Livisii*, an *Italian* born, but seeing he was resident here, and wrote the life of this King, it is not unfit to make mention of him in this place: also many others.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his first year,
Sir *William Cromar* was Mayor.
John Sutton, *John Michael*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir *Thomas Falconer* was Mayor.
John Michael, *Thomas Allen*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Nicholas Wotton* was Mayor.
William Cambridge, *Alan Everard*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *Henry Barton* was Mayor.
Richard Whittington, *John Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Richard Marlow was Mayor.
Henry Read, *John Gedney*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
William Sevenoke was Mayor.
John Brian, *John Barton*, *John Parvest*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *Richard Whittington* was Mayor.
Robert Whittington, *John Butler*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
William Cambridge was Mayor.
John Butler, *John Well*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *Robert Chichely* was Mayor.
Richard Gosseline, *William Weston*, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of KING HENRY The SIXTH.

An. Dom. 1422.

THere hath been a Race of Princes, of which for three Generations together, it might be said rightly, *Pulcherrima Proles, Magnanimi Heroes nati melioribus Annis*; For King *Edward* the Third had many Sons, not inferiour in Valour to the many Sons of King *Priamus*, not excepting his valiant Son *Hector*, having so equal a match for him as *Edward* the *Black Prince*, who wanted but an *Homer* to have been an *Achilles*. Then *John* of *Gaunt* had divers Sons, Men as Valorous as any that Age afforded. Then *Henry* the fourth had four Sons, of so Heroical Disposition all, that you might know them all to be his Sons, only King *Henry* the Fifth to be his eldest. And now that in him the Heroical Nature was come to the height, it degenerated again in King *Henry* the Sixth, which must needs be attributed to the Mothers side; who though in her self she was a Princess of a noble Spirit, yet being the Issue of a crazy Father, what marvel if she proved the mother of a crazy Issue? And yet even this Issue of hers, a Prince no doubt, of excellent parts, in their kind, though not of parts kindly for a Prince; in a private man praise-worthy enough, but the Sword of a King required a harder metal than the soft temper of King *Henry* the Sixth was made of: and in him we may see the fulfilling of the Text; *Va Genti cujus Rex est puer, Wo to that Nation whose King is a Child*; For he was not above eight months old, when he succeeded his Father in the Kingdom. Although that Text perhaps is not meant so much of a child in years, for which there may be helps by good Protectors; as of a Child in abilities of Ruling, whereof though possibly there may, yet probably there can be no sufficient supply: of which in this King we have a pregnant example; for as long as he continued a child in years, so long his Kingdoms were kept flourishing by the providence of his careful Unkles; but as soon as he left being a Child in years, and yet continued a Child in ability of Ruling, then presently began all things *In pejus Ruere, & retro sublapsa referri*, all things went to wrack both in *France* and *England*. And thus much was necessary to be said by way of a Preface to that great fall as it were of *Nilus*, in King *Henry* the Sixth.

King *Henry* but eight months old when his Father died.

Henry called of *Windsor*, because born there, the only Child of King *Henry* the Fifth, as yet scarce nine months old, succeeded his Father, and was proclaimed King of *England* on the last of *August*, in the year 1422. by reason of whose Infancy King *Henry* his Father had before by his Will appointed, and now the Lords by their consent confirmed the Regency of *France* to *John* Duke of *Bedford*, the Government of *England* to *Humfrey* Duke of *Glocester*, the Guard of his Person to *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry Beaufort* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellour: wherein it was wisely provided that one man should not rule all, lest it should prove a spur to aspiring, and withal stay them from envying one another, when many were alike placed in the highest form of Authority: And indeed they all carried themselves so uprightly and carefully in their places, that it well appeared the trust reposed in them by the dying King, had made a strong impression of love and loyalty towards his Son.

John Duke of *Bedford* is appointed Regent of *France*, and *Humfrey* Duke of *Glocester*, Guardian of the Kings person.

The Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, was to keep that by the Sword, which King *Henry* the Fifth by his Sword had gotten; wherein he had many and great Assistants, specially the two Terrors of *France*, *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *John* Lord *Talbot*: and amongst the *French* themselves the Duke of *Burgoigne*, a friend no less powerful than firm unto him. The Dauphin also (now crowned King at *Poytiers*, and called *Charles* the seventh of *France*, his Father being newly dead, within a little more than a month after King *Henry*) had likewise great assistants, the Duke of *Alanson*, and many other Peers of *France*, and of the *Scots* many, and some perhaps of the *English* that took part with him; by means whereof the game of Fortune was a long time played between them with great variety. The first Act of the Duke of *Bedford*'s Regency, was, an Oration which he made to the *French* in *Paris*, which wrought this good effect; that King *Henry*, is Proclaimed King of *England* and of *France*, and such *French* Lords as were present did their Homages, and took their Oaths to be true unto him. The first Act of hostility was performed by the new King of *France*, who sends the Lord *Granvile* to *Pont Meaulan*, who surprized it, putting all the *English* Souldiers to the Sword: but the Regent sending thither *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, so strongly beleagured it, that the Lord *Granvile* not only surrendred it, but swore Allegiance (though he kept it not) to the King of *England*. From thence the Earl marched to *Seyne*, which he took by assault; and

Assistants to the Duke of *Bedford*.

The Dauphin Crowned King at *Poytiers*, and called *Charles* the seventh. What assistance he had.

King *Henry* is proclaimed in *Paris*, King of *England* and *France*.

and put all the Souldiers (except the Captain Sir *William Maryn*) to the Sword.

1423. The Duke of Bedford marries the Sister of the Duke of Burgoigne.

At this time the Regent, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, *John* Duke of *Britain*, and his Brother-in-law the Earl of *Richmond*; (who revolted afterward to the new King of *France*, and was by him made Conſtable in *France*) met at *Amyens*; and there not only renewed the old League, but further enlarged it, to be offenſive and defenſive reſpectively: and to make the friendſhip the more firm, the Regent married *Anne* the Siſter of the Duke of *Burgoigne* at *Troys*. In this mean time the *Pariſians* taking advantage of the Regent's abſence, conſpired to have let in the new King into *Paris*: but the day before the night appointed for his admiſſion, the Regent with his power entred, apprehended the Conſpirators, and put them to publick execution. That done, he furniſhed all the Forts and places of ſtrength with *Engliſh* men, and ſent Sir *John Falſtoffe*, who took in *Pacye*, and *Courſay*, two ſtrong Caſtles; whilſt himſelf with his Forces took in *Traynels*, and *Braye* upon *Seyne*.

The Pariſians aſpiring are repreſſed by the Regent.

The Conſtable of *France* the mean while with the new Kings Forces, laid ſiege to *Cravant* in *Burgoigne*; but the Regent ſent thither the Earl of *Salisbury*, who ſet upon the *French*, and after a long fight, putting them to flight, ſlew about 1800 Knights and Gentlemen of note, and three thouſand common Souldiers, *Scots* and *French*, took priſoners the Conſtable himſelf, the Earl of *Ventadour*, Sir *Alexander Alerdyn*, Sir *Lewis Ferignye*, and two and twenty hundred Gentlemen. Of the *Engliſh* part, were ſlain Sir *John Grey*, Sir *William Hall*, Sir *Gilbert Halſall*, *Richard ap Maddock*, and one and twenty hundred Souldiers. From thence the Earl led his Forces to *Montagnillon*, and ſate down before it, which after five months ſiege he took, whilſt the Duke of *Suffolk* took in the two ſtrong Caſtles of *Cowcy*, and *le Roche*.

The Montacute Earl of Salsbury defeats a great Army of the French.

1424. James the firſt King of Scots, after 18. years impriſonment, is releaſed, and the manner of doing his Homage.

Whilſt theſe things are done in *France*, in *England* the Protector ranſomed and inlarged the young King of *Scots*, *James* the firſt (who by the ſpace of eighteen years had been kept a Priſoner) which he did out of opinion, that he might withdraw the *Scots* out of *France*, taking Homage and Fealty of him for the Crown of *Scotland*, in theſe words, I James Stuart, *King of* Scots, *ſhall be true and faithful to you Lord* Henry, *King of* England *and* France, *the Superiour Lord of* Scotland, *and to you I make my fidelity for the ſaid Kingdom, Which I hold and claim of you, and ſhall do you ſervice for the ſame; So God me help, and theſe holy Evangeliſts.* And therewithal, with conſent of all the Nobility, the Protector gave him to Wife, *Jane* Daughter to the deceaſed Duke of *Somerſet*, and Couſin-german to the King, with a large Dowry, and married them at St. *Mary Overies* in *Southwark*; yet all this courteſie could not keep him afterward from being unfaithful, and unthankfull.

And now the Protector ſent over to the Regent ten thouſand well furniſhed Souldiers, with which freſh ſuccor he won many Towns and places of ſtrength; which the *French* ſeeing, and finding themſelves too weak by plain force to withſtand the *Engliſh*, they ſought by ſubtilty to compaſs their ends: and firſt, they work upon the inconſtancy of the Duke of *Britain*, and his Brother *Arthur*, by King *Henry* the fifth created Earl of *Tenry*, whom by Gifts and promiſes they ſuborned, perfidiouſly to deliver over into their poſſeſſion the Caſtles of *Crotoye*, and *Ternay*; but the *Engliſh*, before the *French* Garriſons were ſettled, fell upon *Crotoye*, and recovered it; and that done, the Regent beſieged *Ternay*, and by ſecret mining, and violent Batteries, ſo ſhook the Walls, that they agreed to yield it up, if not relieved by a certain time. Whereupon the Duke of *Alanſon* with ſixteen thouſand *French* came to the reſcue; but perceiving the *Engliſh* prepared to receive them, he wheeled about to *Vernoyle*, and ſwore to the Townſmen that he had put the Regent to flight, and reſcued *Ternay*; which they believing, rendred up *Vernoyle* to him: But the Regent followed him thither, when by the encouragement of ſome freſh Companies of *Scots* come to his ſuccour, he came to a Battel in the Field, where the *Engliſh* with the loſs of Two thouſand one hundred common Souldiers, and Two of the Nobility, the Lord *Dudley* and the Lord *Charleton*, got the honour of the day; and ſlew of their Enemies, five Earls, two Viſcounts, twenty Barons, and above ſeven thouſand other of the *French*, beſides Two thouſand ſeven hundred *Scots* lately arrived, and took Priſoners the Duke of *Alanſon* himſelf, the Lord of *Hernys*, and divers other *French*, and Sir *John Tournbal*, and two hundred Gentlemen, beſides common Souldiers. This Battel was fought the eight and twentieth day of *Auguſt*, in the year 1424. and thereupon *Vernoyle* was preſently re-delivered. After this, the Earl of *Salisbury* with Ten thouſand men, taketh in the ſtrong Town of *Maunts*, the Town of St. *Suſan*, the Fort of St. *Bernard*, and others; from thence he went to *Anjou*, where he performed ſuch Heroick Acts, that his very Name grew terrible in all *France*; as for inſtance, the new High Conſtable perfidious *Richmond*, with Forty thouſand men, laid ſiege to the good Town of St. *James* in *Beuyon*, the Garriſon whereof conſiſted but of ſix hundred *Engliſh*, who being driven to ſome extremity, ſallied forth, crying, St. *George*, a *Salisbury*; which word of *Salisbury* ſo frighted the *French*, thinking he had been come to reſcue them, that caſting away their weapons, they ran all away, ſaving ſome few that yielded themſelves Priſoners, leaving all their Tents, fourteen pieces of Ordnance, forty Barrels of Powder, three hundred Pipes of Wine, much Armour, and ſome Treaſure behind them. After which, other Caſtles, as that of *Reaumont*, of *Vicount*, *Tenney*, *Gilly*, *Oſſe*, *Ruſey*, *Vaſick*, and many more were taken in by Sir *John Montgomery*, and Sir *John Falſtoffe*; ſo as once again the *French* were glad to betake themſelves to their old courſe of fraud; they compounded with a *Gaſcoigne* Captain for delivery of *Alanſon* to them; whereof the Regent having notice, he ſent the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *John Falſtoffe* to prevent it, who encountring with *Charles de Villiers*, that with two hundred Horſe, and three hundred Foot, was come to the place appointed for entry, took and ſlew them all, except ſome few Horſe which ſaved themſelves by flying. After which, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in and demoliſhed above forty

The Regent gives the French a great overthrow at Vernoyle.

The Earl of Salsbury doth great acts in France.

His very name deteſted as Arms of Forty thouſand.

The French uſe fraud, but to their own hurt.

forty Caſtles and ſtrong Piles, for which there was publick Thankſgiving to God in *London*.

Whilſt theſe things were done in *France*, an unkind variance fell out between the Protector, and his Brother the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Lord Chancellour; for appeaſing whereof, the Regent having ſubſtituted the Earl of *Warwick*, Lieutenant General in his abſence, came into *England*: where in a Parliament he compounded all differences between them. In honour whereof King *Henry* kept a ſolemn Feaſt, at which time the Regent dubbed the King Knight, not yet above four years old; and then the King preſently inveſted with that Dignity, many of his Servants: and *Edmund Mortimer*, the laſt Earl of *March*, at this time dying, his Inheritance deſcended to *Richard Plantagenet*, Son and Heir to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, beheaded at *Southampton*, who was now created Duke of *York*, and was afterward Father to King *Edward* the Fourth: and at this time alſo, *John Mowbray*, Son and Heir to *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, baniſhed before by King *Richard* the ſecond, was reſtored by the Title of Duke of *Norfolk*. And now all things peaceably ſettled in *England*, the Regent with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* returned into *France*; where, at the interceſſion of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, the Duke of *Alanſon* was ranſomed for two hundred thouſand Crowns: and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* returned to *Callice*, where he was inveſted with the Dignity and Hat of Cardinal, which his Brother the Regent put upon his head.

King *Henry* before years old dubbed Knight by the Regent.

Richard Plantagenet created Duke of *York*, Father to King *Edward* the fourth.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* made a Cardinal.

In the fourth year of this Kings Reign, a Parliament was holden at *Leiceſter*, called of the common people, *the Parliament of Bats*; becauſe, being commanded to lay by their Swords, Servants took great Bats to follow their Lords and Maſters to the Parliament.

An. Reg. 4. 1425.

About this time the Duke of *Gloceſter*, Protector, took ſome blemiſh in his Honour, by marrying another man's Wife, *Jaqueline* Counteſs of *Heynault*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, who was married before to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, yet living, and had liven with him ten months as his lawfull Wife; but at that time upon ſome diſcontent, gone from him, intending to be divorced. at which injury offered to the Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, being his Couſin, took ſo great offence, that firſt by friendly Letters he admoniſhed the Duke of *Gloceſter* of it; and that not prevailing, they grew to terms of Challenge, and a Combat between them was appointed: but in the mean time the Lady betrayed, was carried to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who conveyed her to *Gaunt*; from whence, by friendſhip of a *Burgoignian* Knight, in man's apparel ſhe eſcaped into *Holland*, and there made a defenſive War againſt her Husband the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Duke of *Burgoigne*. To her aid, the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſent the Lord *Fitz-water*, with a power of a Thouſand men: but ſhe being diſcomfited by the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Pope alſo pronouncing the firſt Marriage legal, the Duke of *Gloceſter* deſerted her, and then took for a ſecond Wife *Eleanor* Daughter of the Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*, his old Miſtriſs: and the Lady *Jaqueline*, after the death of *John* Duke of *Brabant*, married a mean Gentleman; whom the Duke of *Burgoigne* impriſoned, and brought her ſelf to live in much trouble.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* marries another man's Wife, and the trouble that grew about it.

And now in *France*, the Conſtable with forty thouſand men, beſieged the Town of St. *James de Beuzeron*; and having made a breach fit for aſſault, whilſt his Captains ſtood ſtraining of courteſie, which of them ſhould firſt enter, Sir *Nicholas Burdet* with all his Forces ſallied forth, crying aloud, A *Salisbury* a *Salisbury*: whoſe names ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Beſiegers, that they ſtood like men amazed, of whom ſix hundred were ſlain, two hundred drowned in the Ditches, fifty taken Priſoners, with 18 Standards, and the Conſtable was glad to quit the place and give over the ſiege.

Forty thouſand French frighted away with crying, A *Salisbury*.

At the ſame time alſo the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Scales*, with ſeven thouſand, beſieged *Pontorſon* many weeks together; but proviſion waxing ſcant, the Lord *Scales* with three thouſand men went a forraging into the Enemies Countrey: and in his return with plenty of Proviſion, was encountred with ſix thouſand *French*, of whom he ſlew many hundreds, took above a thouſand Priſoners, and then returned ſafe into the Camp.

The Lord *Scales* defeats an Army of *French*.

About this time alſo Sir *John Falſtoffe* beſieged the ſtrong Town of *Granvile*, which after twelve dayes, offered to render it ſelf by a day, if it were not relieved. The offer was taken, and Pledges delivered; but before the day came, they within the Town had victualled and manned the place, and thereupon neglecting their Pledges, refuſed to render the Caſtle according to agreement: whereupon the Pledges were brought before the ſight of them within the Caſtle, and there openly put to death.

Pledges put to death for not having promiſe kept.

And now a Conſpiracy of the Clergy and Magiſtrates in *Maunts* ſo prevailed, that the Marſhals of *France* with five hundred Men, about midnight came to the Town Walls, where the Guard of *Engliſh*, by thoſe that ſeemed their friends, were ſuddenly maſſacred; and ſetting open the Gates, made way for the Enemy to enter: whereupon the Alarum given, the Earl of *Suffolk* with the ſurviving *Engliſh*, withdrew to the Caſtle, wherein they were ſharply aſſailed by the *French*, who yet had more mind to ranſack houſes, and to make good cheer; whereof the Lord *Talbot* having intelligence by Captain *Goſſe*, whom he had ſent to diſcover the ſtate of the *French*, he ſecretly gave notice to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who thereupon ſallied forth of the Caſtle at a time when the Lord *Talbot* was ready with his Troops: and on both ſides crying St. *George*, a *Talbot*, they fell upon the careleſs *French*, who loſt four hundred of their beſt men, the reſt were all taken, the Town regained, and the Conſpirators, thirty Citizens, twenty Prieſts, and fifteen Fryers, condemned and put to execution.

An Army of *French* defeated with crying a *Talbot*.

Whilſt theſe things went on proſperouſly in *France*, a great diſaſter fell out in *England*; for the right noble *Thomas Beaufort* (Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, and *Katharine Swinford*) Duke of *Exeter*, and Guardian of the King, makes King *Henry* his Heir: and at *Eaſt-Greenwich* in *Kent*, ended his life. Whoſe place was preſently ſupplyed by the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl's place in *France* by the Earl of *Salisbury*; who thereupon with five thouſand men came to *Orleance*,

The. Beaufort Duke of Exeter dies.

1428.

The noble Earl of *Salisbury* unfortunately slain.

Sir *John Falstaffe* defeats the *French* by politick ordering his Army.

Orleance, and besieged the City, and won from the *French* the great Fort. But here happened another great disaster, for from an high Tower in this Fort, the Besiegers observed the passages of the Townsmen; when the Noble Earl of *Salisbury*, intending to inform himself of the state of the Town, unfortunately looking out at a Window of the Fort, with Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, a great shot from the Town striking the Bars of the Window, the splinters thereof were driven into his head and face: of which wounds within eight days he died. This was now a second weakening to the *English* party; but in his place the Earl of *Suffolk* succeeded, to whom the Regent sendeth Sir *John Falstaffe* with fresh supplies; whom the Lords *De la Brets*, nine Thousand strong, endeavours to intercept: but Sir *John* resolving to abide the charge, placeth his Carriages behind, the Horse next, and the Foot before, lineing his Bows with Bill-men, and pitching stakes behind the Archers, who having discharged their first Volly, retired behind the stakes: on which the *French*, forgetting their former defeats by that course, ran and goared their Horses, by which their Vaward being disordered, their Battel, made a stand; which Sir *John* perceiving, cryed out, St. *George! they flie!* at which words they fled indeed, and lost two Thousand five hundred of their Men, with the Lords *De la Brets*, and *William Stewart*; Eleven hundred were taken prisoners; with whom, and a rich Booty, they came to the Camp before *Orleance*. And this Battel, because most part of the Carriage was Herring and Lenten Stuff, was by the *French*-men called the Battel of Herrings. But the besieged having notice of this defeat, they offered to submit themselves to the Duke of *Burgoigne*; who was contented to receive them, so as the Regent would consent: But the Regent consented not, and therefore in the mean time, the besieged made means to the Duke of *Alanson*, who furnished the Town with fresh Forces and Provisions; which put such spirits into the Citizens, that they made a sally out, slew six hundred *English*, and adventured upon the *Bastile*, where the Lord *Talbot* commanded, who repelled them with great slaughter of their men; but yet the next day the Earl of *Suffolk* gave over his siege, and disperfed his Army into their Garrisons.

The *English* side begins to go down.

And now the wheel of Fortune began to turn to the *French* against the *English*, which once set a going was not easie to be stayed. And first the Duke of *Alanson* took by assault the Town of *Jargeaux*, and in it the Earl of *Suffolk*, and one of his Brothers, and slew Sir *Alexander Pole*, another of his Brothers, and many other Prisoners in cold blood, by reason of a contention amongst the *French*, to whom the Prisoners should belong. Presently upon this, another great blow was given the *English*; for the Lord *Talbot*, *Scales*, and *Hungerford*, going to fortifie the Town of St. *Mesmin*, were encountred by the said Duke of *Alanson*, and *Arthur* of *Britain*, with three & twenty thousand Men, with whom the *English* Lords interchanged some Blows: But oppressed with multitude, were all three taken prisoners, all sore wounded, twelve hundred of their Company slain, and the rest hardly escaping to *Meun*, where they fortified themselves the best they could against future assaults.

The Duke of *Anjou* taken prisoner.

The Lords *Talbot* and *Scales* taken prisoners.

The *French* King recovers many Towns.

These were great blows given to the *English* Fortune in *France*; *Salisbury* slain, and now *Talbot* taken prisoner: which though they made her a little to totter, yet there must be great blows given before she will fall. And indeed, these disasters were seconded by the perfidious surrender of many Towns and strong Holds to the *French* King; who now encouraged by these successes, marcheth into *Champaign*, where by Composition he took *Troyes* the chief City of that Province: *Chalons* rebelleth, and enforceth their Captain to yield it up; by whose examples the Citizens of *Rhemes* do the like, where the *French* King is anew Proclaimed, and with accustomed Ceremonies Anointed and Crowned: whereupon many Towns submit themselves to him, and revolt from the *English*. Upon this the Duke of *Bedford* (to make the *French* know, that all the *English* strength consisted not only in *Salisbury* and *Talbot*) with Ten thousand *English*, besides *Normans*, marched out of *Paris*, and sent Letters of defiance to the *French* King, affirming, That deceitfully and by unjust means he had stolen many Cities and places of importance belonging to the Crown of *England*: which he was come to justifie by Battel, if he would appoint a time and place. To which the King of *France* making a slight Answer, the Regent marched apace toward him; and as fast the King of *France* marcheth away. The Regent followed him, but could not overtake him, till he came near to *Senlys*: there both the Armies encamped and embattelled, yet only some light Skirmishes passed between them. And a night or two after, the *French* King fled with his Army to *Bray*, which the Duke thinking to be but a plot to draw him further off from *Paris*, of whose fidelity he had no great assurance, followed him no further, but returned thither. At which time the Regent's Brother the Cardinal, having prepared Forces to assist Pope *Martin* in *Bohemia*, the Regent borrowed them of him for a present Expedition; and with them marched into *Champaign*, where he found the *French* King encamped upon the Mount *Piball*: whose number being twice as many as the Regents. yet by no provocations could be drawn to Battel, but secretly fled to *Crispis*; whereupon the Regent also returned to *Paris*.

The *French* King Crowned at *Rhemes*.

The Regent pursues the *French* King.

The *French* King deceiveth Battel.

Whilst these things were done in *France*, in *England*, upon St. *Leonard*'s day the 6. of *November*, 1429. King *Henry* not yet eight years old, was with great solemnity Crowned at *Westminster*, at whose Coronation were made six and thirty Knights of the *Bath*, and after the Solemnity, a Feast; and if any man desire to know much Cookery, he may read in *Fabian* all the dishes of meat that were served at that Feast.

An. Reg. 8. 1429.

King *Henry* Crowned at *Westminster*.

About this time, in *France*, a strange Impostor ariseth: A Maid called *la Pucelle*, taking upon her to be sent from God, for the good of *France*, and to expel the *English*: and some good indeed she did; for by her subtill working the King was received into *Champaign*, and many Towns were rendred to him, whilst the Lord

la Pucelle begins to shew herself.

Langueville

Longueville took by surprize the Castle of *Aumerle*, and slew all the *English* that were in it. But all these were but petty acquests to the King of *France*: there is a knot of friendship between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which must be broken, or he will never be able to compass his designs. He therefore labours by all means possible to disunite them; wherein he so little prevailed, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* acquaints the Regent with all the practices, who thereupon, with many thanks, exhorteth him to continue firm, of which he should never have cause to repent him: and because *Normandy* was a principal part of the *English* strength in *France*, he goeth thither, and by many reasons perswades them, as their Ancestors had alwayes been, to be faithfull to the Crown of *England*.

In this time of the Regent's absence from *Paris*, the King of *France* drew all his Forces thither, using all means possible, by Escalado, Battery, and burning the gates, to enter the City: but was so withstood by the vigilancy of the Citizens, that he was glad to sound a retreat, leaving his slain and maimed Souldiers behind him, all but the *Pucelle*, who being hurt in the Leg, and almost stifled with mire in the ditch, was by a servant of the Duke of *Alanson* drawn up, and conveyed after the King to *Berry*, who by the way received the submission of the Inhabitants of *Laigny*. Some other services were performed on both sides, by the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Thomas Kyrriel*, for the *English*; by the bastard of *Orleance* and Sir *Stephen le Hye*, for the *French*; but of no great importance: till at last, the *Pucelle*, (who a little before had caused an *English* Captain's head to be cut off, because he would not humble himself to her upon his knee) was by Sir *John* of *Lutzemburgh* taken, and presented to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who sent her to the Regent, and he to the Bishop of the Dioceis, who judicially proceeding against her as a Sorceress, and deceiver of the King and his Subjects, the was (after many delayes of promise to discover secret practice, and lastly of her feigning to be with Child) publickly burnt at *Roan*.

La Pucelle taken and burnt at Roan for a Sorceress.

An Regio 1431.

King Henry is Crowned King of France in Paris.

And now the Regent finding how much the Crowning of the *French* King had furthered his designs, he made account the like effect would follow the Crowning of King *Henry* in *France*: whereupon he is sent for to come over; and coming to *Paris*, was by his Unkle the Bishop of *Winchester* and Cardinal of *Eusebius*, not yet above nine years old, with all usual Ceremonies Crowned King of *France*, receiving the Oaths of Homage and Fealty of all the *French* Nobility that were present, and of all the Inhabitants of *Paris*, and of the places adjacent. Upon this, Pope *Eugenius* laboured a reconcilement between the two Kings, but could effect nothing but only a Truce for six years: which agreed upon, King *Henry* returns into *England*, and landeth at *Dover*, the eleventh of *February*. But the six years Truce was scarce openly proclaimed, when the *French* had cunningly possessed themselves of divers Castles and places of strength, justifying their actions, affirming, That what was politickly obtained without blowes, was no infringement of the Truce: and afterwards perfidiously conveyed Two hundred men into the Castle of *Roan*, with intent to have surprized it; but being discovered, they were all taken, and either ransomed or put to execution. Upon this, the Regent, (whose Wife, the Sister of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, being lately dead, and he married again to *Jaqueline* the Earl of S. *Paul's* Daughter, with whom he went over into *England*) returned again to *Paris*; to whom the Lord *Talbot*, having now paid his Ransome, cometh, bringing with him Seven hundred tried Souldiers; and with them the Regent takes the Field, where the *French* Army lay; but the *French* slunk away in the dark, as not daring to abide the hazard of a battel.

A Truce abused.

About this time, the Duke of *Bourbon*, taken at the Battel of *Agincourt*, after eighteen years imprisonment, paying eighteen thousand pounds for his Ransome, the same day he was enlarged died at *London*.

The Regent and the Duke of Burgoigne fall at Variance, and for what.

And now a very great effect was produced out of a very small cause: There had been sparks of unkindness between the two great Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which brake out into a flame upon this occasion: A time and place was appointed, where they should meet to compound some differences that were between them; The place agreed upon, was St. *Omers*, a Town in *Artois*: When the time came, they stood upon this nice point, Which of them should first come to the place; as thinking that he which did so, should hereby acknowledge himself to be the meaner person. The Duke of *Bedford* thought he had no reason to do it, seeing he was Regent of *France*, and therefore superiour to any Subject in the Kingdom: And the Duke of *Burgoigne* thought he had no reason to do it, seeing it was to be done in his own Dominions, where he was himself the Soveraign Lord. Upon this nice point they broke off, and never met; and the unkindness grew afterward to so great hatred, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* chose rather to be friends with him that had murthered his Father, than ever to have any more commerce with the Duke of *Bedford*. Thus was one great branch of assistance lopt off from the *English*, which had been a great means before to make it flourish: and it was not so much, that the assistance was taken from the *English*, as that it was added to the *French*: for after this, the Duke of *Burgoigne* brought more assistance to the new King of *France*, than ever he had done before to the King of *England*. By which we may see, when the Divine providence hath a Work to effect, what slight Occasions it oftentimes takes to effect the Work.

The Duke of Bedford Regent of France, dies in Paris.

Great blows had been given before in *France* to the *English* Fortune by the Enemy, but now a Blow was given to it by Destiny, which made the Enemies Blowes more incurable; for now the Wise, Valiant, Faithful Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Anjou*, and *Alanson*, Earl of *Mayne*, *Harcourt*, *Drieux*, *Richmond*, and *Carlile*, and Viscount *Beaumont*, upon the Thirteenth of *September*, 1435. ended his life at *Paris*, which was in a manner the ending the life of the *English* Fortune in *France*: all former Blowes had been upon inferiour members

1435.

members, but this was a blow upon the head, and therefore mortal; and indeed the *Engliſh* Fortune in *France*, never after lifted up its head but very weakly. He was buried in our Ladies Church at *Roan*, whereat the Nobility of *Normandy* much repined, who would have had their own Territory honoured with his Sepulchre: yet ſee the levity of theſe men, who a few years after in the Reign of *Lewis* the Son of *Charles*, would have had his Monument to have been demoliſhed, as being diſhonourable, ſuch an Arch-Enemy to *France* ſhould be interred in the Metropolitan City of that Province. But *Lewis* anſwered, *God forbid, I ſhould give way to ſo diſhonourable an Act, to diſquiet his dead bones, who living, would have diſquieted us all; and it ſavours of too much baſeneſs to inſult upon a dead Lion.*

The noble diſpoſition of King *Lewis* of *France.*

But yet in theſe diſaſters there might have been ſome reparation by a good Succeſſor, had not Envy and Ambition bred diſturbance: the Duke of *Somerſet* deſired the Succeſſion, but the Duke of *York* obtained it; which bred ſuch an envy in the Duke of *Somerſet* towards him, that he laboured nothing ſo much as to croſs his deſigns, and was a means to hinder the Duke of *York*'s going to his Charge ſo long, that the *Pariſians* had time to think of freeing themſelves from the *Engliſh* ſervitude: and thereupon the City after it had remained ſeventeen years in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, yields to the Conſtable, and upon compoſition expels all the *Engliſh*; and which was worſe, many other Towns followed this example of *Paris*; for what Town would not willingly do as *Paris* did, the Epitome as it were of all *France*? and which they ſtick not to call *Le Monde de Paris*, as though there were upon earth no other world but *Paris*. Even the *Normans*, who had always been moſt firm to the *Engliſh*, yet had run the ſame courſe, if the Lord *Talbot* had not kept them in awe, with the ſlaughter of five thouſand of them that way inclined. And now after theſe great loſſes, we muſt be content to play ſmaller games, caſt at Caſtles and Forts, and ſome ſmall Towns, like the ſtruggling of dying men, doing acts of life, till there be no more life remaining; And this was now our caſe in *France*. The new Regent with eight thouſand Souldiers arrived at *Harfleur*, and from thence marched to *Roan*; where he won the reputation of Juſtice and Uprightneſs, notwithſtanding all the calumniations of the Duke of *Somerſet*: when the revolted Duke of *Burgoigne* pretending Title to the Town of *Calice*, approacheth it with an Army of Forty thouſand men, takes the poor *Baſtile* of *Oye*, and ſlaughters and hangs many of the defendants. The *Picards* beſieged the Caſtle of St. *Mark*, took it, and demoliſhed it; from thence they begirt *Calice* with a ſiege, but were repelled: Then the Duke of *Burgoigne* ſent the Lord *Croy* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Guyſnes*, but were repelled there alſo. In the mean time *Pembroke* the Herauld brought a defiance to the Duke of *Burgoigne* from the Duke of *Gloceſter* the Protector, That he would give him Battel if he would abide it; To whom the Duke of *Burgoigne* anſwered, He ſhould be ſure to find him where he now was. Whereupon he calleth a Council, and whileſt they are debating what is beſt to be done, the *Calicians* make a ſally, take the *Baſtile* which they had builded, by force, and ſlew Eightſcore of the *Burgoignians*; which ſo terrified them, that they upbraid the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and make both him and the Lord *Croy* to quit their quarters: and in ſuch haſte to be gone, that they left a great part of their beſt Ordnance, and all their Proviſion for the relief and help of the beſieged. And it ſeems they had reaſon ſo to do, for the next day being the ſeven and twentieth of *July*, the Duke of *Gloceſter* landed at *Callice*, with five and twenty thouſand good fighting men; who finding the Enemy recoiled, forraged all the Countrey thereabout, and for the ſpace of ſix weeks harrowed all the parts of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Heynault*: and then returning by St. *Omers*, *Arde* and *Guiſnes*, arrived at *Callice*.

1436.

Paris expels all the *Engliſh*, and by their example many other Towns likewiſe.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* the Protector ſends defiance to the Duke of *Burgoigne.*

The Duke of *Gloceſter* lands at *Callice* with 25 thouſand fighting men.

The Duke of *York* is made Regent of *France*, which the Duke of *Somerſet* envying, hinders his proceedings all he can.

And now we muſt look a little home, for the Duke of *York* returning into *England*, finds the Caſtle of *Rokſborough* beſieged by the King of *Scots*, with Thirty thouſand men; but he hearing of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s approach, and the Duke's return, incontinently fled. And now again to *France*, where the Town of *Harfleur* was ſold to the *French*, but the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Lord *Talbot*, beſetting it both by Sea and Land, though the Earl of *Ewe*, and the Baſtard of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, with four thouſand men came to relieve it, yet upon compoſition it was ſurrendred.

1437.

The Dutcheſs of *Bedford* marries Sir *Richard Woodvile.*

James King of *Scots* murthered.

And here we may have leave to ſpeak of a private matter, for about this time the Dutcheſs of *Bedford* married Sir *Richard Woodvile*, a gallant young Gentleman, but of ſmall means; which though it offended her friends, yet it ſeems offended not God, who made her Mother of many Children by him; and amongſt the reſt, of the Lady *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to King *Edward* the Fourth. Alſo about this time *James* King of *Scots*, who before had been eighteen years Priſoner in *England*, and afterward releaſed, with a Wife of a Noble Houſe, a great Dower, and many honourable Preſents, yet proved ungrateful, was murthered in his Bed-Chamber by night, whoſe murtherers being found out, were cruelly tortured. And now again to *France*, when the Duke of *Burgoigne* could neither by force nor policy take *Callice*, he attempted a ridiculous practice, to cut a Ditch that ſhould drown both the Town and Country; but after much labour and expence, his deſign like a vapour vaniſhed into Air. The Lord *Talbot* beſieged *Tankerville*, and after four months ſiege had it rendred to him. In revenge whereof, the *French* King in his own perſon layes ſiege to *Monſtream*; which whileſt the Duke of *York* was providing to reſcue, he was diſcharged of his Office, done of purpoſe by his Enemies, to lay a blot upon him: A lamentable thing in a State, when private envy ſhall be ſuffered to undermine the publick ſafety; and by this means Sir *Thomas Gerard* had the more opportunity to ſell the Town, for which, if he were gainer in money, he was yet a loſer in reputation, and hated both of *French* and *Engliſh*, in much diſcontent dyed. *Arthur*, Conſtable of *France*, and *John* Duke of *Alanſon*, beſieged the Town of *Auranches*,

The Duke of *Burgoigne* attempts *Callice*, but without ſucceſs.

Sir *Thomas Gerard* betrayes the Town of *Monſtream* to the *French.*

but were with dishonour repelled by the Lord *Talbot*: After this, *Le Hyre* sent Letters to them, That he had a promise from divers Burgers of *Roan* to let them in at any time appointed; against which time they came to *Ryze*, within four Leagues of *Roan*, but the Lord *Talbot* having notice hereof, marched covertly to *Roan*, and from thence before day to *Ryze*, where he surprizeth the *French*, takes the Lord *Fountaines*, Sir *Alan Geron*, and many others, and with a rich booty returneth to *Roan*. The sixth day of *November*, in the sixteenth year of the King's Reign, the Earl of *Warwick* having oftentimes been aboard, and still beaten back by Tempests, landed at *Harflew* with a Thousand fresh Souldiers, and from thence came to *Roan*; but in the mean time the Duke of *Burgoigne* seeing no new Regent yet come, besiegeth the Town of *Crotoy*: to the Relief whereof, the new Regent now come, sent the Lord *Talbot* with five thousand men, whose approach the Duke not enduring, retired to *Abbeville*, leaving only four hundred, with whom he had manned the *Bastile* by him there erected, which was soon gained, and all the Souldiers either taken or slain. And there the valiant *Talbot* sent word to the Duke, That if he would save his Countrey from vastation, he should come to a Battel; but the Duke not liking the match, conveyes himself to *Amyens*. Twenty dayes together did the Lord *Talbot* with fire and sword, pass through *Picardy* and *Artois* without opposition, and then returned. Sir *Thomas Kyrriel* seized upon the Dukes Carriages and Ordnance; and having left in *Crotoy*, victual enough for six hundred men for a whole year, he brought the rest to the Earl of *Warwick*. And now *Henry* Earl of *Mortaigne*, Son to *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, arrived with two hundred Archers, and three hundred Spears; took the Castle of St. *Anyon*, wherein were three hundred *Scots* and *French*; the *Scots* he slew all, and hanged the *French*, because they had sworn fealty to *England*, and broke it: he took likewise the Castle of *Algarchie*, and by means of an Ambush, taketh the Lord *Camorois*, coming to the Rescue thereof. On the other side, the Towns of *Neuxin*, *Bry*, and *Sussat*, were sold and delivered to the *French* by the treacherous Burgers. In *June* the Earl of *Huntington*, with Two thousand Archers, and Four thousand Spears was sent into *Gascoigne*, whither the Earl of *Dauois* was lately come to buy Towns and Castles; but the Earl of *Huntington* upon his coming thither, changed all the Captains and Officers, whereby he prevented all such Bargains: and so far had bribery spread it self at this time, that even in *Normandy* the *English* Captains had but small confidence in the Natives, and not much in some of their own Nation; whereupon Sir *Richard Woodvile*, Sir *William Chamberlain*, and *William Peto* were sent thither to stop the current of that corruption.

The Lord *Talbot* doth great acts. 1438.

At this time the Council of *France* procured a reconcilement between the King and the Dauphin, who had been in long jealousies and dissention; which if it had not been done, the Kingdom had been torn with Factions, and never been able to subsist.

And now in a great Frost and Snow, the *English* under the Conduct of Sir *John Clifford*, having covered their Armour with white shirts, and their heads with white *Almain* skulls, came to *Ponthois* by night, and undiscover'd pass'd the Ditches, scaled the Walls, slew the Guards, and took the Town; but this good luck was accompanied with a bad of more importance: for presently upon it the Earl of *Warwick* died in the Castle of *Roan*, and, conveyed into *England*, was buried in the Castle of *Warwick*. To reduce *Ponthois*, the *French* King in person layeth siege unto it, when *Richard* Duke of *York* being the second time made Regent, having with him the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Eme*, levies a power to raise the siege; and arriving there, sends word to the King, that the next morning he would give him Battel: but the King liked not his bidding, but leaving his Ordnance, at midnight stole away to *Poyssy*: thither also the Regent follows him, but with no provocations could draw him to fight.

Sir *John Clifford* gets *Pontoise* by a wile.

The Earl of *Warwick* dies. 1439.

Richard Duke of *York* made the second time Regent of *France*.

About this time, a Treaty for Peace between the two Kings is appointed to be held at *Calice*, by the mediation of the Dutchess of *Burgoigne*, a *Portugal* Lady; Commissioners meet of both sides, but nothing concluded, only the Duke of *Orleance* who had been Prisoner to the *English* five and twenty years, is by the Dutchess's mediation ransomed with three hundred thousand Crowns of the Duke of *Burgoigne*'s money. The Lord *Willoughby* besieged *Deepe*, which the Dauphin with sixteen thousand men cometh to raise; and there young *Talbot* is taken prisoner, with Sir *John Peto*, and Sir *John Repley*, but are shortly after redeemed by exchange. And now another weakning happened to the *English* party, the Earl of St. *Paul* forsakes them, and is reconciled to the King of *France*. The *English* lay siege to *Tartus*, for the raising whereof, the *French* King marcheth thither with 60000 men, relieveth the Town, and then marcheth to *Saverine*, which he taketh in, and in it, Sir *John Ramston*; after which he took in *Arques*, but then the *English* cutting off all convoyes of Victuals from coming to him, he is forced to return; after whose departure, the *English* recover all that he had taken; and to boot, take his Lieutenant prisoner, slaying or hanging all his Souldiers. In this mean while the Lord *Talbot* taketh in *Conquet*, and driveth the Bastard of *Orleance*, from the siege of *Gagliarda*; but the *French* in the Castle of *Cornbil* detained many *English* prisoners; for redeeming of whom, Sir *Francis* the *Aragonist* used this Stratagem, he apparalled half a dozen lusty young Fellows like Peasants, carrying Baskets with Corn and Victuals, and sends them to the Castle, while he with his Company lies in Ambush, in a Valley near the Castle; the six unsuspected are admitted, and coming to the Captains Chamber, seize upon him, and withal give the sign to the Ambush, who coming readily on, entred the Castle, put the Souldiers to the Sword, set the prisoners at liberty, burnt down the Castle, and with the Booty and Captain of the Castle, returned to *Roan*.

1440.

The Duke of *Orleance* after 25. years imprisonment is ransomed.

A Stratagem of Sir *Francis* the *Aragonist*.

Whilest these alterations passed in *France*, a more unnatural passed in *England*, the Uncle riseth against the Nephew, the Nephew against the

Difference between the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Cardinal.

the Uncle; The Duke of *Gloucester* Articles against the Cardinal, charging him with affecting preheminence, to the derogation of the King's Prerogative, and contempt of his Laws; which Articles are delivered to the King, and by him to his Council, who being most of the Clergy, durst not meddle in them, for offending the Cardinal. On the other side, the Cardinal finding nothing whereof directly to accuse the Duke of *Gloucester* himself, accuseth his other self, the Lady *Eleanor Cobham* the Duke's Wife, of Treason, for attempting by Sorcery and Witchcraft the Death of the King, and advancement of her Husband to the Crown: for which, though acquitted of the Treason, she is adjudged to open Penance, namely, to go with a Wax Taper in her hand, hoodless (save a Kerchiffe) through *London*, divers dayes together, and after to remain in perpetual imprisonment in the *Isle of Man*. The Crime objected against her, was, procuring *Thomas Southwel*, *John Hunne*, Priests, *Roger Bullingbrook* a supposed Necromancer, and *Margery Jordan*, called the Witch of *Eye* in *Suffolk*, to devise a Picture of Wax in proportion of the King, in such sort by Sorcery, that as the Picture consumed, so the Kings Body should consume: for which they were all condemned. The Witch was burnt in *Smithfield*, *Bullingbrook* was hanged, constantly affirming upon his death, That neither the Dutchess, nor any other from her, did ever require more of him, than only to know by his Art, how long the King should live. *John Hunne* had his pardon, and *Southwel* died the night before he should have been executed.

1441.

The Duke of *Gloucester's* Wife accused of Sorcery; and her Penance.

King *Henry* affianceth the Earl of *Arminiack's* Daughter, but is by the King of *France* crossed.

About this time the Countess of *Cominges* being dead, the King of *France* and the Earl of *Arminiack* are Competitors for the Inheritance. The Earl takes possession, but fearing the King of *France* his greatness, makes offer of his Daughter in Marriage to the King of *England*, with a large portion in money; and besides, to deliver full possession of all such Towns and Castles as were by him or his Ancestors detained in *Aquitaine*, and had been formerly by the Progenitors of the King of *England*, conquered. The Ambassadours for his business, were by King *Henry* graciously heard, and honourably returned: after whom were sent Sir *Edward Hall*, Sir *Robert Ross*, and others, to conclude all things; and the young Lady is by Proxy affianced to King *Henry*. But the King of *France* not liking the proceedings of the Match, sendeth the Dauphin with a puissant Army, who took the Earl; with his youngest Son, and both his Daughters, and gained the Counties of *Arminiack*, *Loverne*, *Rovergne*, *Moulessenois*, with the Cities of *Severde* and *Cadeack*, chasing the Bastard of *Arminiack* out of the Country; by means whereof, the marriage was then deferred, and left in suspense.

In this distraction of Christendom, many Princes, the Kings of *Spain*, *Denmark* and *Hungary* became Mediators for a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*. Ambassadours of both sides are sent, many meetings were had, many motions made; but in conclusion only a Truce for eighteen months is agreed upon. In the mean time the Earl of *Suffolk*, one of the Commissioners for the Peace, takes upon him beyond his Commission; and without acquainting his fellows, to treat of a Marriage between the King of *England*, and a Kinswoman of the King of *France*, Neece to the *French* Queen, Daughter to *Rayner* Duke of *Anjou*, styling himself King of *Sicily* and *Naples*: In which business he was so intentive, that it brought an aspersion upon him of being bribed; but howsoever, an interview betwixt the two Kings is appointed, without any warrant of King *Henry's* part, to be between *Chartres* and *Roan*. The Commissioners return, the Earl of *Suffolk* sets forth the beauty of the proposed Bride, and the great benefits that would redound to the Kingdom by this match. The King was easily induced to credit the Relation; but divers of the Kings Council, especially the Duke of *Gloucester*, opposed it; partly for the meanness of the match, her Father being only a Titular Prince, and withal but poor, unable to give any portion at all; and partly for the wrong which should hereby be offered to the Duke of *Arminiack's* Daughter, to whom the King had been in solemn manner publickly affianced. But reasons could not prevail against favour: the Earl of *Suffolk's* affirmation must not be undervalued. And hereupon, a new creation of Lords first made, (*John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerset*, made Duke of *Somerset*; *John* Lord *Talbot*, made Earl of *Shrewsbury*; *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, made Duke of *Exeter*; *Humfrey* Earl of *Stafford*, made Duke of *Buckingham*; *Henry Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, made Duke of *Warwick*; *Edmund Beaufort* Earl of *Dorset*, made Marquess of *Dorset*; and *William de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, made Marquess of *Suffolk*:) This new Marquess honourably accompanied, is sent into *France* to fetch the Lady *Margaret* the proposed Bride: who shortly after is married at *Southwick* in *Hampshire*, and Crowned Queen of *England* at *Westminster*, on the 30 day of *May*, 1444, in the Three and Twentieth year of King *Henry's* Reign. And now instead of benefits by this Marriage, there presently followed great inconveniences; for first in exchange of her Person, the Dutchy of *Anjou*, the City of *Mauns*, with the whole County of *Mayne*, (the best props of the Dutchy of *Normandy*) are agreed to be surrendred into the hands of the *French*: and then the Duke of *Arminiack*, to revenge the injury offered to his Daughter, is a means to expel the *English* out of all *Aquitain*.

The Earl of *Suffolk* propounds another match for the King.

Dukes and Earls Created.

1444.

King *Henry* proceeds in the match which the Earl of *Suffolk* had persuaded.

At this time the Duke of *Somerset's* spleen against the Duke of *York*, not only is revived, but is grown stronger; for the Duke of *York*, who was now after the death of the Earl of *Warwick*, made the second time Regent of *France*, is so undermined by him through assistance of the new Marquess of *Suffolk*, who bore now all the Sway with the King and Queen; that not only he supplanted him in his place; but planted himself in it, to the great heart-burning of the Duke of *York* and his friends; but he wisely dissembled his anger, and for the present passed it over. And now is no man in grace but the new Marquess of *Suffolk*; all favours from the King and Queen

The Duke of *York* displaced of his Regency, and the Duke of *Somerset* placed in it.

must pass by him, and the extent of his power over-reacheth all the Council: He gets of the King the Wardship of the Body and Lands of the Countess of *Warwick*, and of the Lady *Margaret*, sole Daughter and Heir of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, afterward Mother to King *Henry* the Seventh. And now the Kings weakness in judgment grows every day more apparent than other, whilst governed by no Counsel but of his Queen, and she by no Counsel but her own will, and the new Marquess of *Suffolk*: King *Henry* is himself the least part of the King, and serves but to countenance the devices of others, whereof he little understands the drift; and which proving ill, the blame must needs be his; if well, the benefit and honour others. For by instigation of the Queen, he suffers the Duke of *Gloucester*, for his care of the Common-wealth called the Good Duke, to be excluded not only from Command, but from the Council-Table; and permits Informers, set on by the Marquess of *Suffolk*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Cardinal Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Archbishop of *York*, to come against him: who lay to his charge, That he had caused divers persons to be executed contrary to Law; wherein though he justified himself, yet no justification would be heard. But to avoid tumultuary part-taking, it was concluded he should be privately convicted and condemned; and to this end a Parliament, by the procurement of his Enemies, unwitting to the King, is called at *Bury*: to which the Duke of *Gloucester* resorting, is on the second day of the Session, by the Lord *Beaumont* Lord High Constable (abetted by the Duke of *Buckingham*) arrested and put in Ward, all his followers sequestred from him, whereof two and thirty are committed to several Prisons, and the next day after his imprisonment, he is found in his bed murthered; yet shewed the same day as though he had died of an Imposthume, though all that saw his body saw plainly he dyed of a violent and unnatural cause: some say, strangled; some, that a hot spit was put up at his Fundament; and some, that he was stifled between two Feather-Beds. His Corps the same day was conveyed to Saint *Albans*, and there buried. Five of his menial Servants, Sir *Regir Chamberlain* Knight, *Middleton*, *Herbert*, *Artzis*, Esquires, and *John Needham* Gentleman, were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and hanged they were at *Tyburn*, let down quick, stript naked, marked with a Knife to be quartered; but then the Marquess of *Suffolk*, to make a shew as though he had no hand in the business, brought their Pardon, and delivered it at the place of Execution, and so their lives were saved. It is no unmemorable thing which Sir *Thomas Moor* writes of the pregnancy of this Duke of *Gloucester*. It happened the King coming one time in Progress to St. *Albans*, a Beggar born blind, as he said, at the Shrine of St. *Alban* obtained his sight: which Miracle being noised in the Town, the Duke of *Gloucester* being there with the King, desired to see him, who being brought unto him, he asked if he were born blind? who told him, Yes truly; And can you now see? (saith the Earl) Yes, I thank God and St. *Alban*, saith the Beggar; Then tell me, saith the Earl, what colour is my Gown? The Beggar readily told him the colour: And what colour, saith the Earl, is such a man's Gown? The Beggar likewise told him presently, and so of divers others. Then saith the Earl, Go you counterfeit Knave: if you had been born blind, and could never see till now, how come you so suddenly to know this difference of colours? and thereupon instead of an Alms, caused him to be set in the Stocks. But in the death of this Duke, the Queen, who had a special hand in it, was either not so intelligent or not so provident as she might have been; for as long as he had lived, his Primogeniture would have kept back the Duke of *York*'s claim to the Crown, being but descended from the fifth Son of *Edward* the Third, where this Duke *Humphrey* was descended from the Fourth. And here were the first seeds sown between the Two Houses of *Lancaster*, whose badge was the Red-Rose; and *York*, whose badge was the White-Rose. And now upon the death of this Duke of *Gloucester*, the Duke of *York* began amongst his Familiars, privily to whisper his right and title to the Crown; but so politickly carried his intent, that all things were provided to further his project, before his purpose was any whit discovered.

And in this time the rich Cardinal and Bishop of *Winchester* dies, who lying on his death-bed, as Doctor *John Baker* his Privy Counsellor and his Chaplain writeth, used such like words; Why should I dye, saith he, having so much riches? If the whole Realm would save my life, I am able either by Policy to get it, or by money to buy it: Fie, will not death be hired? will money do nothing? and other words to such purpose. But he being dead, there succeeded in his Bishoprick a more deserving Prelate, *William Wanflete*, called so of the place in *Lincolnshire* where he was born, though his name was *Patterne*, of the Worshipful Family whereof he was descended. And now to the end the Marquess of *Suffolk* might not come behind them in Dignity, whom he went before in Power, he is about this time made Duke of *Suffolk*.

In *France* about this time, a Victory was gotten, which proved no better than an overthrow. Before the Truce was expired, Sir *Francis Suryens* an *Aragonois*, a man thought worthy to be admitted into the honourable Order of the Garter, taking advantage of the security of the *French* Garrisons, suddenly surprizeth a Frontier Town called *Fougiers* belonging to the Duke of *Britain*; the Duke advertiseth the *French* King thereof, who by his Ambassadors complains both to the King of *England*, and to the Duke of *Somerset* then Regent in *France*: answer was made, It was the fault of the *Aragonois*, who did it without warrant from either the King or the Council; nevertheless Commissioners are appointed to meet at *Louviers*, to treat of some course for satisfaction; but in the time of the Treaty news is brought to the Regent, that the *French* by a stratagem of a Carter, that with a load of Hey coming over the Drawbridge, caused the Axletree to break, and whilst the Porter was ready to help the Carter, the Porters brains were beaten out, the Town of *Ardes*

King *Henry* begins to shew his weakness in Judgment.

1447.

The Duke of *Gloucester* secretly murthered.

Five Gentlemen hanged, but were cut down quick, and lived.

The Duke of *Gloucester*'s pregnancy in discovering an Impostor.

The Duke of *York* begins to whisper his Right to the Crown.

The Bishop of *Winchester*'s prophane speech at his death.

1448.

The Marquess of *Suffolk* is made Duke of *Suffolk*.

Fraud answered by Fraud.

Ardes surprized, and the Lord *Fauconbridge* Captain thereof was taken Prisoner. Restitution being required by the *English*, answer is made them in their own language, It was done without warrant from either the *French* King, or any of his Council; so it was but one for another: and from thence forward the Truce is broken of both sides, and all things grow worse and worse. The *French* King by composition taketh *Louviers*, *Gerbury*, and *Verneile*, whilst the Regent stands demurring what was best to be done; if he command, not obeyed; if he counsel, not followed; as it happens to men once blemished in Reputation, to have an ill construction made of all their actions: by which means the *French* go on without resistance, get *Constance*, *Guisard*, *Gatiard*, St. *Lô*, *Feshamp*, and many other pieces in *Normandy*. Upon notice whereof, *Maulesson* in *Guyen* surrenders to the Earl of *Foix*, and by their example the City of *Roan* it self takes composition to surrender; where the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Butler*, heir to the Earl of *Ormond*, were kept pledges till it was performed. It is true, succours were provided to be sent out of *England*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *York*; but a Rebellion happening in *Ireland*, which was thought of more importance to be speedily suppressed, diverted him and his Forces thither: where not only he suppressed the Rebels, but so won the hearts of that people, that it was no small furtherance to his proceedings afterward. A fresh supply indeed of Fifteen hundred men, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Kyriel* is sent over; but what could a handful of men do against such multitudes as opposed them? For he marching with the rest of the Army towards *Beaugeaux*, was encountred by the Earl of *Clermont*, with Seven thousand *French* and *Scots*, whom yet at first he made to recoil, till the Constable of *France* with four hundred men at Arms, and eight hundred Archers came to the rescue; and then fresh men coming upon them that were already tired, the *English* lost Three thousand and above seven hundred, besides divers that were taken Prisoners. After this loss of men, follows presently a loss of Towns; *Harflew* is assaulted, and though valiantly for a while defended by Sir *Robert Canson*, yet surrendred at last upon composition. Then the *French* King with an Army Royal, besiegeth *Caen* in *Normandy*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *York*, defended in his absence by his Lieutenant Sir *David Hall*; but the Duke of *Somerset* being Regent, in commiseration of his Dutchess being in the Town, notwithstanding the stout opposition of Sir *David Hall*, surrenders it upon composition to the *French*; whereof Sir *David* giving notice to the Duke of *York*, it bred such a deadly quarrel between the two Dukes, that they were never after throughly reconciled. And thus is all *Normandy* recovered from the *English*, after it had been in their possession a hundred years; and finally, all *France* is reduced to the obedience of *Charles* the *French* King.

The *French* King recovers many Towns, through the demurring of the Duke of *Somerset*.

1449.

Sir *Thomas Kyriel* defeated, with the loss of near 400 men.

All Normandy recovered from the *English*.

And now hereafter there will be little to do abroad, but there will be the more to do at home; and more blood will be shed in *England* by civil dissentions, than was shed before in all the Wars of *France*. This loss of *Normandy* and other parts in *Normandy*, is imputed much to the Duke of *Somerset*, at that time Regent; but the Duke of *Suffolk* must bear a great part of the blame, partly for having been the cause of the surrender of *Anjou* and *Mayne*, and the chief procurer of the Duke of *Glocester*'s death; and partly for having wilfully wasted the Kings Treasure, and been a means to remove the ablest Men from the Council-Board; of all which aspersions the Queen takes notice, and knowing how far they trenched upon the Dukes destruction and her own, she so wrought, that the Parliament assembled at the *Black Friers*, is adjourned to *Leicester*, and from thence to *Westminster*: but though all means were used to stop these accusations against the Duke, yet the Lower House would not be taken off, but exhibited their Bill of grievances against him: That he had Traiterously incited the Bastard of *Orleance*, the Lord *Prestigny*, and others to levy War against the King, to the end that thereby the King might be destroyed; and his Son *John* who had married *Margaret* Daughter and sole Heir of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, whose Title to the Crown the said Duke had often declared, in case King *Henry* should dye without issue, might come to be King: That through his Treachery the *French* King had gotten possession of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and had taken prisoners the valiant Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Fauconbridge*, and others: but to these accusations he peremptorily affirmed himself not guilty, so much as in thought. Then were further allegations made against him, That being with others, sent Ambassador into *France*, he had transcended his Commission; and without privity of his fellow Commissioners, had presumed to promise the surrender of *Anjou*, and the delivery of the County of *Maunts* to Duke *Rayner*, which accordingly was performed, to the great dishonour of the King, and detriment of the Crown: That he had traiterously acquainted the *French* King with all the affairs of State, and passages of secrecy; by which the Enemy was throughly instructed in all the designs of the King and Council: That he had received rewards from the *French* King, to divert and disappoint all succours sent to the Kings friends in *France*. Upon these and divers other accusations brought against him, to blear the peoples eyes, he is committed to the *Tower*; but the Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but he was set at liberty. Which so incensed the common people, that they made an insurrection and under the leading of a desperate fellow, styling himself *Blue-beard*, they committed many outrages: but by the diligence of the Gentlemen of the Countrey, the Captain was apprehended, and the Rebellion ceased. And now another Parliament is called, where great care is taken in chooling Burgesses, presuming thereby to stop any further proceeding against the Duke of *Suffolk*; but his personal appearance at the Parliament gave such a general distaste to the House, though he came in the company of the King and Queen, that they forbore not to begin the Assembly, with petitioning the King for punishment to be inflicted upon such as had

Accusations laid to the Duke of *Suffolk*.

Upon which committed to the *Tower*, is presently upon the dissolution of the Parliament set at liberty.

An Insurrection made by *Blue-beard*, soon pacified.

The Duke of *Suffolk* is questioned again in Parliament: is banished formally for five years; but taken at Sea hath his head chopt off.

1450.

had plotted or consented to the Resignation of *Anjou* and *Maine*, whereof by name they instanced in the Duke of *Suffolk*, *John* Bishop of *Salisbury*, Sir *James Fines*, Lord *Say*, and others. This Petition was seconded by the Lords of the Upper House: whereupon to give some satisfaction to the Houses, the Lord *Say*, Lord Treasurer, is sequestred from his place; the Duke's Officers are all discharged, and himself formally banished for five years, but with an intent after the multitude had put out of minde their hatred against him, to have revoked him: but God did otherwise dispose of him, for when he was shipped in *Suffolk*, with intent to have passed over into *France*, he was met by an *English* Man of War, taken and carried to *Dover* Sands, and there had his head chopt off, on the side of the Long-boat, which together with the body was left there on the Sands, as a pledge of some satisfaction for the death of Duke *Humphrey*.

The Duke of *York* begins to make his way to the Crown.

Whilst these things are done in *England*, the Duke of *York* in *Ireland* began to make his way to the Crown, as descended from *Philippa*, Daughter and Heir to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, great Grandfather to the present King *Henry* the sixth. And for a beginning it is privately whispered, That King *Henry* was of a weak capacity, and easily abused, the Queen of a malignant spirit, and bloodily ambitious; the Privy Council, if wise enough, yet not honest enough, regarding more their private profit, than the publick good; that through their delinquencies, all *France* was lost, and that God would not bless the usurped possession of King *Henry*. With these suggestions the *Kentish* men seemed to be taken; which being observed by an Instrument of the Duke of *York*, called *Mortimer*, he takes his time, and tells the multitude, That if they will be ruled by him, he will put them in a course to work a general Reformation, and free them for ever, from those insupportable burthens of Taxations, so often, upon every slight occasion obtruded upon them. These promises of Reformation and Freedom from Impositions, so wrought with the people, that they drew to a head, and make *Mortimer*, otherwise *Jack Cade*, their Leader; who styling himself Captain *Mend-all*, marched with no great number, but those well ordered, to *Blackheath*, where between *Eltam* and *Greenwich*, he lay by the space of a month exercising his men, and sending for whom he pleased, and for what he pleased. Then he presents to the Parliament the complaints of the Commons, That the Queens Favourites share amongst them the Revenues of the Crown, whereby the King is enforced for the supportation of his present estate, to tax and burthen the Commons, to their utmost undoing, and to the general impoverishment of the Kingdom: That the Commons have their commodities daily taken from them for the purveyance of the Kings Houshold, for which they are not paid, nor any assurance for payment thereof given, but only Court-Promises: That upon the apprehension of any man for Treason or Felony, the Kings menial Servants, before conviction, beg the Goods and Lands of the impeached; whereupon indirect and unlawful proceedings are used by subornation of witnesses, embracery of Jurors, and great mens Letters to the Judges; whereby Justice is perverted, and the Innocent after attainted, if not executed, yet at least imprisoned to their undoing: That the Commons have no legal proceedings in their Law-suits, so as the rightful owners of Inheritance dare not, (if opposed by any Courtier) maintain their Titles, or attempt the recovery of their interest, how just soever: That the Kings Collectors and other Accomptants are much troubled in passing their Accompts by new extorted Fees; and by being inforced to procure a late invented Writ of *Quorum Nomina*, for allowance of the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, and their sueing out their *Quietus* at their own charge, without allowance from the King: That the Bayliffs of Sheriffs, under colour of the Green Wax out of the *Exchequer*, do levy greater sums than are by the Record justifiable, yet maintained: That they cannot have the freedom of electing Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament; but by Letters from the Favourites of the Court, to their Friends and Retainers, the Knights and Burgesses are commonly chosen: That they are too much troubled with too often coming to attend the general Sessions, being enforced in many places to make five days journey to the place where they are kept. These and some other were the complaints of the Commons; but the Captain for his own particular (after protestation made to live and dye in the quarrel of the King) required that his Majesty would be pleased to receive again into favour, the truly Noble Prince the Duke of *York*, and with him the Right Honourable the Dukes of *Exeter*, *Buckingham*, and *Norfolk*, and the ancient Noblemen of the Realm, by the undue practices of *Suffolk* and his Complices commanded from his presence; and that all their opposites might be banished the Court, and put from their Offices: That there might be a general amotion of corrupt Officers, an abolition of the Green Wax, and other Instruments of Extortion out of the *Exchequer*; a qualification of proceedings in the *Kings-Bench*; an inhibition of unequal purveyance of provision for the Kings Houshold, and a present execution of the Promoters, *Slegge*, *Cromer*, *Isell*, and *East*, whom he pretended by wrongful information to have abused the King, and wronged his Subjects. These Petitions are sent from the Lower-House to the Upper, and from thence committed to the Lords of the Kings Privy Council; who having examined the particulars, explode them as frivolous, and the Authors thereof to be presumptuous Rebels. Whereupon the King is solicited by his Privy Council, to prosecute them by force rather than intreaty; which advice is seconded by the Queen, as conceiving they secretly aimed at her: and hereupon the King draws his Forces to *Greenwich*, and appointeth divers Lords to assail the Rebels; but the Lords could get no followers to fight against them who sought only for reformation of abuses, and for punishment of such Traytors as the Lord *Say* the Kings Chamberlain was. Whereupon the Lord *Say* is presently committed to the *Tower*, the King and Queen retire

Jack Cade makes an Insurrection; and brings an Army to *Black-heath*.

We presents the Complaints of the Commons to the Parliament.

The Complaints are exploded by the Kings Privy Council.

The King raiseth an Army to suppress the Rebels.

retire to *London*, from thence within two days, the King being now fifteen thousand strong, marcheth in person towards Captain *Mend-all*, who politickly withdraweth his Forces into *Sevenoke*-Wood; upon notice whereof the King retireth again to *London*, but the Queen longing for dispatch, sends the two *Staffords*, Sir *Humfrey* and *William*, with many hot-spurs in the Court to follow the Rebels, who were soon cooled; for they found Captain *Mend-all* in good order ready to receive them, and in the first encounter, slew Sir *Humfrey*, and afterwards his Brother, and put all the rest to flight. The Kings Forces being at *Black-heath*, could neither by threats nor intreaties be gotten to go to the Rescue; but rather wished the Queen and her Favourites in the *Stafford*'s case: or that the Duke of *York* were in *England*, to aid his Cousin *Mortimer* (now first acknowledged to be of his kindred;) and many of them stole away to the Rebels, whose number from *Sussex* and *Surrey* daily increased, whom yet their Captain restraineth from forraging or taking away any thing by force; and so returneth again to *Black-heath*, where the Kings Army lay the night before, but was now fallen down to *Greenwich*. And now the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Duke of *Buckingham* are sent to expostulate with the Rebels about their demands; To whom *Jack Cade* gave very good language, but directly affirming no cessation from Arms, unless the King in person would hear the grievances of the Subject, and pass his Princely word for the Reformation of their wrongs. This resolution of his made known to the King, who was not sure of his own Souldiers Faith, made him march presently away to *Killingworth* Castle in *Warwickshire*, where he fortified himself as expecting a siege, having left the Lord *Scales* only to guard the *Tower*. *Jack Cade* taking advantage of the Kings departure, cometh to *Southwark*, where he quarters his men, straitly charging them to commit no out-rage, nor do wrong to any; which was duely observed. The next morning he marcheth to *London*-Bridge, where he caused his men to cut the Ropes of the Draw-Bridge, no resistance being made against him; and so in good order marched up by *London-stone*, upon which he strook his Sword, saying, *Now is* Mortimer *Lord of* London. The Mayor of *London*, Sir *Thomas Chalton*, standing upon the threshold of his door, bade him take heed he attempted nothing against the quiet of the City: To whom he made answer, *Let the World take notice of our honest intention by our actions*. And indeed this orderly carriage of himself and his company won him a good opinion amongst the common sort of people: And now assuming to himself the place of Chief, he sendeth out his Letters of safe conduct, to such whom he pleased to make use of; amongst other, he wrote this Letter to *Thomas Cook*, Draper of *London*.

The Rebels slay Sir *Humfrey* and Sir *William Stafford*.

The King flieth to *Killingworth* Castle.

Jack Cade cometh to *London*.

By this our writing ensealed, we grant, That *Thomas Cook* of *London* Draper, shall safely come into our presence, and avoid from us again at his pleasure, with all other persons coming in his company. *Subscribed thus*,

His Majesties loyal Subject, *John Mortimer*, *Captain Mend-all*.

Upon *Cook*'s admittion, he had private conference with three other that came with him; to whom at their departure he gave these instructions in writing: *You shall charge all* Lombards *and Merchant-strangers*, Genoeses, Venetians, Florentines, *and others, this day to draw themselves together, and to ordain for us the Captain, twelve Harneis compleat of the best fashion, four and twenty Brigandines, twelve Battle-axes, twelve Glaves, six Horses with Saddle and Bridle compleatly furnished, and a Thousand Marks in ready money: and if they shall fail herein, we shall strike off the heads of as many as we can get.* But they failed not, but sent him what he had demanded: who thereupon the next morning, being the third of *July*, returns to *London*; and presently sends to the Lord *Scales*, to bring his Prisoner the Lord *Say* to the *Guild-Hall*, whither he had called the Lord Mayor with his Brethren; before whom he caused the Lord *Say* to be arraigned, who craving to be tryed by his Peers, was forthwith taken from his Keeper, carried to the Standard in *Cheap*, and there had his head chopt off; which being pitched upon a Pike, was born before him to *Mile-End*, whither he went to have conference with the Rebels of *Essex*; and by the way meeting with Sir *James Cromer*, High Sheriff of *Kent*, who had lately married the Lord *Say*'s Daughter, he caused his head also to be stricken off, and carried before him in derision. The next morning he came again to *London*; where after publick execution done upon some of his fellows, and particularly upon a petty Captain of his, named *Paris*, that had done things contrary to his Proclamation; upon a displeasure taken against Alderman *Malpas*, he sent and seized upon all his Wares and Goods, and fined Alderman *Horn* in five hundred Marks. Whereupon, the Citizens finding him to grow every day more insolent than other, they sent to the Lord *Scales* for assistance, who sendeth *Matthew Gout* an old Souldier to them, with some Forces and Furnitures out of the *Tower*; who presently makes a stand at the Bridge, where *Cade* notwithstanding forceth his passage, and then began to set fire on houses, where many aged and impotent people perished. Captain *Bough*, Alderman *Sutton* and *Robert Hayson*, valiantly fighting were slain; yet upon a fresh supply, the *Londoners* recovered the Bridge again, and drove the Rebels beyond the Stoop in *Southwark*; at which time, both sides being weary, agreed of a Truce, till the next day. After the Retreat, *Cade* finding he had lost many of his best men, was driven, for supply, to set at liberty all the Prisoners in *Southwark*, as well Felons as Debtors; when now his company entring into consideration of their danger, and of the desperate Services their Captain had brought them to, began to discover by their countenances, their willingness to leave this course: whereof the Archbishop of *Canterbury* having notice, he with the Bishop of *Winchester* came from the *Tower* by water to *Southwark*, and there shewed the Kings General Pardon under the Great Seal of *England*; which was so welcome to the Rebels, that without taking leave of their Captain, they withdrew themselves that night to

He commandeth Horses and Furniture to be sent him.

He cuts off the Lord *Say*'s head in *Cheapside*.

Also Sir *James Cromer*'s head.

Upon the Kings general Pardon, *Jack Cade*'s followers leave him.

Jack Cade fleeth and is slain.

to their several habitations. *Jack Cade* with some few followers, bent his Journey to *Queenborough* Castle, where being denyed entrance, he disguised himself, and privily fled; but upon Proclamation, with promise of a Thousand Marks to any that should bring him dead or alive, he was afterward, by one *Alexander Eden* Gentleman, attached: and making resistance, in a Garden at *Hothfield* in *Sussex*, was there slain. His body was brought to *London*, beheaded and quartered, his head set upon *London*-Bridge, his quarters dispersed in divers places in *Kent*. Upon the news whereof, the King sends Commissioners into *Kent*, to enquire of the Abettors of this Rebellion; whither he followeth himself in person: and though five hundred were found guilty, yet eight onely were executed. Though *London* were the chief stage of this Rebellion, yet other Countreys were not free, especially *Wiltshire*; for the Rebells there, upon the nine and twentieth day of *June*, drew *William Ayscot* Bishop of *Salisbury*, from the High Altar, where he was saying Mass in *Edington* Church, to the top of the Hill: and there in his Priestly Robes most inhumanely murthered him.

Upon this Insurrection in *England*, the King of *France* seizeth upon all the *English* territories, and leaves the *English* nothing but *Calice*.

This Insurrection was not unknown to the King of *France*, who taking advantage thereof, seizeth upon all places which the *English* had in *France*, leaving them nothing but only *Callice*, and the Castles of *Hames* and *Guisnes*; and this was the Issue of the Duke of *Somerset*'s Regency in *France*: whereupon coming into *England*, at a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the sixth of *November* in the nine and twentieth year of the Kings Reign, he was put under Arrest. Upon notice whereof, the Commons at *London* despoiled his house at *Black-Fryers*, and ceased not till Proclamation was made to prohibit them; for disobeying whereof, there was one man beheaded, at the Standard in *Cheap*.

1451.

The Duke of *York* complains against the Duke of *Somerset*.

At this time the Duke of *York* under pretence of coming to the Parliament, comes out of *Ireland*; and at *London* had private conference with *John* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and other his assured friends: where it was resolved to keep the chief purpose, (the Claim to the Crown) secret, and only to make shew, that his endeavours were but to remove ill Counsellors from the King, of whom they instanced in the Duke of *Somerset* as chief; and hereof, the Duke sent divers Letters to the King, complaining of the wrongs the Duke of *Somerset* had done him, but withal making protestation of his own Loyalty. To which the King maketh answer, That he would take his complaints into consideration, but somewhat blames him for the death of the Bishop of *Chester*, by his means suspected to be slaughtered; and for dangerous speeches uttered by his Servants, tending to Rebellion: concluding, That notwithstanding any thing said or done to the contrary, he took and esteemed him a faithful Subject, and a loving Kinsman. But the Duke of *York*, not herewith satisfied, departeth into *Wales*, and there levieth men, making his colour for the good of the commonwealth, and the removing of bad Counsellors. The King advertised hereof, presently raiseth an Army; and with the

He raiseth an Army.

And the King another.

Duke of *Somerset* (now enlarged) marcheth towards *Wales*: while the Duke of *York* having notice which way the King came, by another way marcheth toward *London*; who being told, the *Londoners* would not admit him entrance, he passed the River *Thames* at *Knightbridge*, marched into *Kent*, and encamped at *Burnt-heath*. The King in his pursuit came to *Black-heath*, and there pitched his Tents; from whence he sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely*, the Lord *Rivers*, and *Richard Andrews*, Keeper of the Privy Seal, to know the cause of this commotion: and to make offer of reconcilement, if the Duke's demands were not unreasonable. The Duke made answer, That nothing was intended against the King's Person, his Crown or Dignity: All that was sought, was to remove ill Councellors from about the King, but especially *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*; whom if the King would be pleased to commit to ward, till his Legal Trial might be had in Parliament, he would then not only dismiss his Army, but come unto his presence as a loyal Subject. Hereupon the Duke of *Somerset* is committed to Prison: The Duke of *York* dismisseth his Army, and cometh in person to the King; in whose presence (contrary to his expectation) he found the Duke of *Somerset*; which so moved him, that he could not hold, but presently charged him with Treason: which the Duke of *Somerset* not only denieth, but recriminates the Duke of *York* to have conspired the King's death, and the usurpation of the Crown. Whereupon, the King removeth to *London*, the Duke of *York* as a Prisoner riding before him, and the Duke of *Somerset* at liberty; which was not a little marvelled at by many. And now the King calleth a Council at *Westminster*, where the two Dukes are earnest in accusing each other; but while the Council are debating of the matter, there comes a flash of Lightning out of *France*, which diverted them. For the Earl of *Kendal*, and the Lord *L'Espar*, came Ambassadors from *Burdeaux*, offering their obedience to the Crown of *England*; if they might but be assured to be defended by it: but withal, at the same time there came a report, That *Edward* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir to the Duke of *York*, with a great power was marching towards *London*. Here was matter for a double consultation, and for this latter, it was resolved on, That the Duke of *York*, should in the presence of the King and his Nobility, at the High Altar in *Pauls*, take his Oath of Submission and Allegiance to King *Henry*; which he accordingly did, and then had liberty to depart to his Castle at *Wigmore*. And for the former, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with about three thousand men was sent into *Gascoigne*, who arriving in the Isle of *Mardre*, passed forth with his power, and took *Fronsack* and other pieces; but having received in the night instructions from *Burdeaux* of certain Conspirators, he makes all the speed he can thither: and was entred the Town before the *French* had notice of his coming; so that many of them were slain by the Lord *L'Espar* in their beds. Shortly after there arrived the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Son, Sir *John Talbot*, with the Bastard of *Somerset*, and two and twenty hundred men, by whose means *Burdeaux*

1452.

The Duke requireth to have the Duke of *Somerset* to be tried by Parliament.

The Duke of *York* and the Duke of *Somerset* accuse each other of Treason.

1453.

The Duke of *York* takes his Oath of Allegiance to King *Henry*.

deaux is well manned with *English*, in which time the Earl was not idle, but went from place to place, to receive the offered submission of all places where he came; and having taken *Chatillon*, he strongly fortified it; whereupon the *French* King raiseth an Army, and besiegeth *Chatillon*; to the rescue whereof, the Earl maketh all possible speed with eight hundred Horse, appointing the Earl of *Kendal*, and the Lord *L'Espar* to follow with the Foot. In his way he surpriseth a Tower the *French* had taken, and put all within it to the Sword; and meeting five hundred *French* men, that had been forraging, many of them he slew, and the rest he chased to their Camp. Upon whose approach the *French* left the siege, and retired to a place which they had formerly fortified; whither the Earl followeth them, and resolutely chargeth them so home, that he got the entry of the Camp: where being shot through the Thigh with an Harquebus, and his Horse slain under him, his Son desirous to relieve his Father, lost his own life, and therein was accompanied with his Bastard Brother Sir *Henry Talbot*, Sir *Edward Hal*, and Thirty other Gentlemen of Name. The Lord *Molins* with Threescore other were taken Prisoners, the rest fled to *Burdeaux*, but in the way a Thousand of them were slain. And thus on the last day of *July*, in the year 1453. at *Chatillon*, the most Valorous Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the first of that name, after four and twenty years service beyond the Seas, ended his life, and was buried at *Roan* in *Normandy*, with this Inscription upon his Tomb, Here lieth the Right Noble Knight *John Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Wexford*, *Waterford*, *Valence*, Lord *Talbot* of *Goodrich*, and *Orchenfield*, Lord *Strange* of *Blackmere*, Lord *Verdon* of *Alton*, Lord *Cromwel* of *Winkfield*, Lord *Lovetoft* of *Warsoppe*, Lord *Furnival* of *Sheffield*, Knight of the Noble Orders of St. *George*, St. *Michael*, and the Golden Fleece, great Marshal to King *Henry* the Sixth, of his Realm of *France*. The Earl of *Kendal*, the Lords *Montferrat*, *Rosaine*, and *Dangledas* entred the Castle of *Chatillon*, and made it good against the *French* the space of ten days; but then having no hope of Succour, they delivered it, upon composition to have liberty to depart to *Burdeaux*: and now the *Gascoignes* were as ready to open their Gates to the *French*, as they were before to the *English*; by means whereof, in short time, the *French* recovered again all *Gascoigne* except *Burdeaux*, and that also at length, upon condition that both Garrisons and Inhabitants with all their substance might safely depart for *England* or *Callice*, and that the Lords *L'Espar* and *Durant*, with Thirty others, upon pain of death should never after be found in the Territories of *France*.

Talbot Earl of *Shrewsbury* after many Victories is at last slain.

The Inscription upon his Tomb.

At this time upon St. *Bartholomew*'s day, an ancient custom being, that the Mayor of *London*, and the Sheriffs should be present in giving prizes to the best Wrestlers, it happened that at the Wrestling-place near *Moor-fields*, the Prior of St. *Johns* was there to see the sports, when a servant of his not brooking the disgrace to be foiled before his Master, against the custom of the place, would have wrestled again, which the Mayor denied; whereupon the Prior fetcht Bow-men from *Clarkenwel*, to resist the Mayor, and some slaughter was committed; the Mayors Cap was shot through with an Arrow, he nevertheless would have had the sport go on, but no Wrestlers came: yet the Mayor Sir *John Norman* told his Brethren, he would stay a while to make trial of the Citizens respect towards him; which he had no sooner said, but the Citizens with Banners displayed came in great numbers to him, and fetcht him home in great triumph. Upon the neck of this began the quarrel in *Holborn*, between the Gentlemen of the Inns of Chancery, and some Citizens; in appeasing whereof, the Queens Attorney and three more were slain.

A difference on *Bartholomew* day, between the Mayor of *London*, and the Prior of St. *Johns*.

And now the Duke of *York* by all means laboureth to stir up the hatred of the Commons against the Duke of *Somerset*, repeating often what dishonour *England* sustained by *Somerset*'s giving up the strong Towns of *Normandy*; and how he abused the Kings and Queens favour to his own gain, and the Commons grievance: then he addresseth himself to those of the Nobility, that could not well brook his too much commanding over the Kings and Queens affection. Amongst others he fastneth upon the two *Nevils*, both *Richards*, the Father and the Son, the one Earl of *Salisbury*, the other of *Warwick*, with whom he deals so effectually, that an indissoluble knot of friendship is knit betwixt them: by whose assistance (the King lying dangerously sick at *Claringdon*) the Duke of *Somerset* is arrested in the Queens great Chamber, and sent to the *Tower*; and in a Parliament now convoked, appeached of Treason, and many hainous crimes objected against him. Whereupon the King, though weak, is brought to *London*, of purpose to dissolve the Parliament; and that dissolved, the Duke of *Somerset* is presently set at liberty again; and not only so, but is made Captain of *Callice* and *Guisnes*, the only remainder the *English* had in *France*. Upon this the Duke of *York* and his party, with a great power, march towards *London*; against whom, the King attended with the Duke of *Somerset*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Son, both named *Humfrey*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *James* Earl of *Wiltshire*, *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, and two thousand men, marched forwards; at St. *Albans* both Armies meet: The Duke in the morning sends a Letter to the King, protesting his fidelity and sincerity, only he desires the Duke of *Somerset* may be delivered, to stand or fall by the Judgment of his Peers; and this he would have, or dye in the pursuit. The King for answer, commands him to disband, and submit to his mercy, and not expect that he will deliver any in his Army, who have shewed their loves in standing to him. Herewith the Duke acquaints his friends, who hereupon fall every one to his quarter: The Earl of *Warwick* fell upon the Lord *Clifford*'s quarter, where the Duke of *Somerset* hasting to the rescue, was slain, and with him the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Humfrey* Earl of *Stafford*, the Lord *Clifford*, and about five thousand others, besides many that were hurt; the King himself shot in the neck with an Arrow; the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Scales*, in the faces; the Earl of *Dorset* so hurt, that he was fain to be carried home

1454.

The Duke of *Somerset* is sent to the *Tower*.

But soon set at liberty, and made Captain of *Callice*.

1455.

The Duke of *York*'s Army and the Kings have a Battel, where the Duke of *Somerset*, and other Lords are slain.

in a Cart: The Kings Army had been increased after his coming forth to eight thousand; but now they are all dispersed or slain; and the King unguarded, is left in a poor thatcht house, whither, to be freed from the danger of Arrows, he had withdrawn himself. The Duke of *York* having notice where the King was, goes with *Warwick* and *Salisbury*; who all three upon their knees, present themselves before him, making humble Petition to him for Pardon of what was past: and now seeing the common enemy was slain, they had what they aimed at. To whom the King throughly affrighted, said, Let there be no more killing then, and I will do what you will have me. This first Battel of St. *Albans* was fought upon the Three and thirtieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign. The Bodies of the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford* were buried in the Chappel there. And now the Duke of *York* in the Kings name, commands a surcease from further hostility: and in all reverent manner conveyeth the King to *London*, where they keep the Feast of Pentecost together. At which time a Parliament is summoned to begin at *Westminster* the ninth day of *July*; and therein it is enacted, That the Duke of *Gloucester* should be declared publickly a Loyal Subject, and that none should misreport or dispute the actions of the Duke of *York*, or of any in his company: and moreover the Duke of *York* is made Protector of the Kings Person, and of the Realm, the Earl of *Salisbury* is made Lord Chancellour, and the Earl of *Warwick* Captain of *Callice*, wherein they all carried themselves with unblameable demeanour.

The King sieth.

The Duke of York made Protector of the Kings Person, and of the Realm.

In this mean time, the Queen not well pleased with these proceedings, seeks all means to incite the Lords of her party, and they as much seek to incite her to make opposition; she puts the Duke of *Buckingham* in mind, that these Traitors had slain his hopeful Son at St. *Albans*; she tells now the Duke of *Somerset*, that by them his dear Father lost his life: And they again put the Queen in mind of the unsufferable indignity done to her, in making her Husband only a King in name, setting a Tutor over him, as though he were a child, whilest the Duke of *York* and his complices manage all. Upon which incitation, all the Enemies of the *York*-shire Faction are assembled by the Queen at *Greenwich*; where it is debated of some course to be taken for restoring the King to his former liberty and Government. At length it is concluded, That the Duke of *York* should be commanded to give over his place of Protectorship, for that the King was of years and discretion sufficient to rule of himself without a Guardian; and the Earl of *Salisbury* to surrender his place of being Lord Chancellour, for that the Great Seal was never delivered him, seeing that which was now used, was made since the Kings restraint, and therefore not sufficient: to which conclusion of theirs, the King, easie to be wrought upon, yields his consent, and thereupon they are both discharged from their Offices, and summoned to appear at the Council-Table at *Greenwich*. But the Lords were wiser than to put themselves into their hands, and therefore make answer, That none had power to displace them, nor to command their appearance in any place, but in Parliament; and so they continued about *London*, placing and displacing whom they pleased, and by their triumvirate authority, took *John* Earl of *Holland* Earl of *Exeter* out of Sanctuary, and sent him Prisoner to *Pomfret* Castle. These proceedings gave occasion to the licentious multitude to raise commotions, and the Prentices of *London* upon a very slight occasion, fall upon outlandish Merchants, rifle and Rob their houses; and the Mayor assembling a company of substantial Citizens to suppress them, the Ring-leader of the disorders flies to Sanctuary, Commissioners are sent to enquire and punish the offence; but when the Mayor and Commissioners were set, tidings came that the Commons were up in Arms; whereupon the Commissioners left the business to be proceeded in by the Mayor, who so discreetly ordered the matter, that many of the offenders were punished, some by death, others by fine, and all things were quieted and appeased.

The Queen oppeseth it.

1456.

The Prentices of London make a commotion.

At this time the *French* having little to do against the *English* in *France*, would needs be doing something against them in *England*. They set out two Fleets, one under the conduct of *William* Lord *Pomyers*, the other of Sir *Peter Bressy*; the Lord fell upon *Fulney* in the West-Countrey, the Knight upon *Sandwich* in *Kent*, where some hurt they did, but not of importance to countervail their Voyage.

1457.

And now the Queen finding the little respect the *Londoners* bore to her party or the Kings, perswades the King, as for his health and recreation, to make a Progress into *Warwickshire*, which he did, by the way, hunting and hawking; and the Queen making shew of minding nothing but pastimes: and this she did, with a purpose the easilier to entrap the three Lords of *York*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*. To whom she writ most loving Letters, earnestly inviting them to be at *Coventry* by an hour appointed; which they not doubting any fraud, intended to have done: but hearing by the way of the mischief plotted against them, they caused their Retinue to go on-ward the way to the Court, as though themselves were coming after; but they provided otherwise for their safety, the Duke of *York* with a Groom and a Page getting him to *Wigmore* Castle, the Earl of *Salisbury* to his Castle of *Middleham* in the North, and the Earl of *Warwick* to the Sea-side, and so to *Callice*. But before they parted, they agreed upon an Alphabet, by which they might have intercourse of Letters, yet their intentions kept undiscovered.

The Queen in loving manner invites the three Lords of *York*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*, to meet her at *Coventry*.

The Lords hearing of a plot laid against them, shift away.

The King unwitting of this mischief intended against the Duke of *York* and his friends, returneth to *London*, where he calleth a Council; and therein of his own accord, desireth that some course might be invented for a perfect reconcilement of all parties: promising upon his Salvation, (an asseveration not usual with him) so to entertain the Duke of *York* and his friends, that all discontents should be removed, and a perfect amity on all parts be established: to which end messengers are dispatched to the Duke of *York*, and all other of his party, commanding them upon urgent affairs of the Realm, and

The King seeks an accommodation betwixt him and the three Lords.

and upon Royal Promise of safe conduct, to repair to his Court at *London*, at a day appointed. 1458. The Duke of *York* accordingly came, and with 400 men well apparelled, lodged at his House called *Baynards-Castle*; the Earl of *Salisbury* with 500 men, lodged likewise at his House called the *Herbour*: The Duke of *Exeter* (lately released) and the Duke of *Somerset* with 800 men, were lodged within *Temple-Bar*: The Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Egremont*, and the Lord *Clifford* with 1500 men were lodged in *Holbourn*; The Earl of *Warwick* with 600 in red Jackets with ragged Staves, embroidered behind and before, were lodged at the *Grey-Fryers* in *London*. Upon the seventeenth of *March* the King and Queen came to *London*, and were Lodged at the Bishops Palace; the Mayor having five hundred well appointed men in readiness, rode with a competent number all day long round the City, for preservation of the Kings Peace. The Lords lodging within the City, held their Council at *Black-Fryers*; the other, at the Chapter-house at *Westminster*: Between both, the Reverend Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Son of *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, with some other of the most able Prelates interceded so, that by their mediation it was at last concluded, That all wrongs and misdemeanours on every side should be forgotten and forgiven, that each side should be friends to the other, and both be obedient to the commands of the King. Besides this in general, there were some particular Articles to be performed by the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, which afterward was ratified under the great Seal of *England*, the 24 day of *March*, in the 36 year of the Reign of King *Henry* the sixth. Upon the publication whereof, a solemn Procession was made in *Pauls* Church, at which the King was present with his Crown on his head; before him hand in hand went the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*; the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Warwick*, and so one of the one, another of the other part, till they were all marshalled: behind the King came the Queen, the Duke of *York* leading her by the hand, who in going made shew of favourable countenance towards him. Divine Service ended, they return to the Court in all outward appearance truly reconciled; but all was dissembled, as will presently appear: for presently upon this, an affray fell out between a servant of the Earl of *Warwick*'s, and a Courtier, who in the encounter is dangerously wounded; the Earl's man flieth; the Kings Servants seeing their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, watch the Earls coming from the Council Table, and assail him; many are hurt, but the Earl getteth a Wherry, and so escapes to *London*; the Queen incontinently commands the Earl to be committed to the *Tower*, but he foreseeing the danger, posts to *Yorkshire*, where he acquaints the Duke of *York*, and his Father the Earl of *Salisbury*, of all the occurrents, with the palpable discovery of the Queens canker'd disposition, advising them to stand upon their Guard, and to provide against the approaching storm. Himself speeds to *Callice*, and being then Lord Admiral, takes with him all the Kings Ships that were in readiness, and scouring the Seas, meets with five great Carricks, three of *Genoa*, and two of *Spain*, and after two dayes fight, takes two of them; with which he returned to *Callice*; where he unloaded their freight, and found it worth ten thousand pounds in Staple Commodities, besides the Ships and Prisoners.

An accommodation is agreed upon.

But all dissembled.

In the mean time the Earl of *Salisbury* with about five thousand men marcheth through *Lancashire*, to pass that way to the King, with a purpose to acquaint him with the affront offered to his Son, and the inveterate malice discovered in the Queen against him. 1459. The Queen with the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Somerset*, hearing of his coming, gave order to the Lord *Audley* to use means to apprehend him; who thereupon levieth Ten thousand men in *Cheshire* and *Shropshire*, and with them about a mile from *Draynton*, in a plain called *Blore-heath*, he attended the Earl, there being but a small brook of no great depth between them. Early in the morning the Earl made a seeming retreat, which the Lord *Audley* observing, presently causeth his Troops to pass the River; but before they could be reduced again into order, the Earl with his whole strength falls upon them, and with the slaughter of the Lord *Audley*, and most of them that had passed the River, he discomfited the rest, and slew about 24 hundred of them. Sir *John* and Sir *Thomas Nevil*, Knights, the Earls Sons, were sorely wounded, who with Sir *Thomas Harrington*, travelling into the North Countrey, were apprehended and sent as Prisoners towards *Chester*, but upon a message from the *March-men* were presently released.

The Earl of Salisbury going to acquaint the King, is set upon by the Lord *Audley*.

Who is slain, and his Army defeated.

And now the Duke of *York* thinking fit no longer to conceal his design, makes preparation to take the field, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* do the like; and amongst others of approved valour, whom the Earl of *Warwick* had brought from *Callice* with him, were two principal noted men, *John Blunt*, and *Andrew Trollop*. Likewise the King, with the Dukes of *Somerset*, and *Exeter*, draws his Forces to *Worcester*, from whence *Richard Beauchamp* Bishop of *Salisbury*, is sent to offer the *Yorkists* a full and general Pardon, if they would lay down Arms, and become Loyal Subjects. Whereunto they answered, That there was no trust to the Kings Pardons, as long as the Queen had a predominant power; but if they might have assurance of safety, they would express their Loyalty, and humbly render themselves at his service. Hereupon the King advanceth nearer, and approaching the Lords Army, caused Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would abandon the Duke of *York*, should be received to mercy, and have Pardon. Upon this, the night following, *Andrew Trollop* with all the *Callicians* submit to the King; and by him are all the Councils of the Duke of *York* discovered: which so much discouraged him, that he with his young Son, the Earl of *Rutland*, fled first into *Wales*, and then into *Ireland*: The Earls of *March*, *Salisbury* and *Warwick* got into *Devonshire*, where by the means of *John Dynham*, Esquire, (the same man that afterward by King *Henry* the seventh was made Lord Treasurer of *England*) they were Shipt from *Exmouth* to *Guernsey*, and so to *Callice*. All the common Souldiers the King pardons, only makes exemplary punishment of

The Duke of York takes the field.

The King doth the like.

Andrew Trollop revolts from the Duke to the King.

Whereupon the Duke of York flies to Ireland.

some few Captains, sends the Dutchess of *York*, and her two younger Children, to the Dutchess of *Buckingham* her Sister to be safely kept; and then having spoiled the Town and Castle of *Ludlow*, he dismist his Army. And now a Parliament is called at *Coventry*, wherein the Duke of *York*, *Edward* Earl of *March* his Son, *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *John* Lord *Clifford*, and many other the Confederates of the Duke of *York*, are convict of Treason, and all their Lands and Goods seized on to the Kings use. *Henry* Duke of *Somerset* by the Queens means is made Captain of *Callice*, whither coming to take possession, he was by reason of Ordnance shot at him from *Rice-bank*, forced to retire; which the Queen hearing, was so incensed, that in great passion she gave order to make ready all the Kings Ships, lying at *Sandwich*, to give assistance to the Duke of *Somerset*: but the fore-mentioned *John Dynham*, out of love to the Earl of *March*, boarded those Ships in the Harbour, and took the Lord *Rivers*, designed Admiral for that Service, and carried both him and the Ships to *Callice*, from whence the Earl sailed to *Ireland*, to the Duke of *York*, who having conferred and concluded what course to take, he returned to *Callice*, the new Admiral the Duke of *Exeter* not daring to stop his course. Sir *Simon Montford* was appointed to guard the Cinque-Ports, having divers Ships under his Command, to barr the Earl of *Warwick*'s entrance: but the Earl by his espyals having perfect intelligence of all passages, fell suddenly upon Sir *Simon*, before his Ships were ready, took him Prisoner, ransackt the Town of *Sandwich*, and carried him Prisoner, and the Ships to *Callice*. By the way he understood how much the *Kentish* men desired his return, and longed for his coming; whereupon he came the second time to *Sandwich*, to whom presently resorted the Lord *Cobham*, and very many Gentlemen of the Countrey: so as now his Army was Five and twenty thousand strong, with which he marched towards *London*. Against whom the Lord *Scales* was appointed to go, and with some convenient Troops to assure *London*: but the Mayor directly refused to admit him; whereupon he resorted to the *Tower*, from whence afterward he did the *Londoners* no small displeasure. The Earl of *Warwick* having notice, that his Father the Earl of *Salisbury* was upon march to meet him, passeth over his men; and without impeachment, joyned with him and his friends near *Exeter*.

The Duke of *York* in a Parliament is convict of Treason: as likewise the other Lords.

John Dynham doth the Earl of *March* good service.

The Earl of *Warwick* is received of the *Londoners*.

1460.

The Armies of the Earl of *March*, and of the King meet at *Northampton*.

The King with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham*, with a great Army marcheth towards them, and near to the Town of *Northampton* both Armies meet. The Earl of *March* with the advice of the Earl of *Warwick* prepares for the fight: The Queen (the King more intentive to devotion than fighting) did the like. the fight continued about two hours, wherein were slain on both sides above Ten thousand men; but upon the fall of *Humfery* Duke of *Buckingham*, the Kings side was discomfited, and *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Egremont*, *John* Lord *Beaumont*, and some other of account were slain. The Queen with the Duke of *Somerset*, taking with them the young Prince, fled to the Bishoprick of *Durham*. The King himself was taken, and as a Prisoner conveyed to *London*: where the *Tower* is yielded to the Earl of *Warwick*; the Lord *Scales* in disguised apparel endeavouring to escape, is taken by the Water-men, and by them beheaded, and his Corps carelesly left upon the Sands. *Thomas Thorpe* one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in the Habit of a Monk, his Crown shorn, purposing to flie to the Queen, is taken and committed Prisoner to the *Tower*; and after by the Commons Beheaded at *High-Gate*. The Duke of *York* being advertised of this good success, leaveth *Ireland* and posts to *London*, where in the Kings name, he summoneth a Parliament; which being assembled, he in the presence of the Lords in the Upper House, placeth himself in the imperial Seat, and with great boldness lays open his rightful claim to the Crown of *England*, as being the Son and Heir of *Anne*, Daughter and Heir of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Philippa* the sole Daughter and Heir of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the third Son of *Edward* the Third, and elder Brother of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Father of the Usurper *Henry* the Fourth, Grandfather to King *Henry* the Fifth, who was Father to him that at this time untruly styleth himself King *Henry* the Sixth. And after relating the many miseries that had befallen the Realm since the time of this Usurpation, he concluded, That he would not expect nor desire possession of the Crown, except his descent were indisputeable, and his Title without exception. This being a business of importance, required deliberation; but in conclusion, the Duke having before-hand prepared the Lords Spiritual, and few of the Nobility being present, that were not of his part, the Burgesses were easily perswaded: And it was generally resolved, and enacted accordingly, That King *Henry* during his life, should retain the name and Honour of a King; That the Duke of *York* should be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown, and Protector of the Kings Person, his Lands and Dominions; and that if at any time, any of King *Henry*'s Friends, Allies, or Favourites, in his behalf should attempt the disannulling this Act, that then the Duke should have present possession of the Crown. It is not unworthy the noting, That while the Earl of *March* was declaring his Title in the Upper House, it happened in the nether House, that a Crown which hung in the middle of the House, to garnish a Branch to set lights upon, without touch or wind, fell down: As likewise at the same time fell down the Crown which stood on the top of *Dover*-Castle. A sign as some thought, that the Crown of the Realm should be changed. As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, the Duke dispatcheth Letters into *Scotland*, requiring in the Kings name, the Queen, the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, and all other of the Nobility, that remained in the Kingdom, with all speed to repair to his presence in *London*: but they had other work in hand, for having gotten together of *English* and *Scots*, to the number of Eighteen thousand, they came marching into *England*. Against whom went the

The Queen sleeth, the King taken prisoner, & conveyed to *London*.

The Lord *Scales* flying away in disguise, is taken by Watermen, and beheaded.

The Duke of *York* comes out of *Ireland*: summons a Parliament, wherein he layes open his Title to the Crown.

It is concluded in Parliament that King *Henry* should remain King during his life; and the Duke of *York* proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown.

Good Omens for the Earl of *March*.

The Kings Army is defeated; divers Lords slain.

The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter* with an Army out of *Scotland* come marching into *England*.

the Duke of *York* with his younger Son the Earl of *Rutland*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, (leaving the King in the custody of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Warwick*;) and approaching near the Queens Army, he was certified by the Scouts, that the enemy far exceeded his power, both in number, and in all warlike preparation (he not having in his Army above five thousand men) and thereupon the Earl of *Salisbury* advised him to retire, and to attend the coming of the Earl of *March*, who was gone into *Wales* to raise the *March*-men. But the pride of his former Victory made him deaf to all counsel of declining the Battel, and so, hastned on by his destiny, from *Sandal* Castle he marcheth on to *Wakefield* Green; where the Lord *Clifford* on the one side, and the Earl of *Wiltshire* on the other, were placed in Ambuscado. The Duke of *York* supposing that the Duke of *Somerset*, who led the Battel, had no more Forces than what were with him, undauntedly marcheth towards him; but being entred within their danger, Ambushes on both sides brake out upon him, and slew him with Three thousand of his men, the rest fled. The Earl of *Salisbury* is taken Prisoner, and harmless *Rutland* not above Twelve years old, who came thither but to see fashions, is made a Sacrifice for his Fathers transgressions, who kneeling upon his knees, with tears begging life, is unmercifully stabbed to the heart by the Lord *Clifford*, in part of revenge (as he swore) of his Fathers death: And the Queen most unwomanly in cold blood caused the Earl of *Salisbury*, and as many as were taken Prisoners, to be beheaded at *Pomfret* Castle, and to have their heads placed on poles, about the Walls of *York*. Thus died *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, who had taken to Wife *Cicely* Daughter to *Ralph Nevil*, the first Earl of *Westmerland*, by whom he had Issue eight Sons and four Daughters; his eldest Son *Henry* died young, his second Son *Edward* was afterward King of *England*; his third Son *Edmund* Earl of *Rutland*, was slain with his Father; *John*, *Thomas*, and *William*, died young; his seventh Son *George* was after Duke of *Clarence*; his youngest Son *Richard* surnamed *Crouchback*, was after King of *England*. *Anne* his eldest Daughter was married to *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, his second Daughter *Elizabeth*, which married to *John de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, his third *Margaret*, to *Charles* Duke of *Burgoigne*; his fourth *Ursula* died young. This Duke being dead, had his head crowned with a paper Crown, together with many circumstances of disgracing him; but this act of spight was fully afterwards recompensed upon their heads that did it.

The Duke of *York* meets them, and in a Battel on *Wakefield* Green is slain.

The Earl of *Salisbury* beheaded.

The Duke of *York*'s Issue.

The Earl of *March* hearing of his Father's death, laboured now so much the more earnestly, in that he laboured for himself; and parting from *Shrewsbury*, whose Inhabitants were most firm unto him, he increased his Army to the number of Three and twenty Thousand, and presently took the field: and having advertisement that *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Earl of *Ormond* and *Wiltshire* followed after him with a great power of *Welsh* and *Irish*, he suddenly marched back again, and in a Plain near *Mortimer*'s Cross, on *Candlemas* day in the morning gave them Battel, where with the slaughter of Three thousand and eight hundred, he puts the Earls to flight. *Owen Tewdor* who had married Queen *Katharine*, Mother to King *Henry* the sixth, and divers *Welsh* Gentlemen were taken, and at *Hereford* beheaded. Before the Battel, it is said, the Sun appeared to the Earl of *March* like three Suns, and suddenly it joyned altogether in one; for which cause some imagine, that he gave the Sun in its full brightness, for his Badge or Cognizance.

The Earl of *March* puts the Queens Forces to flight.

Owen Tewdor beheaded.

The Queen in the mean time encouraged by the death of the Duke of *York*, with a power of Northern men marched towards *London*: but when her Souldiers were once South of *Trent*, as if the River were the utmost limit of their good behaviour, they fell to forrage the Countrey in most barbarous manner. Approaching St. *Albans*, they were advertised, that the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick* were ready to give them Battel, whereupon the Queens Vaward hasteth to pass through Saint *Albans*: but being not suffered to pass, they encountred with their Enemies in the Field called *Bernard-heath*, Who perceiving the main Battel to stand still, and not to move; which was done by the treachery of *Lovelace*, who with the *Kentish* men had the leading of it, they soon made the Southern men to turn their backs and flye: upon whose flight the rest in doubt of each others well-meaning shifted away, the Lords about the King perceiving the danger withdrew themselves. Only the Lord *Bonvile* coming in a complemental manner to the King, and saying it grieved him to leave his Majesty, but that necessity for the safeguard of his life enforced it, was importuned, and Sir *Thomas Kyriel* a Knight of *Kent* likewise, by the King to stay; he passing his Royal Word that their stay should be no danger to them: upon which promise they stayed, but to their cost. For the Queen hearing that the Commons had beheaded Baron *Thorp* at *High-gate*, she in revenge thereof, caused both their heads to be striken off at St. *Albans*: so as there were slaughtered at this Battel the full number of Three and twenty hundred, but no man of name but Sir *John Gray*, who the same day was made Knight, with twelve other at the Village of *Colney*.

And now the King was advised to send one *Thomas Hoe*, (that had been a Barrister) to the Victors, to tell them, That he would gladly come to them, if with convenience it might be done; whereupon the Earl of *Northumberland*, appointed divers Lords to attend him to the Lord *Cliffords* Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met to their great joy: but it was now observed, as it were in the Destiny of King *Henry*; that although he were a most pious man, yet no enterprise of War did ever prosper where he was: that we may know the prosperity of the World to be no inseparable companion to men of Piety. At the Queens request, the King honoured with Knighthood Thirty Gentlemen, who the day before had fought against the part where he was: the Prince likewise was by him dubbed Knight, and then they went to the Abbey, where they were received with Anthems, and withal an humble Petition to be protected from the outrage of the loose Souldiers;

No enterprise of War ever prospered where King *Henry* was present.

Souldiers; which was promiſed, and Proclamation made to that purpoſe, but to ſmall purpoſe, for the Northern men ſaid, It was their bargain to have all the ſpoil in every place, after they had paſſed *Trent*: and ſo they Robbed and ſpoiled whatſoever they could come at. The *Londoners* hearing of this diſorder, ſeeing there was no more aſſurance in the Kings promiſe, to keep the Northern men out of their Gates; inſomuch that when they were ſent to, to ſend over to the Camp certain Cart-loads of Lenten Proviſion, which the Mayor accordingly provided, the Commons roſe about *Cripple-gate*, and by ſtrong hand kept the Carts from going out of the City. Hereupon the Mayor ſends the Recorder to the King's Council, and withal intreats the Dutcheſs of *Bedford*, and the Lady *Scales*, to intercede for him to the Queen; and to excuſe his not uſing force, conſidering how dangerous it might be in theſe doubtful times, to ſtir their fury that would not eaſily be allayed. It was well adviſed to ſend women to intreat a woman, for by this means they prevailed, that ſome of the Lords of the Council, with a guard of four hundred good Souldiers were appointed to go for *London* to enquire and certifie of theſe things: when ſuddenly news was brought, that the Earl of *March* with a great Army was marching towards them. For the Earl of *Warwick* having gathered together his ſcattered Troops, and joyned with the Earl of *March*, they haſted towards *London*, and were joyfully received upon the eight and twentieth day of *February*; and upon Sunday the ſecond of *March*, the Earl of *Warwick* muſtred all his Army in *St. Johns* field: and having caſt them into a ring, read unto them the agreement of the laſt Parliament, and then demanded, Whether they would have King *Henry* to reign ſtill? Who all cried, No, no: Then he aſked them whether they would have the Earl of *March* eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York* (by that Parliament proclaimed King) to reign over them? who with a great clamour cried, Yea, yea: Then went there certain Captains and others of the City, to the Earl of *March* at *Baynards* Caſtle, to acquaint him with what was paſſed; who at firſt ſeemed to excuſe himſelf, as unable to execute ſo great a charge: but animated by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, he at laſt conſented to take it upon him, And thereupon the next morning he went in Proceſſion to *Pauls*, and offered there, and after *Te Deum* ſung, he was in great State conveyed to *Weſtminſter*: and there in the great Hall ſeated in the Kings Seat, with the Scepter of St. *Edward* in his hand. And then again the people, of whom there was a great concourſe, were aloud demanded, If they would acknowledge him to be their King? To which with great willingneſs they all cried, Yea, yea. Then taking homage of divers Noblemen there preſent, he was with Proceſſion and great ſolemnity conveyed to the Abbey, and placed in the Quire as King, whileſt *Te Deum* was ſinging. That done, he offered at Saint *Edwards* Shrine, and then returned by Water to *Pauls*, and was lodged in the Biſhops Palace; and upon the fourth of *March* he was generally Proclaimed King, by the name of *Edward* the Fourth. And here in the courſe of all Writers, ends the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, that it may be truly ſaid, Never came any to be King ſo ſoon after his Birth, nor left to be King ſo long before his Death; for he came to be King at eight months old, and he left to be King, living twelve years after. There was indeed in that ſpace of time, a certain viciſſitude, ſometimes a King, and ſometimes no King; the paſſages whereof muſt be related in the following King's Reign.

The *London*ers keep proviſion from going to the King.

The Earl of *March* is elected King.

Is proclaimed King.

Of his Taxations.

IN the firſt year of his Reign, a Parliament was holden at *London*, where the Queen Mother with the young King in her lap came and ſate amongſt the Lords; and there was then granted a Subſidy of five Nobles upon every ſack of Wool that ſhould paſs out of the Land, for three years: but if carried out by Merchant ſtrangers, then to pay three and forty ſhillings for every Sack. In the third year of his Reign a Parliament was holden at *Weſtminſter*, wherein was granted a Subſidy of twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandize coming in, or paſſing out of the Realm, and three ſhillings of a Ton of Wine, for the term of three years. In his ſixth year, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter* was granted a Subſidy, of every Ton of Wine three ſhillings, and other Merchandize, except Wool, Fell, and Cloth, twelve pence in the pound: Alſo of every Pariſh through the Realm (except Cities and Boroughs) the Benefice being in value ten Marks, Ten of that Pariſh ſhould pay ſix ſhillings eight pence; and of every Benefice of the value of Ten pounds, ten Pariſhioners ſhould pay Thirteen ſhillings four pence; and ſo ratably of every Benefice, from the loweſt to the higheſt. And for the Inhabitant of Cities and Boroughs, every man being worth twenty ſhillings above his houſe-hold-ſtuff, and the apparel of him and his Wife, ſhould pay four pence, and ſo after that rate to the richeſt.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN the 32 year of this King, the Lord Mayor of *London* firſt began to go by water to *Weſtminſter* to take his Oath, where before they uſed to go by Land. Alſo in this Kings Reign the Art of Printing was found out at *Mogunce* in *Germany*, by a Knight called *John Cuttenbergben*, and brought into *England* by *William Caxton* of *London* Mercer, who firſt practiſed the ſame in the Abbey at *Weſtminſter* in the year 1471. In the 23 year of his Reign, in the Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, That when Wheat was ſold for ſix ſhillings eight pence the quarter, Rye for four ſhillings, and Barley for three ſhillings, it ſhould be lawful for any man to carry the ſaid kinds of Corn into the parts beyond the Sea without licence, ſo it were not to the Kings Enemies or Rebels; which Act was afterward confirmed by King *Edward* the Fourth.

The Art of Printing firſt found.

When Corn might be carried beyond Sea.

Affairs

Affairs of the Church in his time.

A Great Schism was in the Church in this Kings time by reason of Anti-Popes; for remedy whereof, a Council is called at *Constance*, to which the Emperours of *Constantinople* and *Trapezond* send their Ambassadours. In this Council *John* the three and twentieth is convented, condemned, deposed, and imprisoned. *Gregory* the twelfth, and *Benedict* the thirteenth, are deprived, and *Otho Colonna*, by the name of *Martin* the fifth, is chosen Pope. During these confusions in the Western Church, the Christians in the Eastern Church are utterly ruinated. The Emperour smothered to death in a press of people, and the great City of *Constantinople* won by the *Turk*, made ever since the seat of his Empire. In the six and thirtieth year of this King, *Reynold Peacock* Bishop of *Chichester*, who had laboured many years in translating the Holy Scripture into *English*, was accused and convicted, for holding and publishing certain opinions at that time held Heretical, which at last openly at *Pauls* Cross he revoked; that he had held, there was no necessity to believe that Christ descended into Hell: also no necessity to believe in the Communion of Saints, or that the Universal Church cannot erre in matters of Faith; or that it is necessary to believe and hold whatsoever a General Council shall determine: Also that he had held, that Spiritual persons ought to have no Temporal Possessions; and that Personal Tythes were not due by Gods Law. These points he openly renounced, but was notwithstanding deprived of his Bishoprick; only a certain Pension was assigned him to live on in an Abbey, where soon after he died.

The Emperour smothered to death in a press of people.
Constantinople won by the *Turk*.
The Bishop of *Chichester* Heresies, for which deprived.

Works of Piety by him, or others in his time.

THe King himself founded two famous Colledges, the one in *Cambridge*, to our Lady and St. *Nicholas*, called the *Colledge-Royal*, or the *Kings-Colledge*; the other of *Eaton*, betides *Windsor*, called of our Blessed Lady; to the maintenance whereof he gave 3400 pounds by year. In the 28 year of his Reign, his Queen *Margaret* began the Foundation of *Queens-Colledge* in *Cambridge*. In the time of his Reign also, *Henry Chichley* Archbishop of *Canterbury* founded two Colledges in *Oxford*, one called *All-Souls-Colledge*, the other *Bernard-Colledge*. In his time also, *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester* (but others say, *Thomas Kemp*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*) built the Divinity School in *Oxford*; also the said Archbishop built *Pauls* Cross in form as now it standeth; and *William Wanefleet* Bishop of *Winchester* and Lord Chancellour of *England*, founded *Mary Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*. In his seventeenth year, *Ralph* Lord *Cromwel*, builded the Colledge of *Tatshal* in *Lincolnshire*. Also this year *William Eastfield* Mayor of *London*, caused to be builded at his own charge the Water-Conduit in *Fleetstreet*. In his ninth year, *John Wells* Mayor of *London*, caused the Conduit commonly called the *Standard* in *Cheap* to be builded. In his first year the West-Gate of *London*, sometime called *Chamberlain-gate*, and now *Newgate*, was begun to be new builded by the Executors of Sir *Richard Whittington*, Lord Mayor of *London*. In his fifth year, *John Reynwel* Mayor of *London*, gave certain Lands to the City of *London*, for which the City is bound to pay for ever, all Fifteens that shall be granted to the King, (so as it pass not three Fifteens in one year) for three Wards in *London*; namely, *Dowgate-Ward*, *Billingsgate-Ward*, and *Algate*. Also this year the *Tower* at the Draw-Bridge of *London* was begun by the same Mayor. In his four and twentieth year, *Simon Eyre* Lord Mayor of *London* builded the *Leaden-Hall*, in *London*, to be a Store-House for Grain and Fuel for the poor of the City, and a fair Chappel at the East end of the same, leaving in stock a Thousand pounds, which afterward King *Edward* the Fourth borrowed and never paid it again. Also in this Kings time, *William de la Pool* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Alice* his Wife, Daughter to *Thomas Chaucer*, Son to *Geoffry Chaucer* the famous Poet, translated and encreased the Mannor place of *Ewelme* in *Oxfordshire*, and builded new the Parish-Church of *Ewelme*, and an Hospital or Alms-House for two Priests, and thirteen poor men, to which he gave three Mannors, *Ramruge* in *Hampshire*, *Conock* in *Wiltshire*, and *Mersh* in *Buckinghamshire*: They also founded the Hospital of *Donington* Castle.

Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, and *Eaton* Colledge founded.
Queens Colledge in *Cambridge* founded.
All-Souls and *Bernard Colledge* in *Oxford* founded.
The Divinity School in *Oxford* built.
Pauls Cross built.
Magdalen Colledge in *Oxford* founded.
The *Standard* in *Cheapside* builded.
Newgate new builded.
Leaden-Hall at London builded, and to what use.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN his fifth year was so unseasonable weather, that it rained almost continually from *Easter* to *Michaelmas*. In his seventh year, the eighth of *November*, the Duke of *Norfolk* was like to have been drowned passing through *London*-Bridge, his Barge being set upon the Piles, overwhelmed so, that thirty persons were drowned, and the Duke with others that escaped, were fain to be drawn up with Ropes. In his seventeenth year was so great a dearth of Corn, that people were glad to make them bread of Fern-Roots. In his eighteenth year all the Lions of the *Tower* died. Also in this year, the 18 day of *July*, the *Postern*-Gates of *London* by *East-Smithfield* against the *Tower* of *London*, sank by night more than seven foot in the Earth. In his two and twentieth year, on *New-Years* day, near unto *Bedford*, a very deep water, which ran betwixt the Towns of *Swelstone* and *Harlsewood*, stood suddenly still, and divided it self, so that by the space of three miles, the bottom remained dry: which wonder, many thought to signifie the division of the people, and falling away from the King, which happened shortly after. In the Three and thirtieth year of his Reign, besides a great Blazing-Star, there happened a strange sight, a Monstrous Cock came out of the Sea, and in the presence of a multitude of people at *Portland*, made a hideous crowing three times, each time turning about clapping his Wings, and beckning towards the North, the South, and the West; as also many prodigious Births. In his six and thirtieth year, in a little Town in *Bedfordshire*, it rained blood, whereof the red drops appeared in sheets hung out to dry.

All the Lions in the Tower dye.
A deep River suddenly grows dry.
A Prodigious Cock.
Rain of Blood.

Of

Of his Wife and Iſſue.

HE married *Margaret* Daughter of *Rayner* Duke of *Anjou*, and Titular King of *Jeruſalem*, *Sicily*, and *Arragon*, by whom he had a ſmall Portion, and little ſtrength of Alliance; yet might it have been a good match, if they could have changed conditions with one another, that he might have had her active and ſtirring ſpirit, and ſhe his ſoft and mild diſpoſition. She was his Wife ſix and twenty years, and after her Husband's depulſion from the Regal Throne, his Forces being vanquiſhed at the Battel of *Tewkſbury*, in a poor Religious Houſe whither ſhe had fled for ſafety of her life, was taken Priſoner, and carried Captive to *London*, where ſhe remained in durance, till Duke *Rayner* her Father purchaſed her liberty, unto whom ſhe returned, and laſtly died in her Native Countrey. By her King *Henry* had Iſſue only one Son named *Edward*, who when the day was loſt at *Tewkſbury*, ſought to eſcape by flight; but being taken, was brought into the preſence of King *Edward*, whoſe reſolute anſwers provoked King *Edward* ſo much, that he daſhed him on the mouth with his Gauntlet, and then *Richard* the *Crouchback* ran him into the heart with his Dagger. His Body was buried amongſt the poor perſons there ſlain, in the Monaſtical Church of the *Black-Friers* in *Tewkſbury*.

Of his Death and Burial.

UPon King *Edward*'s recovering the Crown, he was committed to the *Tower*, where the 21 of *May*, in the year 1472. he was murthered by the bloody hand of *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*; the day after he was brought to *Pauls* Church in an open Coffin, bare-fac'd, where he bled; thence carried to the *Black-Friers*, where he alſo bled; from thence in a Boat to *Cherſey* Abbey, without Prieſt or Clerk, Torch or Taper, ſaying or ſinging, and there buried: but afterward at the appointment of King *Edward* was removed to *Windſor*, and there interred, and a fair Monument made over him.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was tall of ſtature, ſpare and ſlender of body, of a comely countenance, and all parts well proportioned. For endowments of his mind, he had Vertues enough to make him a Saint, but not to make him a God, as Kings are ſaid to be Gods; for of that commanding power there being two parts, *Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos*, he wanted the latter. He was not ſenſible of that which the world calls Honour, accounting the greateſt Honour to conſiſt in Humility. His greateſt imperfection was, that he had in him too much of the Log, and too little of the Stork; for he would not move, but as he was moved, and had rather be devoured, than he would devour. He was not ſo ſtupid, not to know proſperity from adverſity; but he was ſo devout, to think nothing adverſity which was not a hinderance to Devotion. He was fitter for a Prieſt than a King, and for a Sacrifice than a Prieſt; and he could not chuſe but dye a Martyr, who all his life had been a Confeſſor. He had one immunity peculiar to himſelf, that no man could ever be revenged on him, ſeeing he never offered any man injury. By being innocent as a Dove, he kept his Crown upon his head ſo long; but if he had been wiſe as a Serpent, he might have kept it on longer. But all this is not ſufficient, if we expreſs not in particular his ſeveral Vertues. So modeſt, that when at *Chriſtmas* a ſhow of women was preſented before him with their breaſts laid out, he preſently departed, ſaying; Fie, fie for ſhame, forſooth you be to blame. So pitiful, that when he ſaw the quarters of a Traytor over *Cripplegate*, he cauſed it to be taken down; ſaying, I will not have any Chriſtian ſo cruelly handled for my ſake. So free from ſwearing, that he never uſed other oath but *Forſooth*, and *Verily*. So patient, that to one who ſtruck him when he was taken priſoner, he only ſaid, Forſooth you wrong your ſelf more than me, to ſtrike the Lords Anointed. So devout, that on principal Holy-days he uſed to wear Sack-cloth next his skin. Once for all, let his Confeſſor be heard ſpeak, who in ten years Confeſſion never found that he had done or ſaid any thing, for which he might juſtly be injoyned Penance. For which cauſes King *Henry* the Seventh, would have procured him to be Cannonized for a Saint, but that he was prevented by death; or perhaps becauſe the charge would have been too great, the Cannonization of a King being much more coſtly than of a private perſon.

The Vertues of King *Henry*.

The Cannonization of a King more coſtly than of a private perſon.

Of Men of Note in his time.

THere were Men of Valour in this Kings Reign, of extraordinary eminency; as firſt, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, who when a *French* Lord upbraided him, That his Sword was of Lead, he made his anſwer, and made him feel that it was of Steel. Next him was *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, whoſe very name was a ſufficient charm to daunt a whole *French* Army. Then the next was *John* Lord *Talbot*, ſo great a Terrour to the *French*, that when the Women would ſtill their Children from crying, they would uſe to ſay, *Talbot* comes. Then was *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*, ſo much greater than a King, as that which makes, is greater than that it makes: and ſuch a one was he. Many other beſides theſe, not much inferiour to theſe; that we may truly ſay, There was never a more Heroical King of *England* than *Henry* the Fifth: nor ever a King of *England* that had more Heroical Subjects than *Henry* the ſixth. And though Arms and Letters ſeem to be of different conditions, yet they commonly grow up and flouriſh together: as in this Kings Reign, where *John Leland* ſurnamed the Elder, who wrote divers Treatiſes for inſtruction of Grammarians; *William White* a Prieſt of *Kent*, profeſſing the Doctrine of *Wickliffe*, for which he ſuffered Martyrdom by fire; *Alexander Carpenter*, who wrote a Book called *Deſtructorium vitiorum*, againſt the Prelates of that time; *Peter* Baſſet Eſquire

The Valour of the Duke of *Bedford*.

The Valour of *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*.

The Valour of *John* Lord *Talbot*.

The Valour of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*.

Esquire of the Privy Chamber to King *Henry* the Fifth, whose life he wrote: *John Pole* a Priest, who wrote the life of St. *Walburale* an *English* Woman: Also *Thomas Walden, alias Netter*, who wrote divers Treatises against the *Wickletists*: *Peter Clark, alias Pain* a Student in *Oxford* and defender of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine: For which he fled, and was put to death beyond Sea: *Thomas Walsingham* born in *Norfolk*, a diligent Historiographer: *Thomas Ringstead* the younger an excellent Preacher, who wrote divers Treatises: *Thomas Rudburn* a Monk of *Winchester*, and an Historiographer: *Nicholas Upton* a Civilian, who wrote of Heraldry, of Colours in Armory, and of the duty of Chivalry: *John Capgrave* born in *Kent*, an *Augustine* Fryer, who wrote many excellent Treatises, particularly the *Legend of English Saints*: *Humphrey* Duke of *Glocester*, Protector of the Realm, well learned in Astrology, whereof he wrote a special Treatise intituled *Tabula Directionum*: *John Wethamstead*, otherwise called *Frumentarius*, Abbot of St. *Albans*, who wrote divers Treatises: and amongst others, a Book of the Record of things happening while he was Abbot, which Book *Holingshead* had seen, and in some passages of his time followed: *Roger Onley* accused of Treason, for practising with the Lady *Eleanor Cobham* by Sorcery to make the King away; and thereof condemned, and died for it: he wrote one Treatise entituled, *De sua Innocentia*: *Henry Walsingham* a *Carmelite* Frier of *Norwich*, who wrote sundry Treatises in Divinity: *John Lydgate* a Monk of *Bury*, who had travelled *France* and *Italy* to learn Languages, and wrote many works of Poetry: *Thomas Beckington* Bishop of *Bath*, who wrote against the Law Salique of *France*: *Michael Tregury* born in *Cornwal*, whom for his excellent Learning, King *Henry* the Fifth made Governour of the University of *Caen* in *Normandy*, after he had conquered it. *Reynold Peacock* Bishop of *Chichester*, who wrote many Treatises touching Christian Religion: *Robert Flemming*, who wrote a Dictionary in Greek and Latin, and a work in Verse of sundry kindes. *Richard Flemming* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who wrote divers Books, one of the Etymology of *England*. *Nicholas Montacute* an Historiographer: *John Stow* a Monk of *Norwich*, and Doctor of Divinity in *Oxford*. *Nicholas Bungy*, born in a Town in *Norfolk* of that name, who wrote an History called *Adunationes Chronicorum*: *Robert Balsack*, who wrote a Book *De Re militari*: *Thomas Dando* a *Carmelite* Frier of *Marlborough*, who wrote the life of *Alfred* King of the *West Saxons*: *Robert Bale* firnamed the Elder, Recorder of *London*, who gathered a Chronicle of the Customs, Laws, Foundations, Changes, Offices, Orders, and publick Assemblies of the City of *London*, with other matters touching the perfect description of the same City; he wrote other works also touching the state of the same City, and the Acts of King *Edward* the Third.

Humfrey D. of Glocester a wise Astrologer.

The Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings Reign.*

In his first year,
Sir *William Walden* was Mayor.
William Eastfield, Robert Tatersal, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
William Cromar was Mayor.
Nicholas James, Thomas Watford, Sheriffs.

In his third year.
John Michael was Mayor.
Simon Seamen, John Eyrwater, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
John Coventry was Mayor.
William Milred, John Brokle, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *John Rainwel* was Mayor.
John Arnal, John Hugham, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *John Godsey* was Mayor.
Henry Frowick, Robert Otely, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *Henry Barton* was Mayor.
Thomas Duffhouse, John Abbot, Sheriffs.

In his eight year,
Sir *William Eastfield* was Mayor.
William Russe, Ralph Holland, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Nicholas Wotton was Mayor.
Walter Chertsey, Robert Large, Sheriffs.

In his Tenth year,
Sir *John de Welles* was Mayor.
John Aderley, Stephen Brown, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year,
Sir *John Parvis* was Mayor.
John Olney, John Paddesly, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year,
Sir *John Brokle* was Mayor.
Thomas Chalton, John King, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year,
Sir *Roger Oteley* was Mayor.
Thomas Barnewel, Simon Eyre, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year,
Sir *Henry Frowick* was Mayor.
Thomas Catworth, Robert Clopton, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year,
Sir *John Michael* was Mayor.
Thomas Morsted, William Gregory, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year,
Sir *William Eastfield* was Mayor.
William Hales, William Chapman, Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth year,
Sir *Stephen Brown* was Mayor.
Hugh Dyker, Nicholas Towe, Sheriffs.

In his Eighteenth year,
Robert Large was Mayor.
Philip Malpas, *Robert Marshal*, Sheriffs.

In his Nineteenth year,
Sir *John Paddesley* was Mayor.
John Sutton, *William Welinhale*, Sheriffs.

In his Twentieth year,
Robert Clopton was Mayor.
William Combis, *Richard Rich*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty first year,
John Adersly was Mayor.
Thomas Beaumont, *Richard Nordon*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty second year,
Thomas Catworth was Mayor.
Nicholas Wyford, *John Norman*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty third year,
Sir *Henry Frowick* was Mayor.
Stephen Foster, *Hugh Witch*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty fourth year,
Sir *Simon Eyre* was Mayor.
John Darby, *Godfrey Fielding*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty fifth year,
John Olney was Mayor.
Robert Horne, *Godfrey Bullen*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty sixth year,
Sir *John Gedney* was Mayor.
William Abraham, *Thomas Scot*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty seventh year,
Sir *Stephen Brown* was Mayor.
William Cotlow, *William Marrow*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty eighth year,
Sir *Thomas Chalton* was Mayor.
William Hulin, *Thomas Canning*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty ninth year,
Nicholas Wilford was Mayor.
John Middleton, *William Deare*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirtieth year,
Sir *William Gregory* was Mayor.
Matthew Philip, *Christopher Wharton*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty first year,
Sir *Geoffry Fielding* was Mayor.
Richard Lee, *Richard Alley*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty second year,
Sir *John Norman* was Mayor.
John Walden, *Thomas Cook*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Sir *Stephen Foster* was Mayor.
John Field, *William Taylor*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty fourth year,
Sir *William Marrow* was Mayor.
John Young, *Thomas Oldgrave*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty fifth year,
Sir *Thomas Canning* was Mayor.
John Steward, *Ralph Verney*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty sixth year,
Sir *Godfrey Bullen* was Mayor.
William Edward, *Thomas Reynor*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty seventh year,
Sir *Thomas Scot* was Mayor.
Ralph Joceline, *Richard Medham*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty eighth year,
Sir *William Hulin* was Mayor.
John Plummer, *John Stocker*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty ninth year,
Sir *Richard Lee* was Mayor.
Richard Flemming, *John Lambert*, Sheriffs.

THE

The REIGN of KING EDWARD The FOURTH.

1460.

Edward Earl of *March*, born at *Roan* in *Normandy*, Son and Heir of *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, ſlain in the Battel at *Wakefield*, ſucceeded his Father in the Right, but exceeded him in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*; and that by virtue of an Act of Parliament lately made, wherein the ſaid Duke of *York* not only was declared Heir apparent of the Crown, and appointed Protector of the King and Kingdom: But it was further Enacted, That if King *Henry*, or any in his behalf ſhould attempt the diſannulling of this Act, that then the ſaid Duke or his Heir ſhould have the preſent poſſeſſion; which becauſe his friends attempted to do, therefore juſtly doth *Edward* Earl of *March* his Son, by virtue of this Act take poſſeſſion of the Crown, and is proclaimed King of *England*, by the name of *Edward* the Fourth, through the City of *London*, on the fifth day of *March*, in the year 1460. But before he could have leiſure to be Crowned, he was forced once again to try his Fortune in the Field by Battel; For King *Henry* in the North was raiſing a new Army, againſt whom King *Edward* upon the twelfth of *March*, marched with his Forces from *London*: and by Eaſie Journeys came to *Pomfret* Caſtle, from whence the Lord *Fitzwater* was ſent to Guard the paſſage at *Ferribridge*, to ſtop the Enemies approach that way: King *Henry* likewiſe advanceth forward, ſending his power under the Conduct of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, whileſt himſelf with his Queen and Son ſtay at *York*. The Lord *Clifford* very early on *Palm-Sunday*, with a Troop of Northern men, falls upon thoſe that guarded *Ferribridge*; and defeated them with the ſlaughter of the Lord *Fitzwater*, and the Baſtard of *Salisbury*. The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this defeat, comes poſting to King *Edward*'s Camp; and in his preſence killing his Horſe, proteſted his reſolution to ſtand with him to the death. Upon this Reſolution of the Earls, the King made preſently Proclamation, that all who are afraid to fight, ſhould at their pleaſure depart; but to thoſe that would ſtay he promiſed good reward: adding withal, That if any that ſtayed, ſhould after turn his back or flee, then he that ſhould kill him, ſhould have double pay. After this he gave order to the Lord *Fauconbridge*, and Sir *Walter Blunt*, to lead on the Vaward, who in their march about *Dandingdale*, encountred with the Lord *Clifford* (who formerly in cold blood had ſlaughtered the young Earl of *Rutland*) and he being ſtricken in the Throat with an Arrow, (ſome ſay) without a head, and preſently dying: The Lord *Nevil* Son and Heir of the Earl of *Weſtmorland* was alſo ſlain, with moſt of their Companies, and the reſt put to flight. The next day likewiſe (the Duke of *Norfolk* being dangerouſly ſick, to whom that place was aſſigned) *Fauconbridge* and *Blunt* continue the leading of the Vant-guard; and on *Palm-Sunday*, by break of day, they came to a plain Field between *Towton* and *Saxton*, from whence they made a full ſurvey of King *Henry*'s Army: and certified King *Edward*, that the Enemy was threeſcore thouſand ſtrong; where his Army was but forty thouſand and ſix hundred. Whereupon a ſecond Proclamation was made through the Camp, that no quarter ſhould be kept, nor Priſoner taken. The Armies being both in ſight, the Lord *Fauconbridge* gave direction to the Archers (upon a ſignal by him given) to ſhoot every man a flight-Arrow (for that purpoſe provided) and then to fall back three ſtrides, and ſtand. The Northern men in the mean time plyed their Bows till all their ſheaves were empty; but their Arrows fell ſhort of the Enemy by threeſcore yards: and not only did no hurt to the Enemy, but did hurt to themſelves; for their Arrows being ſpent, and coming to hand-blows, their own Arrows ſticking in the ground, galled their ſhins and pierced their feet. Ten hours the Battel continued doubtful, till the Earl of *Northumberland* being ſlain, with the Lord *Beaumont Gray*, *Dacres*, and *Wells*, Sir *John Nevil*, Sir *Andrew Trollop*, and many other Knights and Eſquires, the Earles of *Exeter* and *Somerſet* fled, leaving the Conqueſt to King *Edward*; but the bloodieſt that ever *England* felt, for there fell that day ſix and thirty thouſand ſeven hundred threeſcore and ſixteen perſons, no Priſoners being taken but the Earl of *Devonſhire*. The Battel ended, King *Edward* haſtes to *York*; where he cauſed the heads of his Father and other Friends to be taken down and buried with their bodies, ſetting in their places the Heads of the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and three other, there at that time executed. The Earl of *Somerſet* acquainting King *Henry* with this overthrow, perſwades him with his Queen and Son to flie to *Berwick*; where leaving the

The Earl of *March* is proclaimed King of *England*.

King *Henry* in the North raiſeth an Army to oppoſe King *Edward*.

defeated by Policy of the Lord *Fauconbridge*.

And many Lords ſlain, and thirty thouſand other.

Duke of *Somerset*, they flie further for succour to the King of *Scots*, who comforteth them with promise of relief, but maketh a sure Bargain, for in lieu of a pension to be allowed King *Henry* during his abode there, the Town and Castle of *Berwick* were delivered to him. Queen *Margaret* and her Son are sent into *France*, who obtained of *Lewis* the Eleventh her Cousin, that all of King *Edward*'s Friends were prohibited stay or traffick in the *French* King's Dominions: but all King *Henry*'s Friends might live there freely. After this King *Edward* comes to *London*, and upon his entrance to the *Tower*, makes four and twenty Knights, and the next day four more; and upon the 28th day of *June* in the year 1461. he rode from the *Tower* to *Westminster*, and was there Crowned in the Abbey-Church.

King *Henry* flies into *Scotland*, the Queen and her Son into *France*.

1461. King *Edward* is Crowned.

Shortly after, a Parliament is summoned, which began at *Westminster* the fourth of *November*; in which all Acts of King *Henry* the Sixth prejudicial to King *Edward*'s Title, are repealed: and therein *John* Earl of *Oxford*, a Valiant and Wise Man, (he who in a former Parliament had disputed the question concerning the precedency of Temporal and spiritual Barons, a bold attempt in those dayes; and by force of whose Argument, Judgment was given for the Lords Temporal) with his Son *Aubry de Vere*, Sir *Thomas Tiddingham* Knight, *William Tyrrel*, and *Walter Montgomery* Esquires, were, without answer convicted of Treason, and beheaded. And to encourage others to well deserving, King *Edward* at this time advanced many in honour: his Brother *George* he created Duke of *Clarence*, his Brother *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, *John* Lord *Nevil* Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, he made first Viscount, then Marquess *Montacute*: *Henry Bourchier* Brother to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, is made Earl of *Essex*; and *William* Lord *Fauconbridge* Earl of *Kent*. And now their new Honours are presently put into imployment; the Earls of *Essex* and *Kent*, accompanied with the Lord *Audely* and *Clinton*, Sir *John Howard*, Sir *Richard Walgrave*, and others to the number of Ten thousand, are appointed to scour the Seas: who landed in *Britain*, took the Town of *Conquet*, and the Isle of *Bee*, and then returned. At this time *Henry* Duke of *Somerset*, *Ralph Piercy*, and divers others came in, and humbly submitted themselves to King *Edward*'s mercy; who protested his propension of freely pardoning them, and as many other as would submit themselves as they did.

John Earl of *Oxford* beheaded.

Dukes and Earls created.

All this time King *Henry* was in *Scotland*, and Queen *Margaret* in *France*; where she obtained of the *French* King, a Company of five hundred men, with whom she sailed towards *Newcastle*, and landed at *Tinmouth*, but suddenly again returned, and was her self by tempest beaten to *Berwick*; but her Company was driven on the shore before *Bamburgh* Castle, where they set their Ships on fire, and fled to an Island called *Holy Island*: but were so assailed there, by the Bastard *Ogle* and *John Manners* Esquire, that many of them were slain, and almost four hundred taken Prisoners, only their Colonel *Peter Bressie* happened upon a Fisherman who brought him to *Berwick* to Queen *Margaret*; and by her was made Captain of the Castle of *Alnwick*, which he with his *French* men kept, till they were rescued. Shortly after, Queen *Margaret* having gotten together a great Company of *Scots*, and other of her Friends, bringing her Husband with her, and leaving her Son at *Berwick*, entred *Northumberland*, took the Castle of *Bamburgh*, made Captain thereof Sir *Ralph Gray*, and then came forward to the Bishoprick of *Durham*, whither resorted to her the lately reconciled, and now again revolted Duke of *Somerset*, Sir *Ralph Piercy*, and divers others, who altogether made a competent Army. King *Edward* hearing hereof, makes preparation both by Sea and Land; and first he sends Viscount *Montacute* with some Companies into *Northumberland*, whom he in person followeth with his whole power: The Viscount marcheth towards King *Henry*, and by the way encountred the Lord *Hungerford* at *Hegley-Moor*; but he, with the Lord *Basse*, upon the first charge ran away, leaving Sir *Ralph Darcy* alone with his own Regiment, who there valiantly fighting, died. After this the Viscount understanding that King *Henry* was incamped in *Levels-Plain*, near the River of *Dowel* in *Hexamshire*, marcheth thither by night, and set upon him in his Camp; whose charge the Northern Men receive with a desperate resolution, but were in the end with great slaughter overcome. *Henry Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*, the Lord *Basse*, *Molins*, *Hungerford*, *Wentworth*, *Hussey*, and Sir *John Findern* Knight, with many others, are taken prisoners. King *Henry* himself by the swiftness of his Horse escaped, but very hardly; for one of his Hench-men that followed him, was taken, who had on his head, King *Henry*'s Helmet, or as some say, his high Cap of Estate, called *Abacot*, garnished with two rich Crowns, which was presented to King *Edward* at *York* the fourth of *May*. The Duke of *Somerset* was beheaded presently at *Hexam*, the other Lords and Knights were had to *Newcastle*, and there after a little respite, were likewise put to death. Besides these, divers others, to the number of five and twenty, were executed at *York*, and in other places. This Duke of *Somerset* was never married, but had a natural Son named *Charles Somerset*, who was afterward created Earl of *Worcester*, Sir *Humfrey Nevil*, and *William Talbois* calling himself Earl of *Kyme*, Sir *Ralph Gray*, and *Richard Tunstal*, with divers others that escaped from this Battel, hid themselves in secret places; but yet not so closely, but that they were espied and taken. The Earl of *Kyme* was apprehended in *Riddesdale*, and brought to *Newcastle*, and there beheaded; Sir *Humfrey Nevil* was taken in *Holderness*, and at *York* lost his head. After this Battel called *Hexam-field*, King *Edward* came to the City of *Durham*; and sent from thence into *Northumberland* the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Montacute*, the Lords *Fauconbridge* and *Scroop*, to recover such Castles as his enemies there held, which they effected: and taking in the Castle of *Dunstamborg*, they found in it *John Gois*, Servant to the Duke of *Somerset*, who was brought to *York*, and there beheaded: and taking in the Castle of *Bamburgh*, they found in it Sir *Ralph Gray*; whom because he had sworn to be true to King *Edward*, and was

1463. King *Henry* and his Queen get an Army in *Scotland*, & recover many Towns in the North parts.

Viscount *Montacute* setting upon King *Henries* army: takes many of his Lords; and King *Henry* himself hardly escaped.

1464.

The Duke of *Somerset* and other Lords put to death.

His base Son *Charles Somerset* created Earl of *Worcester*.

now

Sir *Ralph Grey* degraded, and in what manner: and then beheaded.

now revolted to King *Henry*; they degraded from his order of Knighthood at *Doncaster*, by cutting off his gilt Spurs, renting his Coat of Arms, and breaking his Sword over his head, and then beheaded him.

King *Henry* is taken in disguise: brought disgracefully to *London*: and committed to the Tower.

In this mean time, King *Henry* (upon what occasion no man knows; but only led by the left hand of Destiny) venturing in disguise, to come into *England*, and shifting from place to place, was at length discovered, and taken by one *Cantlow*, or as others say, by *Thomas Talbot*, Son to Sir *Edward Talbot* of *Bashal*: who deceived him, being at his dinner at *Waisington-Hall* in *Lincolnshire*, and brought him towards *London*, with his Legs tied under the Horse belly: In whose company were also taken Doctor *Manting* Dean of *Windsor*, Doctor *Bedle*, and one *Ellarton*, whom the Earl of *Warwick* met by the way, and brought them all to the *Tower* of *London*; whilst the distressed Queen, with her Son, once again is driven for shelter into *France*; whither the new Duke of *Somerset* and his Brother *John* sailed also, where they live in great misery; and the Earl of *Pembroke* went from Countrey to Countrey little better than a Vagabond.

The Queen flieth into *France*.

The Earl of *Pembroke* beyond Sea little better than a Vagabond.

At this time King *Edward*, to reward his followers, distributeth the Lands and Possessions of those that held with King *Henry* amongst them; but first made Proclamation that whosoever of the contrary faction would come in and submit, should be received to Grace, and restored to their Patrimonies.

Serjeants at Law made

In the fourth year of King *Edward*, in *Michaelmas* Term were made seven Serjeants at Law, *Thomas Young*, *Nicholas Gonay*, *Richard Neal*, *Thomas Brian*, *Richard Pigot*, *John Catesby*, and *Guy Fawx*, who held their Feast in the Bishop of *Ely*'s place in *Holborn*, where the Lord *Gray* of *Ruthin*, then Lord Treasurer of *England*, was placed before the Lord Mayor of *London*, being invited to the Feast; which gave such a distaste to the Mayor, that he presently departed with the Aldermen and Sheriffs, without tasting of their Feast: and it was Registred to be a president in time to come.

The Mayor of *London* offended that the Lord Treasurer was placed before him

And now King *Edward* no less intentive to perform the Office of a King in peace, than he had been before of a Captain in War, considering with himself, that seditious and civil dissentions must needs breed disorders in a State, and that disorders bred by troubled times, are not like troubled waters, that will in time settle of themselves, and recover clearness; but are rather like weeds, which once springing up and let alone, will in time over-run the whole ground where they grow, He like a good Gardiner seeks to weed them out before they grow too rank, and endeavours to make a general reformation of abuses; and to that end in *Michaelmas* Term in the second year of his Reign, three dayes together he sate publickly with his Judges in *Westminster* Hall on the Kings Bench, to acquaint himself with the orders of that Court, and to observe what needed reformation in it either at Bench or at Bar: as likewise he ordered the Officers of his Exchequer to take more moderate Fees; and to be more intentive to the benefit of the Subject, than to their own unjust gain. He also daily frequented the Council-Table, which he furnished for the most part with such as were gracious amongst the Citizens, whom he imployes about references and businesses of private consequence; whilest mysteries of State were intimated only to such whom he selected to be of his more private Cabinet-Council: by whom, he being now of the age of three and twenty years, was advised that it was now time to provide for posterity, by taking a Wife; and to provide also for the present time, by taking a fit Wife, which they conceived to be no where so fitly found as in *France*; both thereby to build old grudges between the two Nations, and also to avert assistance from Queen *Margaret*, the only disturber in the State. And this being concluded, it only remained to make choice of a fit man for that employment, for which none was thought so fit as *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*; he therefore is presently sent into *France*, to treat of a Marriage to be had between King *Edward* and the Lady *Bona*, Daughter to *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*, and Sister to the Lady *Carlote* then Queen of *France*; a Lady, no less for beauty and vertuous qualities, than for Nobility of Blood, worthy to be a Queen. The Proposition is in *France* readily embraced, and willingly assented unto on all parts. But in the mean time King *Edward* being hunting in *Wichwood* Forrest besides *Stony-Stratford*, he chanced to come to the Manour of *Grafton*, where the Dutchess of *Bedford* then lay; and where her Daughter by Sir *Richard Woodvile*, the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, Widow of Sir *John Gray* of *Groby*, slain at the last Battel of St. *Albans*, became a Suitor to him for some Lands which her Husband had given her in joynture: with whose beauty and graceful behaviour, King *Edward* was so taken, that he presently became a Suitor to her; and when he could not obtain his suit by terms of wanton love, he was forced to seek it by terms of Marriage.

The Earl of *Warwick* sent into *France* to treat of a marriage with the Lady *Bona*

In the mean time King *Edward* marries the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*.

And here we may well think, there was no small conflict in King *Edward*'s mind, between the two great Commanders, Love and Honour, which of them should be most potent; Honour put him in mind that it was against his Law, to take to Wife a meaner person than himself; but Love would take no notice of any difference of degrees, but took it for his prerogative to make all persons equal. Honour perswaded him that it stood him much upon to make good the Ambassage in which he had sent the Earl of *Warwick* to a great Prince; but Love perswaded him, that it stood him more upon to make good the Ambassage sent to himself from a greater Prince. In conclusion, it appeared to be true which one observes, *Improbe amor quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* What is it that Love will not make a man to do? Whether it be that Loves brings upon the mind a forgetfulness of all Circumstances, but such as tend to its own satisfaction; or whether it be that Love is amongst Passions, as Oyls amongst Liquors, which will be alwayes supreme and at the Top. Honour may be honoured, but Love will be obeyed; and therefore King *Edward* though he knew no Superiour upon the Earth, he obeys the summons of Love; and upon the first day of *May* marries the said Lady *Gray* at *Grafton*; the

King *Edward* sits three daies together in the *Kings Bench*.

the first of our Kings since the Conquest that married his Subject: At which marriage none was present but the Dutchess of *Bedford*, the Priest, two Gentlewomen, and a young man to help the Priest at Mass. The year after, with great Solemnity she was Crowned Queen at *Westminster*. It is not unworthy the relating the speech which King *Edward* had with his Mother, who sought to cross this Match. "Where you say (saith he) that she is a Widow, "and hath already Children, by Gods blessed "Lady, I am a Batchelor, and have some too; "and so each of us hath a proof, that neither "of us is like to be barren: And as for your "objection of Bigamy, (for his Mother had "charged him with being contracted to the La-"dy *Elizabeth Lucy*) Let the Bishop (saith he) "lay it to my charge when I come to take Or-"ders, for I understand it is forbidden a Priest, "but I never wist it was forbidden a Prince.

1465.

The Queens Father created Earl Rivers, and her Son Sir Thomas made Marquess of Dorset.

Upon this marriage the Queens Father was created Earl *Rivers*, and made high Constable of *England*; his Brother the Lord *Anthony* was married to the sole Heir of the Lord *Scales*, and by her had that Barony; her Son Sir *Thomas Grey* was created Marquess of *Dorset*, and married *Cicely*, Heir to the Lord *Bonvile*. It may be thought a happy Fortune for this Lady to be thus matched; but let all things be considered, and the miseries accrueing to her by it, will be found equivalent, if not over-weighing all the benefits. For first, by this match she drew upon her self the envy of many; and was the cause that her Husband fled the Realm, and her self in his absence glad to take Sanctuary: and in that place to be delivered of a Prince, in a most unprincely manner. After which, surviving her Husband, she lived to see her two Sons most cruelly murthered; and for a conclusion of all, she lived to see her self confined to the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, and all her goods confiscated by her own Son in Law.

The Earl of Warwick at his return finding the King married, grows discontented.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* at his return, found that knot tied in *England*, which he had laboured to tye in *France*: His Ambassage frustrated, the Lady *Bona* deluded, the King of *France* abused, and himself made a stale, and the disgracefull instrument of all this; which although he resented in a high degree, yet he had not been a Courtier so long, but in that time he had sufficiently learned the Art of dissembling; he passed it over lightly for the present, but yet carried it in his mind till a fit opportunity; and thereupon procures leave to retire himself to the Castle of *Warwick*.

Coasal Ewes sent to the King of Arragon for a Present.

King *Edward* in the mean time, having just cause to suspect he had made the *French* his Enemies, seeks to make other Princes his Friends. He enters into a League with *John* King of *Arragon*, to whom he sent for a present a score of *Coasal* Ewes, and five Rams, a small present in shew, but great in the event; for it proved of more benefit to *Spain*, and of more detriment to *England* than could at first sight have been imagined. And to secure him at home, he took truce with the King of *Scots* for fifteen years. And where he had married before, his two Sisters, *Anne* the eldest to *Henry Holland* Earl of *Exeter*; and *Elizabeth* to *John de la Pool* Duke of *Suffolk*, he now matched *Margaret* his third Sister to *Charles* Duke of *Burgoigne*, which proved a greater assistance, to him, than that which he had lost in *France*.

The Earl of Warwick and other Lords joyn against King Edward.

By this time the Earl of *Warwick*'s spleen began so to swell within him, that he could no longer contain it; and having with much ado drawn to his party his two Brothers, the Archbishop of *York*, and the Marquess *Montacute*, he seeks also to draw in the Kings two Brothers, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Duke of *Glocester*: but he found *Glocester* so reserved, that he durst not close with him; the Duke of *Clarence* he found more open, and to him he addresseth himself, complaining of the disgrace he had sustained by the King in his imployment in *France*, and other wrongs. To whom the Duke presently made answer, in as great complaint of his Brothers unkindness to himself; saying, he had married his wives Brother *Anthony* to the Heir of the Lord *Scales*; and her Son *Thomas* to the Heir of the Lord *Bonvile*: but could find no match of preferment for him being his own Brother. And upon this agreement in complaints they agree to joyn against King *Edward*, and to make the knot the firmer, the Duke of *Clarence* takes to Wife *Isabel* the Earl of *Warwick*'s Daughter; and with her hath assured unto him half the Lands the Earl held in right of his Wife, the Lady *Anne*, Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick* deceased. Upon this marriage the Earl of *Warwick* discovered to him what hitherto he had concealed, concerning his project for the restoring of King *Henry*; to which *Clarence* gave approbation, with promise to assist him in it to his uttermost.

The Duke of Clarence marries the Earl of Warwick's Daughter.

Sir Thomas Cook troubles; and for what cause.

At this time Sir *Thomas Cook*, late Mayor of *London*, was by one *Hawkins* appeached of Treason, for the which he was sent to the *Tower*, and his place in *London* seised by the Lord *Rivers*. The case was this, the said *Hawkins* came to *Sir Thomas*, requesting him to lend a thousand Marks upon good surety; who answered, he would first know for whom it should be, and for what intent: and understanding it should be for the use of Queen *Margaret*, he refused to lend a penny. The matter rested two or three years till the said *Hawkins* was laid in the *Tower*, and brought to the *Brake*, called *The Duke of Exeters Daughter*; by means of which pain, he confessed amongst other things the motion he had made to Sir *Thomas Cook*, and accused himself so far, that he was put to death. Sir *Thomas Cook* lying in the *Tower* from *Whitsuntide* till *Michaelmas*, had his place in *Essex* named *Gyddihal* spoiled, his Deer in his Park destroyed; and though arraigned upon life and death, he were acquitted of the Indictment: yet could not be delivered till he had paid eight thousands pounds to the King, and eight hundred to the Queen.

1461.

The Earl of Warwick causeth a commotion to be raised in Yorkshire.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* sendeth to his Brothers the Archbishop and the Marquess, to prepare all things ready to set on foot the intended revolt from King *Edward*, and to procure some rebellious commotion in the North, whilest he and his new Son in Law would provide to go forward with the work; which they accordingly did in *Yorkshire*, and occasion being taken

taken from the breach of an ancient custom there, to give to the poor people of St. *Leonards* in the City of *York*, certain quantities of Corn and Grain. This Commotion the Arch-bishop and the Marques's underhand fomented; yet to colour the Matter, the Marques's opposed the Rebels, and cut off the head of *Robert Huldorn* their Captain: but his head being cut off, the Rebels got them other Captains; *Henry*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Fitzhugh*, and Sir *Henry Nevil*, Son to the Lord *Latimer*; the one the Nephew, the other a Cousin-german to the Earl of *Warwick*, with whom they joyn the valiant Captain Sir *John Conyers*. These when they could not enter *York*, came marching towards *London*, all the way exclaiming against King *Edward*, as an unjust Prince, and an Usurper. King *Edward* hearing of this Commotion, sends Sir *William Herbert*, whom of a mean Gentleman, two years before he had made Earl of *Pembroke*, and his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, together with the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick*, to suppress the Rebels; and they with an Army of seven thousand, most Welchmen, march towards them: but the Lord *Stafford* being put from his Inne where he used to lodge, by the Earl of *Pembroke*, took such a distaste at it, that he withdrew his Archers, and gave over the business. Yet the Earl of *Pembroke* though thus forsaken, with his own Regiment encountred the Rebels, slew Sir *Henry Nevil*, and divers others; when being upon the point of Victory, one *John Clappam* a Servant to the Earl of *Warwick*, coming in with five hundred rascally fellows, and crying aloud a *Warwick* a *Warwick*, the Welchmen supposing the Earl had been come, turned presently their Backs and fled: five thousand of them were slain, the Earl of *Pembroke* himself, and his much lamented Brother, Sir *Richard Herbert*, a most goodly personage, were taken Prisoners, brought to *Banbury*, where both of them, with ten other Gentlemen, were put to death. And now the *Northamptonshire* Men joyning with the Rebels in this fury, made them a Captain named *Robert Hiliard*, but they named him *Robin* of *Riddesdale*; and suddenly came to *Grafton*, where they took the Earl *Rivers* Father to the Queen, and his Son Sir *John Woodvile*, brought them to *Northampton*, and there without Judgement beheaded them. King *Edward* advertised of these mischances, wrote to the Sheriffs of *Somersetshire* and *Devonshire* to apprehend the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick*, (who had treacherously forsaken the Earl of *Pembroke*) and if they could take him, to put him to death; who being soon after found in a Village within *Brentmarsh* was brought to *Bridgewater*, and there beheaded. After this Battel fought at *Hedgecote* commonly called *Banbury-field*, the Northern men resorted to *Warwick*, where the Earl with great joy received them; and hearing that King *Edward* with a great Army was coming thither, he sent for his Son in Law the Duke of *Clarence*, with all speed to repair unto him: who joyning together, and using means cunningly, by having some communication of Peace, to make the King secure, and to take little heed of himself, they took advantage of his security; and in the dead of the night set on his Camp; and killing the watch before the King was aware, at a place called *Woolney*, four Miles from *Berwick*, they took him prisoner in his Bed, and presently conveyed him to *Middleham* Castle in *Yorkshire*, to be there in safe custody with the Archbishop of *York*. And now they had the prey in their hand, if they had as well looked to keep it, as they had done to get it: But King *Edward* whether bribing his Keepers, or otherwise winning them by fair promises, got so much liberty, sometimes for his recreation to go a hunting: by by which he caused Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Thomas* of *Burgh*, and divers of his Friends, at a certain time to meet him, who took him from his Keepers, and set him again at liberty: whilest the Earl of *Warwick*, nothing doubting his Brother's the Archbishop's care in safe keeping him, and thinking the brunt of the Wars to be now past, dismist his Army, and intended only to find out King *Henry*, who was kept a Prisoner, but few men knew where,

King *Edward* being now at liberty posteth to *York*, and from thence to *Lancaster*; where his Chamberlain the Lord *Hastings* had raised some Forces; with which he marcheth to *London*, and is there joyfully received. The Earl of *Warwick* likewise sends to his Friends, and makes preparation for a new Army; whilest in the mean time, by the mediation of divers Lords, an interview in *Westminster-Hall* is agreed upon, and solemn Oath taken on both sides for safety, between King *Edward*, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*: but each party standing strictly upon terms tending to their own ends, they parted as great Enemies as they met: And so from thence the King went to *Canterbury*, the Duke and the Earl to *Lincoln*; whither they had pre-appointed their Forces to repair, under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Wells*, Son and Heir of the Lord *Wells*, a man of great valour and experience in the Wars. King *Edward* to take off so able a man from the Earls part, sends for his Father the Lord *Wells* to come unto him; who taking with him his Son in Law Sir *Thomas Dymock*, and coming to attend the Kings pleasure, was told by his Friends how wonderfully the King was incensed against them: whereupon for their safety they take Sanctuary at *Westminster*. But upon the Kings Princely word they came unto him, who commandeth the Lord *Wells* to write to his Son, to desist from adhering to the Earl of *Warwick*, which the Lord *Wells* accordingly did: but Sir *Robert Wells* notwithstanding his Father's Letters, continuing firm to the Earl still, so much incensed King *Edward*, that he caused both his Father and Sir *Thomas Dymock*, to be beheaded. He supposed perhaps, that he Lord *Wells* was himself underhand a Friend to the Earl, and had not dealt sincerely with him, in procuring his Son to leave that party. But now Sir *Robert Wells* seeing the King draw near to *Stamford*, where he had pitched his Tents, and hearing of his Fathers beheading, was much distracted what to do: to decline Battel with the King, he thought would shew too much fear; and to give him battel before the Earl of *Warwick* were come with his Forces, would shew too much boldness. But his veins were so filled with

King *Edward* sends the Earl of *Pembroke* to suppress it, who is with divers others slain.

Robin of *Riddesdale* beheaded the Earl *Rivers*.

The Lord *Stafford* beheaded.

The Earl of *Warwick* surprizeth King *Edward*, and commits him to custody.

King *Edward* gets at liberty.

The Earl of *Warwick* dismisseth his Army.

The King and Lords have a meeting, but to no purpose.

1470.

The Lord *Wells* beheaded.

with a desire of revenging his Father's death, that he thought he could never shew boldness enough; and thereupon encountring with the Kings Army, far greater than his own, oppresst with multitude was taken prisoner, together with *Thomas de Iland*, and divers others: who presently in the place, were put to execution. Sir Robert Welle, his Son taken and put to death. As soon as Sir *Robert Welle* was taken, the *Lincolnshire* men to make themselves the lighter to run away, threw off their Coats; for which cause, this Battel was afterward called *Loose-Coat-field*; in which, it is reported, were slain above ten thousand men.

The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this defeat, and not having present means to raise an Army sufficient to oppose King *Edward*; when he could by no means draw the Lord *Stanley* to his party, he determined to sail into *France*, and hiring Ships at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, he with his Son in Law the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Wives took to Sea; and thinking to land at *Calice*, of which Town he himself was Captain, he was by the Lord *Vaucleer* a *Gascoigne*, whom he had left his Deputy there, repelled: and with so great inhumanity, that the Dutchess of *Clarence*, who was then in labour, was fain to be delivered in the Ship, (all the courtesie in that distress shewed was only to send a flagon or two of wine) Which fact of *Vaucleer's*, when King *Edward* heard of, he was so well pleased with it that he presently sent him a Patent to be Captain of the Town, himself: and the Duke of *Burgoigne*, for the same service, sent unto him *Philip de Comines* (who hath written the History of these times) with a grant of one thousand Crowns pension during his life. Never man was better paid for one Act of dissembling; for the truth was, *Pre amore exclusit foras*, it was out of this Love that he suffered him not to enter the Town: for he knew there were many great ones in it addicted to King *Edward*, and so maliciously bent against the Earl, that if he or any of his Company should have come, they would in all likelihood have done them some mischief. And hereof he made a good proof soon after; for when the Earl took to Sea again, the Lord *Vaucleer* sent him word, he should take heed where he landed, for that the Duke of *Burgoigne* lay in wait to take him; which advertisement did the Earl more good, than the keeping him out of *Callice* did him hurt. The Earl upon this advertisement landed at *Diepe* in *Normandy*, whereof when King *Lewis* heard, he sent and invited him to come to his Court at *Ambois*; where he received him with no less Honour than if he had been a King: In the mean time, King *Edward* made enquiry for all such as were aiders of the Earl of *Warwick*; of whom some were apprehended as guilty, some fled to Sanctuary, and some submitted to the King's mercy; as *John* Marquess *Montacute*, whom he courteously received. Queen *Margaret*, who at this time sojourned with Duke *Rayner* her Father, hearing of the Earl of *Warwick's* arrival, with her Son Prince *Edward*, came to *Ambois*, and with her came also *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, lately escaped out of Prison, and fled into *France*: between whom a new combination is made, and for a foundation of firm amity, King *Henry's* Son Prince *Edward*, marries *Anne* the Earl of *Warwick's* second Daughter: After which marriage the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earls took a solemn Oath, never to leave the War till either King *Henry* or his Son Prince *Edward* were restored to the Crown: But now about this time, comes a Gentlewoman out of *England*, to the dissembling Lord *Vaucleer* at *Callice*, and payes him in his own Coin; For she made a shew of intending great good to the Earl of *Warwick*, but had a purpose indeed to work his ruine: and by this shew she passed unsuspected to the Duke of *Clarence*, whom she perswaded to forsake the Earl of *Warwick*, as one that intended wholly the rooting out of the House of *York*, and only the advancing of the House of *Lancaster*, which he might well perceive by his marrying his second Daughter to Prince *Edward*, King *Henry's* only Son; and this reason with some other was so urged by the Gentlewoman, that it sank deeply into the Duke of *Clarence* his mind. So fit Agents of State are women sometimes, that can transact a business in covert, which if men should attempt, they would soon be discovered. And from this time forward the Duke of *Clarence*, as if the Gentlewoman had taught him the Art of dissembling, fought secretly to reconcile himself to his Brother King *Edward*, but made a fair shew still to the Earl of *Warwick*.

Prince *Edward* marries a Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*.

The Earl of *Warwick* flieth to *Callice*, where not received, and by what subtilty.

The Earl of *Warwick* honourably received by the King of *France*.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* having been six Months in *France*, in his time he had procured from the King of *France*, both Ships, and Men, and Money; and receiving Letters out of *England*, that many Lords and others were ready to adventure their lives in this quarrel, if he would come (for the people generally held him in such admiration, that they thought the Sun was taken from the World, when he was absent; And this in great part for his great Hospitality, who it is said, used to spend six Oxen at a Breakfast,) he with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Pembroke* took to Sea: and though the Duke of *Burgoigne* had a Fleet at Sea to intercept him, yet his Fleet being by tempest scattered; and King *Edward* trusting to that Fleet, having provided no other, the Earl had a quiet passage to land at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*: where being landed, he made a Proclamation in King *Henry* the sixth's name, that all good Subjects should prepare to fight against King *Edward*, who contrary to the right had usurped the Crown. Upon which Proclamation, it is scarce to be believed, how many thousands of men resorted to him; with which Forces he made towards *London*: Upon notice of whose approach, on Sunday next after *Michaelmas* day, one Doctor *Goddard* a Chaplain of his, preaching at *Pauls*-Cross, did so set forth his Earls pious Intention, that many of his Auditory were moved to favour the Earls proceeding: insomuch, that the Marquess *Montacute*, who had in King *Edward's* behalf levied six thousand men about *London*, found them inclinable to go with him to the Earl of *Warwick*, and accordingly went and joyned with him. King *Edward* hearing of the great flocking of the people to the Earl, sent forth Letters into all parts of the Realm for raising an Army; but few came, and those few with no great

1470. The Earl of *Warwick* assisted out of *France*, lands at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, to whom much people resorted.

King *Edward* hereupon flies into the Duke of *Burgoigne's* Country.

great good will: which when he perceived, he began to doubt his caſe; and thereupon accompanied with the Duke of *Glocester* his Brother, the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlain, (who having married the Earl of *Warwick's* Siſter, yet continued ever true to King *Edward*) and the Lord *Scales* Brother to the Queen; he departed into *Lincolnſhire*, and coming to *Lyn*, he found there an *Engliſh* ſhip, and two Hulks of *Holland* ready to make Sail: whereupon he, with the fore-named Lords, and about ſeven or eight hundred perſons entred the Ships, having no proviſion with him but only the apparel they wore: and ſo bare of money, that he was fain to reward the Maſter of his Ship with one of his Garments: and thus making courſe towards the Duke of *Burgoignes* Countrey, they were preſently chaſed by eight great Ships of Eaſterlings, open Enemies both to *England* and *France*; which drove him before a Town in the Countrey called *Alquemare*, belonging to the Duke of *Burgoigne*; where by chance the Lord *Grunture*, Governour of that Countrey, at that time was, who defended them from the Eaſterlings, and brought them to the *Hague* in *Holland*, where they had all things miniſtred to them, by order from the Duke of *Burgoigne*.

1471.

The Queen takes ſanctuary: where ſhe is brought to bed.

At this time, upon news of the Earl of *Warwick's* approach, Queen *Elizabeth* forſaketh the *Tower*, and ſecretly takes Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*; where in great penury forſaken of all her friends, ſhe was brought to bed of a Son called *Edward*, who like a poor mans child was Chriſtened: the Godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of *Weſtminſter*, and the Lady *Scroop* Godmother.

The Earl of *Warwick* removes King *Henry* out of priſon, where he had been held almoſt nine years.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* entring the *Tower*, removes King *Henry* out of his hold of durance, where he had been almoſt nine years, into his own Lodging, where he was ſerved according to his Eſtate; which the Earl did more congratulate than the King himſelf. Upon the ſixth day of *October*, King *Henry* accompanied with the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Prior of St. *Johns*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and other Noblemen, apparelled in a long Gown of blue Velvet, was conducted through *London*, to the Biſhops Palace, where he reſted till the thirteenth of that month; on which day he went on in ſolemn Proceſſion about *Paul's* Church, wearing his Imperial Crown; the Earl of *Warwick* bearing up his Train, and the Earl of *Oxford* the Sword before him. The next day in all uſual places about *London*, King *Edward* was proclaimed an Uſurper, and all his partakers Traytors to God and the King; whereof *John* Lord *Tiptoft* Earl of *Worceſter*, as a partaker with King *Edward*, was made the firſt example. This Lord had been Lieutenant for King *Edward* in *Ireland*, where having done ſomething for which he fled, he was afterward found on the top of a high tree, in the Forreſt of *Waybridge*, in the County of *Huntington*; and being there taken, was brought to *London*, attainted, and beheaded on the *Tower-Hill*, and after buried at the *Black-Friers*.

King *Edward* proclaimed an Uſurper.

The extream melancholy of Sir *John Hawkeſford* or *Hanſford*.

About this time happened an accident not unworthy to be related: Sir *William Hawkeford* Knight, one of the chief Juſtices at the Law, who dwelt at *Annory* in *Devonſhire*, a man of great poſſeſſions; and having no Son, the Lord *Fitzwarren*, Sir *John Scintleger*, and Sir *William Bollain*, married his Daughters, and were his Heirs: This man grew into ſuch degree of Melancholy, that one day he called to him the Keeper of his Park, charging him with negligence in ſuffering his Deer to be ſtolen: and thereupon commanded him, that if he met any man in his Circuit of the night time, that would not ſtand or ſpeak, he ſhould not ſpare to kill him whoſoever he were. The Knight having thus laid his foundation, and meaning to end his doleful days, in a certain dark night ſecretly conveyed himſelf out of his Houſe, and walked alone in his Park. The Keeper in his night-walk hearing one ſtirring and coming towards him, asked, who was there? but no anſwer being made, he willed him to ſtand; which when he would not do, the Keeper ſhot, and killed him, and coming to ſee who it was, found him to be his Maſter.

On the twentieth day of *November* a Parliament is held at *Weſtminſter*, wherein King *Edward* and all his partakers are attainted of high Treaſon, and all their Lands and Goods ſeized on to King *Henry's* uſe. *George Plantagenet* Duke of *Clarence* is by Authority of this Parliament, adjudged Heir to *Richard* Duke of *York* his Father, and that Dutchy ſettled upon him and his Heirs, notwithſtanding the Primogeniture of *Edward*: Upon him alſo was entailed the Crown of *England*, in caſe Heirs male of the Body of King *Henry* failed. *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford* are fully reſtored to their Lands and Honour; and *Warwick* and *Clarence* are made Governours of the King and Kingdom. To this Parliament came the Marqueſs *Montacute*, excuſing himſelf, that for fear of death he had taken King *Edward's* part; which excuſe was accepted. Queen *Margaret* is ſent into *France*, but by reaſon of contrary Winds was kept back all that Winter.

King *Henries* prophetical ſpeech of Henry afterward K. *Henry* the ſeventh.

About this time *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke* going into *Wales* to view his Land in *Pembrokeſhire*, found there the Lord *Henry*, born of *Margaret* the only Daughter and Heir of *John* the firſt Duke of *Somerſet*, not being then full ten years of age, kept in manner like a Captive, but honourably brought up by the Lady *Herbert*. Him he brings with him to *London*, and preſents him to King *Henry*; whom when the King had a good while beheld, he ſaid to the Lords about him: Lo, this is he, to whom both we and our Adverſaries, leaving the poſſeſſion of all things, ſhall hereafter give place. Which if it be true it ſhews a very Prophetical Spirit to have been in King *Henry*; that could ſo long before foretell a thing ſo unlikly to happen; for this was he that was afterward King *Henry* the Seventh, before whom at that time there were many lives in being, of both the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

Shortly after this, by the Duke of *Burgoignes* means, King *Edward* is furniſhed with eighteen tall Ships, two thouſand *Dutchmen*, and fifty thouſand Florens of Gold; and thus furniſhed he took to Sea, and landed at *Ravenſpur* in *Yorkſhire*, where he found but cold entertainment;

King *Edward* assisted by the Duke of *Burgoigne* takes to Sea and lands in *Yorkshire.*

He swears deeply that he came but only to recover his own Inheritance.

nevertheleſs he made a weary march to *York*, where likewiſe he found no great expreſſion of welcome; ſo as he was forced to change his pretence, ſwearing deeply and receiving the Sacrament upon it, that he came not to diſturb King *Henry*, but only to recover his own Inheritance; and for the more ſhew thereof, wearing an *Eſtrich* Feather, Prince *Edward*'s Livery; which propoſition ſeemed ſo reaſonable, that many, who reſiſted him before, were as ready to aſſiſt him now: And if he be blamed for breaking his Oath, it muſt be conſidered it was *Regni cauſâ*, to recover his Kingdom, which perhaps was the Inheritance he meant, when he took his Oath, that he intended nothing but to recover his Inheritance: and ſo he brake not his Oath neither. From *York* he marched towards *Wakefield* and *Sandal*, leaving the Caſtle of *Pomfret* upon his left hand, where the Marqueſs *Montacute* with his Army lay, but did not offer to ſtop him: from *Wakefield* he came to *Doncaſter*, and from thence to *Nottingham*, where there came to him Sir *William Parre*, and Sir *James Harrington* with ſix hundred men; alſo Sir *Thomas Burgh*, and *Thomas Montgomery*, with their aids, who cauſed him to make a Proclamation in his own name; affirming they would ſerve no man but a King. From *Nottingham* he came to *Leiceſter*, where three thouſand able men, and well armed came unto him: From *Leiceſter* he came before the Walls of *Coventry*, into which City the Earl of *Warwick* had withdrawn himſelf, keeping himſelf cloſe therein with his people, being about ſix or ſeven thouſand men: three days together King *Edward* provoked him to come forth to Battel; but he ſtayed for more Forces, and would not do it: whereupon King *Edward* marched forward to *Warwick* eight miles from *Coventry*, thinking thither at leaſt he ſhould have drawn the Earl of *Warwick*; but neither would that do it: indeed the Earl looked for the coming of the Duke of *Clarence*, with twelve thouſand men to joyn with him; but that expectation proved vain. For the Duke was now fully reconciled to his Brother King *Edward*, and brought all his Forces to joyn with him, only he ſought to make amity between King *Edward* and the Earl: But though King *Edward* offered general pardon, and other fair conditions; yet none would pleaſe the Earl without reſtoring of King *Henry*. But now to repair the defection of the Duke of *Clarence*, there came to the Earl of *Warwick* at *Coventry*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Marqueſs *Montacute*, by whoſe coming that ſide was not a little ſtrengthened; yet all this aid would not make the Earl of *Warwick* to come to Battel: whereupon King *Edward* marched forward towards *London*. Both ſides ſeek to make *London* their friend, the Earl of *Warwick* ſends to his Brother the Archbiſhop of *York*, to labour in it; who thereupon cauſed King *Henry* to mount on Horſeback, and to ride from *Pauls* through *Cheap*, down *Walbrook*, ſuppoſing that this ſhewing of the King would have allured the Citizens to aſſiſt him; but this device prevailed little, brought not in above ſeven or eight thouſand men, a ſmall proportion to withſtand King *Edward*: and when the Archbiſhop of *York* ſaw

He comes to Coventry where the E. of *Warwick* lay; but would not come forth to battel.

this backwardneſs in the Citizens, or rather indeed an inclination to King *Edward*, he ſecretly ſent to him to receive him into grace; which upon promiſe to continue faithful hereafter, he obtained. The eleventh of *April*, in the year 1471. and the eleventh of his reign, King *Edward* made his entry into the City of *London*, riding firſt to *Pauls* Church, and from thence to the Biſhops Palace, where the Archbiſhop of *York* preſented himſelf unto him, and having King *Henry* by the hand delivered him to King *Edward* (ſix months after his re-adeption of the Crown) and then King *Edward* being ſeiſed of his perſon, went from *Pauls* to *Weſtminſter*, and there gave God moſt hearty thanks for his ſafe return. The reaſons alledged here by *Philip Commines* for the Citizens receiving of King *Edward*, ſeem ſcarce worthy of ſo good an Author: One cauſe (ſaith he) was becauſe King *Edward* being extreamly indebted in the City, if they had not received him, they ſhould have loſt their debt; Another, becauſe he had won the love of many Citizens Wives, who importuned their Husbands to receive him.

King *Edward* makes his entry into *London*, and is joyfully received.

King *Henry* is delivered into his hands.

The Earl of *Warwick* having Intelligence that King *Edward* was received into *London*, and King *Henry* delivered into his hand, marched out, and encamped at St. *Albans*, and after ſome refreſhing of his Army, removed towards *Barnet*, and in a large plain there called *Cladmore heath*, pitched his Camp; which King *Edward* hearing, on *Eaſter* Eve the thirteenth of *April*, he marched forth, and came that evening to *Barnet*, where he would not ſuffer a man of his Army to ſtay in the Town, but commanded them all to the field, and lodged with his Army more near to the Enemy than he was aware, by reaſon of a Miſt, (raiſed ſome ſay by one *Bungey* a Conjurer) which made it ſo dark, that it could not well by obſerved where they were encamped. In taking his ground he cauſed his people to keep as much ſilence as was poſſible, thereby to keep the enemy from knowing of their approach. Great Artillery they had on both parts, but the Earl more than the King; and therefore in the night time, they ſhot from his Camp almoſt continually, but did little hurt, becauſe they ſtill over-ſhot them, as lying nearer than was conceived. On *Eaſter* day, early in the morning, both Armies are ordered for Battel; the Earl of *Warwick* appointed the Command of the Right Wing, which conſiſted of Horſe, to his Brother the Marqueſs *Montacute*, and the Earl of *Oxford*; the Left Wing, conſiſting likewiſe of Horſe, was led by himſelf and the Duke of *Exeter*; and the main Battel, conſiſting of Bills and Bows, was conducted by the Duke of *Somerſet*. On the Kings part, the Vaward was commanded by the Duke of *Glocester*; the Battel (in which was King *Henry*) was led by King *Edward* himſelf; and the Lord *Haſtings* brought on the Reer. After Exhortations for encouragement of their Souldiers, the fight began; which with great valour was maintained by the ſpace of ſix hours, without any apparent diſadvantage on either ſide; only the Earls Vaward, by the valiancy of the Earl of *Oxford* ſeemed ſomewhat to over-match the Kings, which made ſome flying towards *London*, to carry news that the

The Earl of *Warwick* comes with his Army to *Barnet*.

The two Armies meet.

the Earl of *Warwick* had won the field; and he had perhaps done so indeed, but for a strange misfortune which happened to the Earl of *Oxford*, and his men; for they having a Star with streams on their Liveries, as King *Edward*'s men had the Sun, the Earl of *Warwick*'s men, by reason of the Mist, not well discerning the badges so like, shot at the Earl of *Oxford*'s men that were on their part: whereupon the Earl of *Oxford* cried Treason, and fled with eight hundred men. At length after great slaughter made on both sides, King *Edward* (having the greater number of men, as some write, though others say the contrary) caused a new power of fresh men (which he had kept of purpose) to come on; which the Earl of *Warwick* observing, being a man of an invincible courage, nothing dismayed, rushed into the midst of his enemies, where he adventured so far, that amongst the press he was stricken down and slain. (Though some write, That the Earl seeing the desperate estate of his Army, leapt on a Horse to flie; and coming to a Wood where was no passage, one of King *Edward*'s men came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked skin.) The Marquess *Montacute*, thinking to succour his Brother, lost likewise his life, and left the Victory to King *Edward*. On both sides were slain, as *Hall* saith, Ten thousand at the least: *Fabian* saith but fifteen hundred, but then he means only of the King's side. Upon the King's part were slain the Lord *Cromwel*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Montjoy*'s Son and Heir, Sir *Humfrey Bourchier* Son and Heir to the Lord *Berners*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. On the Earl's part, were slain the Earl himself, the Marquess *Montacute*, and three and twenty Knights, of whom Sir *William Tyrrel* was one. The Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Oxford* fled into *Wales*, to *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*. The Duke of *Exeter* being stricken down, and so wounded, that he was left for dead, amongst other the dead bodies, because he was not known; but coming to himself, he got up, and escaped to *Westminster*, and there took Sanctuary. The dead bodies of the Earl and Marquess were brought to *London* in a Coffin, and by the space of three dayes lay open faced in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*; and then buried with their Ancestors in the Priory of *Bisham*. This Earl of *Warwick* was *Richard Nevil*, Son and Heir of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Salisbury*, who married the Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, the sixth Earl of *Warwick*, and in her right was Earl of *Warwick*, in his own, of *Salisbury*. He was also Lord *Monthermer*, great Chamberlain, and High Admiral of *England* Lord Warden of the North Marches towards *Scotland*, and High Steward of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*: He had Issue two Daughters, *Isabel* married to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and *Anne*, first married to Prince *Edward* King *Henry* the Sixth's Son, and after to *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*.

Where the Earl of *Warwick* with many other Lords is slain.

The Honors he enjoyed and of his Issue.

We may here observe a constellation of disastrous influences, concurring all to the overthrow of this great *Warwick*; whereof if any one had been milling, the wheel of his Fortune had not perhaps turned; for if the City of *York* had not too credulously believed King *Edward*'s Oath, not to disturb King *Henry*; or if the Marquess *Montacute* had stopped (as he might) his passage at *Pomfret*; or if the Duke of *Clarence* had not at the very point of the Battel, at St. *Albans*, deserted his party and joyned with King *Edward*; or if Queen *Margaret* had not by tempest been kept from coming into *England* in time; or if the *Londoners* had not been retrograde and deceived his expectation, he had never perhaps been overthrown as he was: But *Fata viam invenient*, Destiny will find wayes that were never thought of, will make way, where it finds none; and that which is ordained in Heaven, shall be effected by means, of which Earth can take no notice.

Queen *Margaret*, when it was too late, accompanied with *John Longstrother*, Prior of St. *Johns*, and the Lord *Wenlock* with divers Knights and Esquires, took shipping at *Harfleur*, the four and twentieth of *March*, but by Tempest was kept back till the thirteenth of *April*; and then with her Son Prince *Edward*, she landed at *Weymouth*, and from thence went to an Abbey hard by, called *Cern*, and then to *Bewly* in *Hampshire*, whither there came unto her, *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, and *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, with divers others; amongst whom it is resolved once more to try their fortune in the Field. But then the Queen would have had her Son Prince *Edward* to be sent into *France*, there to remain in safety, till the next Battel were tried; but they being of a contrary mind, and especially the Duke of *Somerset*, she at length consented, though afterward she repented it. From *Bewly* she with her Son and the Duke of *Somerset* passeth on to *Bristow*, intending with what power they could raise in *Glocestershire*, to march into *Wales*, to joyn with *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, who was there making preparation of more Forces. King *Edward* hearing of these things, resolves to cross this conjunction, and follows Queen *Margaret* with a great power so close, that near *Tewksbury* in *Glocestershire* he overtakes her Forces, who resolutely turn and make head against him; where *Somerset* on the Queens part leading the Vantguard, performed the part of a valiant Commander; but finding his Souldiers through weariness begin to faint, and that the Lord *Wenlock*, who had the conduct of the Battel on the Queens part, moved not, he rode unto him, and upbraiding him with cowardise or treachery, never staid, but with a Pole-axe beat out his brains: and now before he could bring in his men to the rescue, their Vaward was routed, and *John* Earl of *Devonshire*, with above Three thousand of the Queens part were slain. The Queen her self, *John Beaufort* the Duke of *Somerset*'s Brother, the Prior of Saint *John's*, Sir *Jervis Clifton*, and divers others were taken prisoners; all which, except the Queen, were the next day beheaded. At which time Sir *Richard Crofts* presented to King *Edward*, King *Henry*'s Son *Edward*, whom he had taken Prisoner; to whom King *Edward* at first shewed no uncourteous countenance; but demanding of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter into his Realm with Arms? And he answering, though truly, yet unseasonably, *To recover my Fathers Kingdom and Heritage*: King *Edward* with his hand thrust him from him, or (as some

Queen *Margaret* cometh over, and gets two Armies.

But is overthrown by King *Edward*.

The Queen is taken prisoner.

ſome ſay) ſtruck him with his Gantlet, and then preſently *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, *Thomas Gray* Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and *William* Lord *Haſtings* ſtanding by, fell upon him in the place, and murthered him. His body was homely interred with other ordinary Corps, in the Church of the Monaſtry of the *Black-Fryers* in *Tewkſbury*. After the Victory thus obtained, King *Edward* repaired to the Abbey Church of *Tewkſbury*, to give God thanks for his good ſucceſs; and finding there a great number of his Enemies that were fled thither to ſave themſelves, he gave them all free pardon; only *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, *John Longſtrother* Prior of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Thomas Treſham*, Sir *Jervis Clifton*, and divers other Knights and Eſquires, who were apprehended there, and brought before the Duke of *Gloceſter*, ſitting that day as Conſtable of *England*, and the Duke of *Norfolk* as Marſhal, were all arraigned, condemned, and judged to dye; and accordingly upon the Tueſday, being the ſeventh of *May*, they were all, and twelve other Knights more, on a Scaffold ſet up in the middle of the Town, beheaded, but not diſmembred, and permitted to be buried. The ſame day Queen *Margaret* was found in a poor Houſe of Religion not far from thence, into which ſhe was fled for ſafeguard of her life; but ſhe was after brought to *London*, and there kept a priſoner, till her Father ranſomed her with great ſums of money. This was the laſt pitcht Battel that was fought in *England* in King *Edward* the Fourth's dayes; which happened on the fourth of *May*, being Saturday, in the eleventh year of his Reign, and in the year of our Lord, 1471.

Her Son Prince *Edward* is murthered.

The Duke of *Somerſet*, and others beheaded.

Queen *Margaret* is kept in durance, till her Father fetched her away.

King *Edward* being aſſured that as long as any partakers of King *Henry* lived and were at liberty, he ſhould never be free from plots againſt his life, ſent *Roger Vaughan*, a Gentleman much reckoned of in his own Countrey, to entrap *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, who had eſcaped from the laſt encounter; but he having notice of the plot before, prevented it by ſtriking off *Vaughan*'s head.

After theſe great Clouds were thus diſperſed, there aroſe a little Cloud, which gave the Realm, at leaſt the City of *London*, no ſmall diſquiet. For now, Sir *Thomas* Baſtard *Fauconbridge*, who had been employed by the Earl of *Warwick* to ſcower the Seas, hearing of theſe defeats; having inriched himſelf by Piracy, gathered together an Army of ſeventeen thouſand men; and coming to *London*, imperiouſly commanded admiſſion into the City, and releaſement of King *Henry* out of Priſon: but being denyed entrance, and hearing that King *Edward* with a great power was coming towards him, he brings up his Shipping to Saint *Katharines*, and taking with him his moſt deſperate men, with them he marched to *Kingſtone-bridge*; but finding that Bridge broken down, and all the places of paſſage guarded, he withdrew his Forces into Saint *George*'s Field, from whence he prepared to aſſault the City of *London*: for the effecting whereof he landed all his Ship-Ordnance, and planted them all along the Banks ſide, with which he battered down many houſes, and much annoyed the City: but the Citizens on the other ſide lodged their great Artillery againſt their Adverſaries, with which they ſo galled them, that they durſt not abide in any place along the water ſide, but were driven even from their own Ordnance. Then he appointed his men to ſet fire on the Bridge, and withal cauſed Three thouſand to paſs over the *Thames*, and ſome of them to aſſault *Aldgate*, and ſome *Biſhops-gate*; but they were in all places by the induſtry of the Citizens repelled, and chiefly by *Robert Baſſet*, and *Ralph Jocelyne*, Aldermen. Upon this he retired to *Black-heath*, and there encamped by the ſpace of three days, but then hearing that King *Edward* was coming with a great Army, he got him to his Ship, but the reſt fled, ſome one way, ſome another. The one and twentieth of *May*, the King coming to *London*, thanked the Citizens for their pains and care, and dubbed the Mayor, the Recorder *Vefeſwick*, and *Baſſet* and *Jocelyne* Aldermen, Knights.

The Baſtard *Fauconbridge* makes diſturbance about *London*.

And now the time was come for King *Henry* to be delivered out of all his troubles; for the bloody Duke of *Gloceſter* entring the *Tower*, where he found King *Henry* nothing at all troubled with all his Croſſes, ſtruck him into the heart with his Dagger, and there ſlew him. And now we have had within the ſpace of half a year, one Parliament proclaiming King *Edward* an Uſurper, and King *Henry* a lawful King; and another proclaiming King *Edward* a lawful King, and King *Henry* an Uſurper: That we may know in humane affairs, there is nothing certain, but uncertainty; nothing ſtable, but unſtability.

King *Henry* is murthered by the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

King *Edward*, preſently after the interment of King *Henry*, draws his Forces towards *Sandwich* in *Kent*, where ſome of the followers of *Fauconbridge*, to the number of eight or nine hundred, had in the Caſtle there, ſtrongly fortified themſelves; but upon their asking pardon, and ſubmitting themſelves to the King, with promiſe to be faithful Subjects ever after, they had their pardon granted them, and then they delivered up both Caſtle and Ships, to the number of thirteen, to the Kings uſe. But how this compoſition was obſerved, may be imagined; when *Fauconbridge*, who was compriſed in the ſame pardon, was afterward taken and executed at *Southampton*; *Spicing*, and *Quintine* the Captains that aſſailed *Aldgate* and *Biſhops-gate*, and were in *Sandwich* Caſtle at the ſurrender thereof, were preſently beheaded at *Canterbury*; and their heads placed on Poles, upon thoſe Gates. And by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, many both in *Eſſex* and *Kent*, were arraigned and condemned for this Rebellion, and more fined.

Fauconbridge executed.

And now King *Edward* deſiring to be ſecured from all ſuſpected perſons, ſent the Archbiſhop of *York*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, over to *Guiſnes*, there to be kept in ſafe cuſtody; and there he remained a long time, till at length by friendſhip he was delivered, and ſhortly after died. Likewiſe *John* Earl of *Oxford*, who after *Barnet* Field yielded himſelf to King *Edward*, had his life pardoned; but yet was ſent over Sea to the Caſtle of *Hammes*, where for the ſpace of Twelve years he was ſhut up in a ſtrong Priſon, and narrowly looked to; whoſe Lady all that time was not ſuffered to come unto

1472.

King *Edward* seeks to get the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond* into his hands.

to him, nor had any thing to live upon, but what people of their charities gave her; or what she could get by Needle or other work. As for the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond*, who were fled out of the Realm to the Duke of *Britain*, King *Edward* sent to the Duke, requiring to have them delivered up to him, upon promise of great rewards; to which the Duke made answer, that he could not with his honour deliver them up, whom he had taken into his Protection, but that for King *Edward*'s sake, he would take such care of them, that he should need to take no care of them; and to that end he sequestred their own servants from them, and appointed *Britains* to attend upon them.

It was now the thirteenth year of King *Edward*'s Reign, in which a Parliament was called at *Westminster*: wherein all acts formerly made by him, are confirmed or revived; and all their Lands and Goods confiscated that had taken part against him and were fled, and all their Lands and Goods restored to such as had taken part with him.

1473.

King *Edward* is moved by the Duke of *Burgoigne* to make War upon *France*.

King *Edward* being destin'd to be always in troubles; now that he had quietness at home, was drawn into new broils abroad; for the Duke of *Burgoigne* at this time having Wars with *France*, thought he could no way make a better harvest to himself, than by sowing seeds of Dissention between *France* and *England*: and to this end he send Ambassadors to King *Edward*, to solicite him to set on foot his Title to the Crown of *France*, making great offers, with protestation to assist him in it, both with Purse and Person. This Proposition being seriously debated by the Kings Privy Council, is at last approved of, as being both lawful and behovesful, for the honour of the King, and good of the Kingdom. Only means to bear the charges of the War, were wanting, to supply which by a Parliamentary course, would ask too much time: A new course therefore is devised, to procure mony from the Subjects by way of Benevolence; and this course was taken.

A Benevolence to raise money.

Henry Holland Duke of *Exeter* his miserable life and death.

About this time *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Huntington* dis-inherited by Act of Parliament in the fourth year of this King, (though he had married King *Edward*'s Sister) yet grew to so great misery, that passing over into *Flanders*, I there saw him (saith *Commines*) running bare-legged after the Duke of *Burgundies* train, begging his bread for Gods sake; whom the Duke of *Burgundy* at that time not knowing (though they had married two Sisters) but hearing afterward who he was, gave him a small Pension to maintain him; till not long after he was found dead upon the shore of *Dover*, and stripped all naked; but how he came to his death, could never by any enquiry be brought to light.

1474.

King *Edward* with an Army passeth over into *France*.

Provision for this *French* expedition being throughly made, and order taken for the quiet Government of the Kingdom in his absence, and the stop of incursions, if any by the *Scots* should be made: King *Edward* with an Army of fifteen hundred men at Arms, all of the Nobility and Gentry, fifteen thousand Archers on Horseback, eight thousand common Souldiers, and three thousand Pioneers, came down to *Dover*; whither the Duke of *Burgoigne* had sent five hundred flat-Bottom'd Boats to transport the Horse to *Calice*; yet for all that help, it was two and twenty dayes before the Kings Forces were all past over. Before the Kings departure from *Dover*, (to the end he might not seem to surprize him) he sent an Herauld named *Garter*, a *Norman* by birth, with a Letter of Defiance to the *French* King; (so well written, saith *Commines*, that he thought it not of any *English* mans inditing; as though *English* men could not write as well as the *French*) requiring him to yield unto him the Crown of *France*, his unquestionable Inheritance; which if he should dare to deny, he would then endeavour to recover it by the Sword. This Letter the *French* King read, and thereupon withdrawing himself, caused the Herauld to be brought to his presence, to whom in private he gave this answer: That the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and the Earl of Saint *Paul* the Constable, (by whose instigation he knew the King of *England*, was drawn to this design) would but delude him; for that they were Dissemblers and Impostors; and therefore said, it would conduce more to the honour of the King of *England* to continue in League with him, though an old Adversary; than to hazard the fortune of the Wars, upon the promised assistance of new-come Deceivers: And so commend me (saith he) to the King thy Master, and say what I have told thee; and then with an honourable reward of three hundred Crowns, dismiss him. The Herauld promised to do all that in him lay, and (beyond his Commission) shewed the *French* King ways, (by working upon the Lords *Howard* and *Stanley*) by which he might enter into a Treaty for Peace, which he doubted not would sort to a good conclusion. The *French* King glad to hear it, gave the Herauld, besides the other reward, a piece of Crimson Velvet of thirty yards long; and withal sent to King *Edward* the goodliest Horse he had in his Stable, as also an Ass, a Wolf, and a Wild Boar, beasts at that time rare in *England*: And then the Herauld returning to *Callice*, delivered to King *Edward* the *French* King's answer.

He sends a Herauld to the King of *France* to demand the Crown.

The *French* King's answer to the Herauld.

1474.

The Herauld advises the King of *France* what to do.

The Duke of *Burgoigne* and the Constable of *France* fail King *Edward* in performance of their promises.

And now to make good the *French* King's allegation to the Herauld; the Duke of *Burgoigne* who had promised in the word of a Prince, to bring to *Callice* by this time two thousand Launces, and four thousand Stadiots or light-Horse, failed to come: Whereupon the Lord *Scales* is by King *Edward* sent to the Duke, to put him in mind of his promise, and to hasten his coming with his promised Forces: but the journey was to little purpose, only it occasioned the Duke with a small troop of Horse to come to the King, formally to excuse himself for having been so backward; but the cause (he said) was for that having been imbroyled in the Siege of *Nuz*, he could not depart thence, without infinite disgrace, if neither composition nor submission were enforced; which now notwithstanding, because he would not too much trespass upon his patience, he was enforced to do, by the obstinacy of the besieged; but promised to supply all defects, both with his presence and power, and that speedily.

The

The Conſtable likewiſe by his Letter perſwades the King of *England* to proceed in the action, and not to doubt both from the Duke and himſelf to be ſufficiently every way accommodated.

King *Edward* thus encouraged, paſſeth on, but in his way found no performance of promiſes, either on the Dukes or Conſtables part; for the Duke did not accommodate the Souldiers, at their coming to *Peronne*, with victuals or Lodging, in ſuch manner as was requiſite and expected: and the Conſtable, inſtead of ſurrendring up St. *Quintins* according to agreement, made a ſally out upon ſuch as were ſent from the King of *England* to take poſſeſſion, and plaid upon them with his great Ordnance; whereupon King *Edward* began to ſuſpect the truth of the *French* King's deſcription of the Duk's and Conſtabl's conditions; and from thence forward ſtood upon his own Guard, and gave no further credit to their Proteſtations: which the Duke of *Burgoigne* reſenting, pretending occaſions for the haſtning forward his Forces, and promiſing ſpeedy return together with them, taketh his leave and departeth, which did not a little increaſe the King's ſuſpicion.

The King of *France* ſends a counterfeit Herauld to King *Edward* to propound conditions of Peace.

The *French* King having intelligence of the Duke of *Burgoign's* departure; fore-caſting the danger if they ſhould unite their Forces; reſolved with himſelf to eſſay what might be done to mediate a Peace in the Dukes abſence; and yet ſo to treat, that if it took not effect, he might diſclaim the knowledge of the overture: Whereupon he privately diſpatcheth a Meſſenger, in ſhew an Herauld; but was indeed a fellow of no office or eſtimation, and not known to any of the Kings Houſhold, but to *Villiers* the Maſter of the Horſe, who only was acquainted with the plot and party. This counterfeit Purſuivant at Arms, with a Coat made of a Trumpet's Banner-rowl, addreſſed himſelf to the King of *England*, and upon admiſſion to his preſence, inſinuates the *French* Kings deſire, which was, to have Commiſſioners on both parts aſſigned, to confer of the means to reconcile the differences between the two Kings; or at leaſt to conclude a ceſſation from Arms for ſome time. And ſo well this Meſſenger delivered his errand, that it was credited, and the Kings requeſt granted; and thereupon Letters of ſafe conduct are ſent of both ſides; for ſuch Commiſſioners as to this purpoſe ſhould meet at *Amyens*. For King *Edward* came the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, and Doctor *Morton*, after made Lord Chancellour of *England*. For King *Lewis* came the Admiral of *France*, the Lord Saint *Piers*, and *Heberg* Biſhop of *Eureux*. After long Conference, Articles of Peace are concluded on to this effect: That the *French* King ſhould pay preſently to the King of *England*, threeſcore and fifteen thouſand Crowns, and from thenceforth annually fifty thouſand Crowns, during the life of King *Edward*: That within one year, the *French* King ſhould ſend for the Lady *Elizabeth* the King of *Englands* Daughter, and joyn her in Marriage to the Dauphin: That the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *John Cheyney* Maſter of the Horſe, ſhould remain in Hoſtage there, till the *Engliſh* Army had quitted *France*, and a general Peace for nine years: wherein the Dukes of *Burgoigne* and *Britain*, are included if they will accept thereof. This Concluſion was the more eaſily compaſſed by the King of *France*, his following the Herauld's counſel; for he diſtributed ſixteen thouſand Crowns amongſt King *Edward's* Counſellors and Favourites; two thouſand Crowns to the Lord *Haſtings* the Kings Chamberlain; and to the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, and *Montgomery*, the reſidue; beſides great ſtore of Plate and Jewels, diſtributed amongſt inferiour Officers of the Court. The Duke of *Glocester* only oppoſed this accord, as not ſuiting with his deſign; nevertheleſs it proceeded, and notice thereof is preſently ſent to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who thereupon only with fifteen Horſe, comes poſting to the *Engliſh* Camp, whom King *Edward* perſwades to enter into the Peace, according to the reſervation; but he in great chafe, reproacheth King *Edward* for entring into it himſelf; ſaying, That his Predeceſſors had by many brave exploits gotten fame and reputation upon the *French*; and now he had brought his Souldiers only to ſhew them the Country, and return as they came; adding withal, that to make it appear he was able without help of the *Engliſh* to ſubſiſt of himſelf, he utterly diſclaimed any benefit of that Truce, untill three months after the *Engliſh* were returned to their own Country; and ſo in a great ſnuff returned home.

The Duke of *Burgoigne* reproacheth King *Edward* for making the Peace.

The conditions of Peace between the two Kings.

For the better confirmation of what is agreed upon between the two Kings, an interview is deſired; but before the ſame is effected, the *French* King ſends the *Engliſh* Army an hundred Tonne of *Gaſcoigne* Wine, to be drunk out amongſt the private Souldiers, and therewithal free licenſe for Commanders and Gentlemen to recreate themſelves in *Amyens*, where they were lovingly entertained by the Burgers of the Town, by the King's expreſs command. The place of interview of theſe two Kings, is agreed on to be at *Picquiny*, a Town three miles diſtant from *Amyens*, ſeated in a bottom, through which the River of *Some* runneth; over which a ſtrong Bridge was built, and in the midſt thereof a grate made overthwart with Bars, no wider aſunder than a man might well thruſt in his Arm; covered with boards over head, to avoid the rain, four of the Bed-Chamber on both ſides, are appointed to ſearch the rooms, to prevent Traps or Inſtruments of Treachery: and being by them certified that all was clear, the Kings advance themſelves. King *Edward* being come in ſight of the place, made a ſtand; being told, that the circumſtance of coming firſt to the place was a matter of great diſparagement in point of State: but the *French* King more regarding ſubſtance than circumſtance, gave the King of *England* the advantage to come at his pleaſure, and went firſt to the Bar appointed for Conference, and there did attend King *Edward's* leiſure. He had in his company *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, with his Brother the Cardinal, and eight hundred men at Arms. King *Edward* had with him his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords Chamberlain and Chancellour, and at his back his whole Army in Battel. The Kings lovingly ſalute each other, and compliments

An interview between the two Kings is agreed upon.

The place and manner of their interview.

ments of courteſie reciprocally paſs: which finiſhed, they, with their Noblemen there preſent, take all their Oaths upon the Holy Evangeliſts, in all their power, to obſerve the Articles of accord Agreed on. After which, in private, the *French* King importunes King *Edward* that the Duke of *Britain* might be lett out of theſe Articles: but after much urging to that purpoſe, King *Edward* gave this reſolute anſwer, that if King *Lewis* deſired the friendſhip of *England*, he ſhould not moleſt the Duke of *Britain*; for that he was reſolved, at any time to come in perſon to relieve him, if he were diſturbed: King *Edward* pretended the many kindneſſes he had formerly received of the Duke of *Britain*; but it was conceived, that the deſire of compaſſing the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*, now in the Duke of *Britain*'s Country, were the greateſt motives of his ſtanding ſo firmly for him. After more ſerious diſcourſe, King *Lewis* told King *Edward*, that he would one day invite him to *Paris*, there to court his *French* Ladies, with whom, if he committed any ſin, he merrily told him, that Cardinal *Bourbon* ſhould be his Confeſſor, who (he might be ſure) would aſſign him an eaſie penance; as one that loved to kiſs fair Ladies himſelf: but when King *Edward* ſeemed not unwilling to accept his offer, he was then glad to put it off with other diſcourſe: for that (as he told *Commines*) too many *Engliſh* Princes had been there before.

The money to be paid to King *Edward* by the *Articles*, is accordingly paid; and thereupon the *French* Hoſtages are delivered, and the *Engliſh* Army retire to *Calice*, and from thence is tranſported into *England*; and then the *Engliſh* Hoſtages are likewiſe delivered. This Peace was ſaid to be made only by the Holy Ghoſt; becauſe on the day of meeting, a white Dove came and ſate upon the King of *England*'s Tent: though the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Burgoigne* thought it was made by no good ſpirit.

1475. King *Edward* ſends to the Duke of *Britain* to deliver the Earl of *Richmond* to him.

King *Edward* being returned into *England*, had his mind running ſtill upon the danger that might grow from the Earl of *Richmond*: he therefore diſpatched Doctor *Stillington*, and two other his Ambaſſadours, to the Duke of *Britain*, to ſend him over to him, under this ſubtle pretence, that he meant to match him in marriage with the Lady *Cicely* his younger Daughter; and withal, ſent alſo no ſmall ſtore of Angels to ſpeak for him; which ſo prevailed with the Duke, that he delivered the Earl of *Richmond* to the Ambaſſadours, who conducted him thence to Saint *Malos*, where whileſt they ſtayed for a wind, the young Earl by the cunning plotting of *Peter Landois*, the Duke's Treaſurer, (more out of ſcorn that he was not gratified by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, to the proportion of his place, than for any love to the Earl) eſcapes into the Sanctuary; from whence neither prayers nor promiſes could get him out: Nevertheleſs upon *Peter Landois* his promiſe he ſhould be ſafely kept there, the Ambaſſadors departed, and returned home, acquainted King *Edward* with the Duke of *Britains* courteſie in delivering him, and their own negligence in ſuffering him to eſcape; only making amends with the promiſe of *Peter Landois*: which might be to King *Edward* ſome contentment, but was no ſatisfaction.

The Earl is delivered, but makes eſcape; and how.

At *Chriſtmas* following, being the ſixteenth year of his Reign, he created his eldeſt Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*. His ſecond Son he made Duke of *York*; giving the Order of Knighthood to the Son and Heir of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and many others. He created alſo four and twenty Knights of the *Bath*, whereof *Brian* Chief Juſtice, and *Littleton* a Judge of the Common Pleas were two.

1476. King *Edward*'s Son *Edward*, created Prince of *Wales*, &c.

About this time, there were two examples of ſeverity ſeen; not unworthy the relating, if but only to make us ſee how dangerous a thing it is *Ludere cum ſanctis*, to ſpeak words that may be taken as reflecting upon the King. The firſt was of one *Walter Walker*, a wealthy Citizen, dwelling at the Crown in *Cheapſide*: This man one day when his Child cried, bid him be quiet, and he would make him Heir of the Crown: which words being ſubject to interpretation, he was called in queſtion about them, arraigned, condemned, and put to death. The other was of *Thomas Burdet*, of *Arrow* in *Warwickſhire* Eſq. It happened that King *Edward* hunted in his Park, he being from home, and there killed a white Buck, whereof Maſter *Burdet* made ſpecial account: ſo as coming home, and finding that Buck killed, he wiſhed it horns and all in his belly that had counſelled the King to kill it: and becauſe none counſelled the King to kill it but himſelf, it was thought thoſe words were not ſpoken without a malignant reflecting upon the King: and thereupon *Burdet* was arraigned and condemned, drawn to *Tyburn*, and there beheaded: though *Markam*, then Chief Juſtice, choſe rather to loſe his place, than aſſent to the Judgment.

Two great examples of ſeverity: one upon *Walter Walker*.

The other upon Mr. *Burdet*.

1477.

And now began ambition to boil in *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*; whereof the firſt heat fell upon his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, how to rid him out of the way; to which end, he ſeeks to raiſe jealouſies in King *Edward*'s head againſt him, telling him, that ſome of *Clarence* his followers were Sorcerers and Necromancers, and had given forth ſpeeches, that one whoſe name begun with *G.* ſhould diſ-inherit his Children, and get the Crown: and for a colour of this ſuggeſtion, one of the Duke of *Clarence* his Servants, who came with him out of *Ireland* from *Dublin*, where the Duke was born, is in his Maſters abſcence, by the procurement underhand of the Duke of *Glocester*, indicted, arraigned, condemned, and executed at *Tyburn* for a Conjurer, and all within the ſpace of two dayes: and the Duke of *Glocester*, to make ſhew that he had no hand in this fellow's death, ſet on the Duke of *Clarence* to complain of it to King *Edward*; and in the mean time finds matter, at leaſt colour of matter to make him be committed to the *Tower*: and then again to make ſhew he had no hand in his impriſonment, bids him be of good chear; for it ſhould not be long e're he would ſee him releaſed: and he kept his word; for not long after, by his procurement, he was drowned in a Butt of *Malmſey*, (and this was his releaſment) and then laid in his bed, to make the people believe that he

The Duke of *Glocester* plots to take away his elder brother the Duke of *Clarence*.

1478.

He procures him to be drowned in a Butt of *Malmſey*.

he died of discontent; whose death King *Edward*, though perhaps consenting to it, so much resented, that afterwards, when he was sued to for any mans Pardon, he would sighing break out into such words: Oh unfortunate Brother! for whose life not one man would open his mouth. Being dead, he was buried at *Tewksbury* in *Glocestershire*, by the Body of his Dutchess, who great with Child, died of poison a little before.

1482.

A Match treated on between the King of *Scots* eldest Son, and a Daughter of King *Edward*.

It was now the two and twentieth year of King *Edward*'s Reign, when *James* King of *Scotland* sent Ambassadors to treat of a marriage between his eldest Son *James* Duke of *Rothsay*, and *Cicely* King *Edward*'s second Daughter. This overture for a Match, was by the King and his Council readily embraced, and a great part of the Portion was delivered to the *Scots* with this *Proviso*, That if the marriage did not proceed, the Provost and Merchants of *Edenburgh* should be bound to repay it again. But the *Scottish* King, who had other phantasies in his head, and would take counsel of none but his own will, and diverted also perhaps by the King of *France*; not only dallied the proceeding in the Match, but affronted those of the Nobility that perswaded him to it; insomuch that his Brother the Duke of *Albany* was enforced to abandon the Country, and to fly for refuge into *England*: by whom King *Edward* being informed of King *James* his fickle disposition, was so much incensed, that under the conduct of the Duke of *Glocester*, accompanied with the Duke of *Albany*, he sent an Army of twenty thousand against *Scotland*; who in their way took in *Berwick*, and belieged the Castle; which being resolutely defended by the Earl of *Bothwel*, the Duke left the Lord *Stanley* to continue the siege, whilst he with the rest of the Army, marcheth toward *Edenburgh*; where within the Castle of *Maydens*, King *James* had immur'd himself. But the Nobility of *Scotland* seeing the danger they were in, endeavoured by humble submission to procure a Peace, at least a cessation from War; which with much importunity they obtained, upon these conditions: That full satisfaction should be presently given, for all damages sustained by the late incursions: That the Duke of *Albany* should be fully restored to grace and place, with an abolition of all discontents between his Brother King *James* and him: That the Castle of *Berwick*, (which had been now out of the possession of the *English*, one and twenty years) should immediately be surrendred into the Generals hands, and from thence no reduction of that, or the Town attempted: That all such sums of money as upon proposition of the marriage had been delivered, should be repaid. All which, except the first Article, were accordingly performed.

But dallied by the King of *Scots*.

Whereupon King *Edward* enters *Scotland* with an Army.

And brings the *Scots* to submission.

When this business with *Scotland* was indifferently accommodated; King *Edward* receives intelligence from his Ambassadour Legier in *France*, that the *French* King not only denied the payment of the Annual Tribute of fifty thousand Crowns, agreed upon and sworn to, upon the ratification of the late concluded Peace, but had also married the Dauphin of *France* to the Lady *Margaret* Daughter of *Maximilian*, Son of the Emperour; which so much incensed King *Edward*, that he resolves to revenge it; and by the advice of his Council, open War was presently Proclaimed against *France*. But whilst King *Edward* is making preparation, and intentive to the business, he is attached by the hand of Death, and upon the ninth of *April*, in the year 1483, at *Westminster* ended his mortal life.

Causes of King *Edwards* discontentment.

1483.

He falls sick and dies.

Of his Taxations.

IN his second year, he sent his Privy Seal through *England*, to move men to give him a certain sum of money towards resisting the *Scots*, which was granted and given liberally: In his seventh year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, were resumed all manner of gifts, which the King had given from the first day he took possession of the Realm, to that time. In his eighth year, at a Parliament were granted two fifteens and a Demy. In his thirteenth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein a Subsidy was granted; and the year following, towards War to be undertaken in *France*, a new way of raising money is devised, called a Benevolence, by which great sums of money were gotten of the Subjects: And it is not unworthy the relating, what an old rich Widow at this time did; whom King *Edward*, amongst others, having called before him, merrily asked, what she would willingly give him towards his great charges? By my troth (quoth she) for thy lovely countenance, thou shalt have even twenty pounds. The King looking scarce for half that sum, thanked her, and lovingly kist her; which so wrought with the old Widow, that she presently swore, he should have twenty pounds more; and paid it willingly. Not long before his death he was by ill Counsellors put upon a distasteful course for raising of money; which was, by fining men for Delinquencies against Penal Statutes: by which course some money was gathered; but before it came to full execution, he dying, that also died with him.

A merry passage between King *Edward* and an old Widow.

Money gathered upon Penal statutes.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his fourth year, he newly devised the Coyn both of Gold and Silver, as at this day it is; the Gold, he named Royals and Nobles, the Silver Groats, and half Groats: the new Groat weighing scantly three pence; and the Noble of six shillings eight pence, appointed to go for eigh shillings four pence. In his fifth year it was proclaimed in *England*, that the Beaks or Pykes of Shoes and Boots should not pass two Inches, upon pain of cursing by the Clergy, and forfeiting twenty shillings to be paid, one Noble to the King, another to the Cordwayners of *London*, and the third to the Chamber of *London*: and for other Countreys and Towns the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the year 1382, the Pykes of Sooes and Boots were of such length, that they were fain to be tied up to the knees with Chains of Silver, and Gilt, or at least with Silken Laces.

New Coyn ordained.

The length of Beaks and Pykes of shooes limited.

Affairs

Affairs of the Church in his time.

The year of Jubile brought from fifty to five and twenty.

IN this Kings time the Jubile, which was before but every fiftieth year, was, by Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, brought to be every five and Twentieth year. Alſo, where before this time, the *Scottiſh* Biſhop had no Metropolitan, but the Biſhop of *York* was Metropolitan and Primate of *Scotland*: Now in this Kings time, Pope *Sixtus* appointed the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* to be Metropolitan of *Scotland*, who had twelve Biſhops under his obedience.

Works of Pity done in his time.

Queens College in *Cambridg* founded.

Katharine Hall in *Cambridg* founded.

THis King laid the foundation of the new Chappel at *Windſor*, and his Queen *Elizabeth* founded the Queens Colledg in *Cambridg*, and endowed it with large Poſſeſſions. About his fifteenth year, Doctor *Woodlark* Provoſt of Kings Colledg in *Cambridg*, founded *Katharine-Hall* there. In his ſeventeenth year, the Wall of the City of *London*, from *Cripplegate* to *Biſhopsgate*, was builded at the Charges of the Citizens; alſo *Biſhopsgate* it ſelf was new built by the Merchants *Almans* of the *Steelyard*. Alſo in this year died Sir *John Crosby* Knight, late Mayor of *London*, who gave to the repairing of the Pariſh-Church of St. *Helens*, in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, where he was buried, 500 Marks: to the repairing the Pariſh-Church of *Henworth* in *Middleſex*, forty pounds: to the repairing of *London*-Wall, an hundred pounds: to the repairing *Rocheſter*-Bridge, ten pounds: to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Grocers in *London*, two large Pots of Silver chaſed half gilt, and other Legacies. About this time alſo, *Richard Rawſon*, one of the Sheriffs of *London* cauſed a houſe to be builded in the Church-yard of St. *Mary* Hoſpital without *Biſhopſgate*, where the Mayor and Aldermen uſe to ſit and hear the Sermons in *Eaſter* Holydays. In his nineteenth year, *William Taylor* Mayor of *London*, gave to the City certain Tenements; for which the City is bound to pay for ever, at every fifteenth granted to the King, for all ſuch as ſhall dwell in *Cordwainer-ſtreet-Ward*, ſeſſed at twelve pence a piece, or under, And about the ſame time, one *Thomas Ilam*, Sheriff of *London*, builded, at his coſt, the great Conduit in *Cheapſide*. In his three and twentieth year, *Edward Shaw* Goldſmith, who had been Mayor of *London*, at his own coſts re-edified *Cripplegate* in *London*, which Gate in old time had been a priſon.

The great Conduit in *Cheapſide* builded.

Cripplegate re-edified.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

Two great Plagues.

IN his third year, the Minſter of *York*, and the Steeple of Chriſts-Church in *Norwich*, were burnt. In his ſeventeenth year, ſo great a Peſtilence reigned in *England*, that it ſwept away more people in four Months, than the Wars had done in fifteen years paſt. Alſo in his nineteenth year was another Peſtilence; which beginning in the latter end of *September*, continued to the beginning of *November*, twelve months following; in which ſpace of time innumerable people died.

Of his Wife and Iſſue.

KIng *Edward* had been contracted to *Eleanor* Daughter to *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, married after to Sir *John Butler*, Baron of *Sudely*; but he married *Elizabeth* the Widow of Sir *John Gray*, Daughter of *Richard Woodvile*, by his Wife *Jaqueline* Dutcheſs of *Bedford*: She lived his Wife eighteen years and eleven months; by whom he had three Sons and ſeven Daughters. *Edward* his eldeſt Son, born in the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*: *Richard* his ſecond Son, born at *Shrewsbury*: *George* his third Son, born alſo at *Shrewsbury*, but died a Child. *Elizabeth* his eldeſt Daughter promiſed in marriage to *Charles* Dauphin of *France*, but married afterward to King *Henry* the ſeventh: *Cicely* his ſecond Daughter, promiſed in marriage to *James* Duke of *Rothſay*, Prince of *Scotland*; but was married afterward to *John* Viſcount *Wells*, whom ſhe out-lived, and was again re-married, but by neither Husband had any Iſſue: She lieth buried at *Quarera* in the *Iſle of Wight*. *Anne* his third Daughter, was married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marſhal and high Treaſurer of *England*, by whom ſhe had two Sons, both dying without Iſſue: ſhe lieth buried at *Framingham* in *Norfolk*. *Bridget* his fourth Daughter, born at *Eltham* in *Kent*, became a Nun in the Nunnery of *Dartford* in *Kent*, which King *Edward* had founded. *Mary* his fifth Daughter, was promiſed in marriage to the King of *Denmark*, but died in the Tower of *Greenwich*, before it could be ſolemnized; ſhe lieth buried at *Windſor*. *Margaret* his ſixth Daughter died an Infant. *Katharine* his ſeventh Daughter was married to *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*; to whom ſhe bare Lord *Henry*, who by King *Henry* the Eight was created Marqueſs of *Exeter*.

King *Edward*'s three ſpecial Concubines.

Concubines he had many; but three eſpecially; and would uſe to ſay, that he had three Concubines, who in their ſeveral properties excelled: One, the merrieſt; another, the wylieſt, the third, the holieſt Harlot in his Realm; as one whom no man could lightly get out of the Church to any place, unleſs it were to his bed. The other two were greater Perſonages than are fit to be named: but the merrieſt was *Shore*'s Wife; in whom therefore he took ſpecial pleaſure. This woman was born in *London*, worſhipfully deſcended, and well married; but when the King had abuſed her, anon her Husband (as he was an honeſt man, and did know his good, not preſuming to touch a Kings Concubine) left her up to him altogether.

Shore's Wife.

By theſe he had natural Iſſue, *Arthur* ſurnamed *Plantagenet* (whoſe Mother, as is ſuppoſed, was the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*) created Viſcount *Liſle*, by King *Henry* the eighth, at *Bridewel* in *London*; and *Elizabeth*, who was married to Sir *Thomas Lumley* Knight; to whom ſhe bare *Richard*, afterward Lord *Lumley*, from whom the late Lord *Lumley* did deſcend.

The Iſſue Lord *Lumley* from whom deſcended.

Of His Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was (ſaith *Comines*) the goodlieſt Perſonage that never mine eyes beheld, exceeding

tall of ſtature, fair of complexion, and of moſt Princely preſence; and we may truly ſay, he was of full age before he came to one and twenty; for being but eighteen years old when his Father died, he ſued out his Livery preſently: ſo as he began the race of his Fortune juſt like *Auguſtus Cæſar*, each of them at the ſame age ſucceeding an Anceſtor after a violent death; and each of them left to ſet on a roof, where but only a foundation was laid before. For his conditions, he was of an erected compoſure both of body and mind, but ſomething ſagging on the fleſhes ſide; and never any man, that did marry for love, did ſo little love marriage; for he took as much pleaſure in other mens Wives as in his own. He was never more confident, than when he was in danger, nor ever more doubtfull than when he was ſecure. Of the four Cardinal Vertues, Fortitude and Prudence were in him naturally: Temperance and Juſtice, but to ſerve his turn. He was Politick even to irreligion; for to compaſs his ends he would not ſtick to ſwear what he never meant. Yet he was Religious beyond Policy; for before Battels, he uſed to make his Prayers to God, after Victories to give him Thanks. He was far from being proud, yet very ambitious: and could uſe Familiarity, and yet retain Majeſty. He was a great Briber; and what he could not get by Force, he would by Rewards; as much as what he could not get by Battery, he would by Mines. He was too credulous of Reports, which made him be in errour, ſometime to the hurt of himſelf, oftentimes of others. He had made the White Rose to flouriſh as long as *Henry* the Fourth made the Red, if he had not made it change colour with too much blood. He had been fortunate in his Children, if he had not been unfortunate in a Brother; but he was well enough ſerved, that would think a Wolf could ever be a good Shepherd. He had an excellent Art in improving his favours; for he could do as much with a ſmall courteſie, as other men with a great Benefit: And that which was more, he could make advantage of diſadvantages: For he got the Love of the *Londoners* by owing them money; and the good Will of the Citizens, by lying with their Wives.

Of his Death and Burial.

WHether it began from his mind being extreamly troubled with the injurious dealing of the King of *France*; or from his body by intemperance of diet, to which he was much given: He fell into a Sickneſs (ſome ſay a Catarrh, ſome a Feaver) but into a Sickneſs whereof he died. In the time of which Sickneſs, and at the very point of death, Sir *Thomas Moor* makes him to make a ſpeech to his Lords; which I might think to be the ſpeech of a ſick man, if it were not ſo ſound; and of a weak man, as if it were not ſo long. But it ſeems Sir *Thomas Moor* delivers rather what was fit for him to ſay, than what he ſaid; the Contents being only, to exhort the Lords, whom he knew to be at variance, to be in Love and Concord amongſt themſelves; for that the welfare of his Children, whom he muſt now leave to their care, could not otherwiſe be preſerved but by their agreement. And having ſpoken to this purpoſe as much as his weakneſs would ſuffer him, he found himſelf ſleepy; and turning on one ſide, he fell into his long ſleep, the ninth of *April*, in the year 1484. when he had lived one and forty years, reigned two and twenty and one month; and was buried at *Windſor*, in the new Chappel, whoſe foundation himſelf had laid.

His ſpeech to his Lords at his death

Of Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Valour in his time were many, but himſelf the chiefeſt; the reſt may be obſerved in reading his ſtory. For men of Letters, we may have leave at this time to ſpeak of ſome ſtrangers, having been men of extraordinary Fame; as *Johannes de Monte Regio*, *Purbachius* and *Blancanus*, all great Aſtronomers; *Ludovicus Pontanus*, *Paulus Caſtrenſis*, and *Anthonius Roſſellanus*, all great Lawyers; *Serviſanus*, *Savanarola*, and *Barzizius*, all great Phyſicians; *Baſſarion* and *Cuſanus*, both great Cardinals; *Argyropole*, *Philelphus*, *Datus*, *Leonardus*, *Aretinus*, and *Poggius*, all great men in humane Literature. And of our Countreymen, *John Harding* an Eſquire, born in the North parts, who wrote a Chronicle in *Engliſh* Verſe; and, among other ſpecial points therein touched, hath gathered all the Submiſſions and Homages made by the *Scottiſh* Kings, even from the dayes of King *Athelſtan*: whereby it may evidently appear, how the *Scottiſh* Kingdom, even in a manner, from the firſt eſtabliſhing thereof here in *Britain*, hath been appertaining unto the Kings of *England*, and holden of them as their chief and ſuperiour Lords. *Juliana Barnes*, a Gentlewoman of excellent gifts, who wrote certain Treatiſes of Hawking and Hunting; alſo a Book of the Laws of Arms, and knowledge appertaining to Heraulds. *John Forteſcue* a Judge, and Chancellour of *England*, who wrote divers Treatiſes concerning the Law and Politick Government: *Rochus* a *Charter-houſe*-Monk, born in *London*, who wrote divers Epigrams. *Walter Hunt*, a *Carmelite* Fryer, who for his excellent Learning was ſent from the whole body of the Realm, to the General Council holden firſt at *Ferrara*, and after at *Florence*, by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth; where he amongſt others diſputed with the *Greeks*, in defence of the Order and Ceremonies of the *Latin* Church. *William Caxton*, who wrote a Chronicle called *Fructus Temporum*, and an *Appendix* unto *Treviſa*, beſides divers other Books and Tranſlations. *John Milverton*, a *Carmelite* Fryer of *Briſtow*, and Provincial of his Order; who, becauſe he defended ſuch of his Order as preached againſt endowments of the Church with Temporal Poſſeſſions, was committed to priſon in the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo* in *Rome*, where he continued three years. *David Morgan* a *Welſhman*, who wrote of the Antiquities of *Wales*, and a deſcription of the Countrey. *John Tiptoft*, a Nobleman born, who wrote divers Treatiſes, but loſt his head in the year 1471. *Robert Huggon*, born in *Norfolk*, who wrote certain vain Prophecies

William Caxton who wrote a Chronicle.

Thomas

Iogan at this time lived Thomas Littleton, who wrote the Tenures, at this time lived.

Thomas Norton, born in *Bristow* an Alchymist. *Scogan* a learned Gentleman, and a Student for a time in *Oxford*; who for his present wit and merry conceits, was called to Court. But most worthy of all to be remembred, *Thomas Littleton*, a reverend Judge of the Common Pleas, who brought a great part of the Law into Method, which lay before confusedly dispersed; and his Book called *Littleton's Tenures*.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his first year,
Sir *Hugh Witch* was Mayor.
George Ireland, *John Lock*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir *Thomas Cook* was Mayor.
William Hampton, *Bartholomew James* Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Matthew Philip* was Mayor.
Robert Basset, *Thomas Muschampt*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *Ralph Joceline* was Mayor.
John Tate, *John Stones*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *Ralph Verney* was Mayor.
Henry Weaver, *William Constantine*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *John Young* was Mayor.
John Brown, *Henry Brice John Darby*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *Thomas Oldgrave* was Mayor.
Thomas Stalbrook, *Humfrey Heyford*, Sheriffs,

In his eighth year,
Sir *William Taylor* was Mayor.
Simon Smith, *William Herriot*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *Richard a Lee* was Mayor.
Richard Gardner, *Robert Drope*, Sheriffs.

In his Tenth year,
Sir *John Stockton* was Mayor.
John Crosby, *John Ward*, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year,
Sir *William Edwards* was Mayor.
John Allen, *John Shelley*, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year,
Sir *William Hampton* was Mayor.
John Brown, *Thomas Bledlow*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year,
Sir *John Tate* was Mayor.
Sir *William Stocker*, *Robert Belisdon*, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year,
Sir *Robert Drope*, was Mayor.
Edmund Shaa, *Thomas Hill*, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year,
Sir *Robert Basse* was Mayor.
Hugh Brice, *Robert Colwich*, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year,
Sir *Ralph Joceline* was Mayor.
Richard Rawson, *William Horn*, Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth year,
Sir *Humfrey Heyford* was Mayor.
Henry Collet, *John Stocker*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir *Richard Gardner* was Mayor.
Robert Harding, *Robert Bifield*, Sheriffs.

In his Nineteenth year,
Sir *Bartholomew James* was Mayor.
Thomas Ilam, *John Ward*, Sheriffs.

In his Twentieth year,
Sir *John Brown* was Mayor.
Thomas Daniel, *William Bacon*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty first year,
Sir *William Herrot* was Mayor.
Robert Tate, *Rich. Charey*, *Will. Wiking*, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty second year,
Sir *Edmund Shaa* was Mayor.
William White, *John Matthew*, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of KING EDVVARD THE FIFTH.

1483. King *Edward* proclaimed King; but never Crowned.

KING *Edward* the Fourth being dead, his eldeſt Son *Edward*, ſcarce yet eleven years old, ſucceeded in the Kingdom, but not in the Crown; For he was proclaimed King, but never Crowned: and it may not ſo properly be called, the Reign of *Edward* the Fifth, as the Tyranny of *Richard* the Third; for from the time of King *Edward*'s death, though not in name, yet in effect, he not only ruled as King, but raged as a Tyrant. Prince *Edward*, when his Father died, was at *Ludlow* in *Wales*, where he had lived ſometime before, the better by his preſence to keep the Welſh in awe; he had about him of his Mothers Kindred many; but Sir *Anthony Woodvile*, the Earl *Rivers* his Uncle, was appointed his chief Counſellour and Director. The Duke of *Gloceſter* was at this time in the North, but had word preſently ſent him from the Lord *Haſtings*, Lord Chamberlain, of his Brother King *Edward*'s death, who acquainted him withal, that by his Will, he had committed the young King, his Queen, and other Children, to his care and Government; and thereupon putting him in mind, how neceſſary it was for him ſpeedily to repair to *London*: But the Duke of *Gloceſter* needed no ſpur to ſet him forward, who was already in a full career; for he had long before projected in his mind, how he might come to attain the Crown; and now he thought the way was made him. For as it is ſaid, the very night in which King *Edward* died, one *Miſſelbrook*, long e're morning came in great haſte to the houſe of one *Potter*, dwelling in *Redcroſs-ſtreet* without *Cripplegate*; where he ſhewed unto *Potter*, that King *Edward* was departed: To whom *Potter* anſwered. By my troth man, then will my Maſter the Duke of *Gloceſter* be King: What cauſe he had ſo to think, is hard to ſay; but ſurely it is not likely he ſpake it of nought. And now the young King was coming up to *London* with a ſtrong Guard, partly to make a firſt expreſſion of his Greatneſs, and partly to oppoſe any diſorders that might be offered. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* finding this proceeding like to be a rub in his way, at leaſt, not fit for his deſigns, he preſently falls to undermining; writes moſt loving Letters to the Queen, proteſting all humble and faithfull ſervice to the King and her; but withal perſwading her, that this great Guard about the King might be preſently diſmiſſed; which did but miniſter matter of ſuſpicion, and would be apt to breed new jealouſies in them who were now throughly reconciled. The Queen of a nature eaſie to be wrought upon, gives credit to his glozing Letters; and thereupon ſends in all haſte to her Son, and to her Brother the Lord *Rivers*, requiring them by all means, for ſome cauſes to her known, to diſmiſs their Guard, (not mentioning by whoſe advice ſhe writ them; which if ſhe had done, they would never have done it) but now upon her Letters they preſently did, and came forward with only a ſober Company. And now is *Gloceſter*'s firſt work done; but he, knowing that the work yet behind was too great to be done by himſelf alone, gets the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Haſtings*, two of the greateſt men of power at that time in the Kingdom, to joyn with him in opinion, that it was not fit the Queens Kindred ſhould be ſo wholly about the King; and others of better blood and deſert, to be eſtranged from him, and therefore by all means for to endeavour to remove them: To which the Duke of *Buckingham* is eaſily wrought, upon a promiſe to have the Earldom of *Hartford* conferred upon him; and the Lord *Haſtings* not hardly, upon a hope by this means to cut off many, whom in King *Edward*'s days he had juſtly offended. And now another great work was done; it remains in the next place to put it in execution, which was preſently thus effected: The young King had been at *Northampton*, and from thence went to *Stony-Stratford*, whither the two Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham* arrived; but pretending the Town to be too little for the entertainment of their Companies, they went back to *Northampton*, and alight at the ſame Inn where the Earl *Rivers* had taken up his Lodging for that night, intending the next morning early to overtake the King. Upon this their accidental meeting, great ſhews of courteſie paſſed between them; and ſupper ended, the Dukes pretending wearineſs, retire to their Lodgings, the Earl to his: but the Dukes being entred into their Chambers, enter into conſultation with their private friends, in which they ſpent a great part of the night, and then ſecretly get the Keys of the Inn-Gates, ſuffering none to paſs either in or out; whereof the Earl having notice by his Hoſt, though he ſuſpected the worſt, yet ſetting

The Duke of *Gloceſter* hearing of his Brothers death, poſts out of the North to *London*.

He perſwades the Queen that her Son may diſmiſs his guard.

And thereupon ſeizeth upon the Kings tinkle and other friends.

ting a good countenance upon the matter, and trusting to his own Innocency, he boldly went to the Duke of *Glocester*'s Chamber, where he found the Duke of *Buckingham* and the rest closely set in Council; with whom he expostulates the reason of this course, to imprison him in his Inn against his Will: But they instead of answer, command presently to lay hands on him, charging him with many crimes, whereof themselves were only guilty: And then taking order for his safe imprisonment, they speedily took Horse, and came to *Stony-Stratford*, at such time as the King was taking Horse, whom in all reverent manner they saluted: But presently in the Kings presence, a quarrel is pickt against the Lord *Richard Grey*, the Kings half-Brother: The Duke of *Buckingham* making relation to the King, that he and the Marquess his Brother, with the Earl *Rivers* the Queens Brother, had endeavoured, and almost effected, to draw to themselves the whole managing the affairs of the Kingdom, and to set variance between the Peers of the Realm; and particularly, that the Lord Marquess without any Warrant, had taken out of the Tower of *London* both Treasure and Armour, to a great quantitie: But to what purpose though they were ignorant, yet there was just cause to suspect it was to no good end: And therefore it was thought expedient by the advice of the Nobility, to attach him at *Northampton*, to have him forth-coming to make his answer for these and many other his over-bold actions. The King unable to sound the depth of these plots, mildly said unto him: What my Brother Marquess hath done I cannot say; but for my Unkle and Brother here, I dare answer that they are ignorant of any unlawful Practices either against me or you. Oh (saith the Duke of *Buckingham*) that hath been their cunning to keep their treachery from your Graces knowledge: And thereupon, instantly in the Kings presence, they arrested the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, Sir *Richard Hall*, and brought the King and all his Company back to *Northampton*, putting away all his old Servants, and placing in their Rooms creatures of their own, whom they had power to command. At which dealing the young King wept, but it booted nothing; and to colour the matter, the Duke of *Glocester* at dinner sent a Dish from his own Table to the Lord *Rivers*, bidding him be of good chear, for all shortly would be well. But the Lord *Rivers* thanking the Duke, prayed the Messenger to carry it to the Lord *Richard*, with the same Message for his comfort, as one to whom such adversity was strange; but as for himself, he had all his dayes been acquainted with it, and therefore could the better bear it. But for all the comfortable courtesie of the Duke of *Glocester*, he sent the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, into the North Countrey, into divers places to prison, and afterward to *Pomfret*, where in conclusion, they were all beheaded.

The Earl *Rivers* and other Lords beheaded at *Pomfret*.

The Duke of *Glocester* gives out colours for these Lords Imprisonment.

And now the Duke of *Glocester* having thus gotten the custody of the King, set forwards toward *London* giving out by the way, that the Marquess and the Queens Kindred had plotted the destruction of the King, and of all the ancient Nobility of the Realm, and to alter the Government of the Common-wealth; and that they were only imprisoned to be brought to their tryal according to Law. And the better to settle these suggestions in the apprehension of the Vulgar, they brought along with them divers Carts laden with Armour (of their own providing) with Dry-fats and great Chests, wherein they reported to be Treasure for the payment of Soldiers, with which they so possest the Common people, that all was believed for truth which was thus rumoured: but the finest device of all was, to have five of the Duke of *Glocester*'s Instruments manacled and pinioned like Traytors; and these in every place where the King lodged, to be dispersed and given out to be men of great birth drawn into this vile plot of Treason by the Queens Brother: who must seem to be penitent for their offence, and to confess their own guilt: And this device continued acting till the King came to *London*, where their Vizards were pulled off, and the disguise was soon discovered.

The Queen with her young Son and Daughters takes Sanctuary.

The Queen in the mean time having intelligence of these doleful accidents, and fearing there were worse to follow; with her second Son and five Daughters takes Sanctuary at *Westminster*; and the young King hearing of these things, with tears and sighs expressed his grief: but the Dukes making protestation of their fidelity, and care of his safety, seemed only to marvail why he should be melancholick.

At this time a messenger came from the Lord Chamberlain to the Archbishop of *York*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, to signifie to him, that there was no fear of any thing, for that he assured him all should be well. Well (quoth the Archbishop) be it as well as it will; I assure him it will never be so well as we have seen it. And thereupon, presently after the Messengers departure, he calleth up his Servants (being then in the night) and taking the great Seal with him, came before day to the Queen, whom he found sitting alone on the Ruthes, all desolate and dismayed, whom he comforted the best he could; assuring her, that if they Crowned any King but her Son, whom they had with them, he would presently after Crown his Brother whom she had with her; and therewithal delivering to her the great Seal, departed: but soon after bethinking himself better, he thought he had done too rashly, to deliver the great Seal to the Queen; and therefore sent for it again, and had it delivered him: yet shortly after, reproved for delivering it, by the Council-Table, he had it taken from him, which was then delivered to Doctor *Russel*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, the most learned man at that time.

The Lord Chancellour delivers the great Seal to the Queen, and after fetcheth it from her again.

The Duke of *Glocester* is appointed Protector of the King and Kingdom.

And now the Duke of *Glocester* so respectively carries himself towards the King, with so much shew and care of faithfulness, that by a general consent of the Council, he is appointed and established Protector of the King and Kingdom; and by this means, he hath the King in his custody: It remains now, how to get his Brother the Duke of *York*; for without having both, he were as good (as to his purpose) have neither: And to effect this, he makes

makes the effect to become a cause: for whereas by his undue dealings, he had made the King melancholick, he now makes that melancholy a cause to require his Brothers company to make him merry: and therfore wishes some course may be taken, either by perswasion or otherwise, to procure the Queen to send the Duke of *York* to keep his Brother the King company. Here the Archbishop of *York*, the Lord Gardinal, the man thought most fit to be sent in this employment, riseth up and saith, he would do his best endeavour to perswade her; but if he could not, he then thought it was not to be attempted against her Will, for that it would turn to the high displeasure of God, if the priviledge of that holy place should now be broken, which had so many years been inviolably kept, which both Kings and Popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was more than five hundred years ago, by Saint *Peter* in his own person, accompanied with great numbers of Angels by night, so specially hallowed and dedicated to God; and for proof hereof, there is yet in the Abby, St. *Peters* Cope to shew; that from that time hitherward, there never was so undevout a King, that durst violate that sacred place; nor so holy a Bishop that durst presume to consecrate it: and therefore (saith he) God forbid, that any man, for any earthly thing, should enterprise to break the immunity and liberty of that sacred Sanctuary: And I trust with Gods Grace, we shall not need it, at least my endeavours shall not be wanting; if the Mothers dread and womanish fear be not the let. Womanish fear, may Womanish frowardness, (quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*) for I dare take it upon my Soul, she well knoweth there is no need of any fear, either for her Son, or for her self: and prosecuting his discourse, declareth at large, that there was no just cause for the Queen to keep her Son, so there was great cause for them to require him; and that for breach of Sanctuary in this case there could be none; for that he had often heard of Sanctuary-men, but never heard of Sanctuary-Children. And to this purpose having spoken much, it was well assented to by the Lords that were present, and with this Instruction is the Archbishop (upon whom the Queen specially relied) sent unto her: who after humble salutations, acquaints her with his Message, earnestly perswading her not to oppose the Lord Protectors request, and giving her many reasons, first that she ought not, and then that she could not keep him in Sanctuary. She answered all his reasons, though with great mildness, yet with great earnestness; so as the Archbishop finding little hope to prevail with her by perswasion, turns the tenor of his speech another way; telling her plainly, that if she did not consent to send her Son: he doubted some sharper course would be speedily taken. This warning sank so deep into the Queens mind, that after a little pausing, taking her Son by the hand, she said, my Lord Archbishop, here he is; for my own part I will never deliver him, but if you will needs have him, take him, and at your hands I will require him: and therewith weeping bitterly, Dear Child (saith she) let me kiss thee, before we part. God knows whether ever we shall meet again: And so the Child weeping as fast as she, went along with the Archbishop to the *Star-Chamber*, where the Lord Protector and other Lords had stayed all the while looking for his coming back: and as soon as he was entred the Room, the Protector spying the Child, riseth up and embraceth him, saying, Dear Nephew, now welcome with all my heart, next to my Soveraign Lord your Brother, nothing gives me so much contentment as your presence: and we may believe him, he spake as he thought; for now he had the prey which he so much desired. A few dayes after, pretending to have them lodged in a place of more security, until the distempers of the Common-wealth might better be quieted; he caused them in great Pomp and State, to be conveyed through *London* to the *Tower*, there at pleasure to remain, till the time of Coronation; whereof there was great shew of preparation made.

The Archbishop of *York* is sent to perswade the Queen to send her young Son to keep his Brother company.

The Duke of *Buckingham* vilifies the priviledg of Sanctuary.

The Archbishops reasons prevail with the Queen to deliver her Son, but with great heaviness.

The Protectors shew of kindness to the young Prince.

The two Princes are with great shew of honour conveyed to the Tower.

But now the great work is to be done, the Princes are to be made away; and how to have it done, *Hoc opus, hic labor est*: There must be potent Instruments, and none so potent as the Duke of *Buckingham*; and he, by a match to be concluded betwixt their Children, and an equal partition of the Treasure of the Realm betwixt them two; not only is drawn to condescend, but most forward to contrive and plot stratagems to effect it. The first rub in the way was the Lord *Hastings*; who being found so firm to his old Master King *Edward*'s Sons, that nothing could remove him, it was fit to remove him out of the way; which was done in this manner: All the Lords of the privy Council, in the Protectors name, are convoked to the *Tower*; where fitting preparations for the Coronation of the young King, are proposed, until the Protector came in; who taking his Chair, very affably saluted them, merrily jesting with some, and more than ordinarily pleasant with them all: when after a little talk, he said to the Bishop of *Ely*; my Lord, I hear you have very good Strawberries at your Garden in *Holborn*; I pray let us have a Mess of them: Most gladly (said the Bishop) and presently sent for some: And then the Protector rising up, prayed the Lords to spare his absence a little; and so departed. Within the space of an hour he returned; but so changed in countenance, and with such inward perturbations, which with sighings and other passionate gestures he expressed so, that it made them all to marvail. After long silence (the better to prepare them to the more attention) he confusedly interrogates, What they deserved that nefariously had practised his destruction? This unexpected interrogation struck such amazement amongst the Lords, that they all sate gazing on one another, and were as it were, stricken dumb: At length the Lord *Hastings*, by *Buckingham*'s instigation as one presuming on his intimacy with the Protector, boldly answered, that they deserved the punishment of Traytors; which all the rest by their silence approved: Whereat the Protector riseth up, and with a stern look upon the Lord *Hastings*, replied: Why it is the old Sorceress my Brothers

The Lord *Hastings* firm to the Princes and therefore is first made away, and in what manner

thers Widow, and her Partner the common Strumpet *Jane Shore*, that have by incantation conſpired to bereave me of my life: and though by Gods grace I have eſcaped the end of their malice, yet ſee the Miſchief they have done me; for behold (and then he bared his left arm to the elbow: and ſhewed it) how they have cauſed this dear limb of mine to wither, and grow uſeleſs; and ſo ſhould all my body have been ſerved, if they might have had their Will a little longer. Thoſe to whom the Queens Religious courſes were not unknown, and who knew his withered arm to have been ſuch from his birth, ſate gazing one upon another, not knowing what to think or ſay; until the Lord *Haſtings*, thinking thereby to leave all blame upon the Queen, and excuſe his Paramour Miſtreſs *Shore* (whom ever ſince the death of King *Edward* he had entertained for his bed-fellow, and had but that morning parted from her,) with a ſober look ſubmiſſively ſaid, *If the Queen have conſpired*—Which word was no ſooner out of the Lord *Haſtings* mouth, than the Protector clapping his hand upon the board, and frowningly looking upon him, ſaid, Telleſt thou me of If and And? I tell thee, They, and none but they have done it; and thou thy ſelf art partaker of the villany. Who I, my Lord, quoth he? Yea thou Traytor, quoth the Protector; and therewith, upon a Watch-word given, thoſe prepared before for that purpoſe, in the outer Chamber, cried, Treaſon, Treaſon! when preſently a great number of men in Arms came ruſhing in, as it were to guard the Protector; one of which with a Pollax ſtrook a main blow at the Lord *Stanley*, and wounded him on the head, and had ſlain him outright, if he had not avoided the ſtroke by ſlipping backward, and falling down to the ground. Forthwith the Protector arreſted the Lord *Haſtings* of high Treaſon, and wiſhed him to make haſte to be confeſſed; for he ſwore by Saint *Paul* (his uſual Oath) that he would not touch bread nor drink till his head were off. It booted not to ask, why; for he knew the Protectors Actions were not to be examined, So he was led forth unto the Green (before the Chappel) within the *Tower*, where his head was laid down upon a long log of timber, and there ſtrucken off. His body afterward with his head were interred at *Windſor*, beſides the body of King *Edward*. In this mans death we may ſee how inevitable the blows of Deſtiny are: for the very night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* ſent a ſecret Meſſenger to him at midnight, in all haſte to acquaint him with a Dream he had, in which he thought that a Boar with his tuſks ſo goared them both by the heads, that the blood run about their ſhoulders: and forasmuch as the Protector gave the Boar for his Cogniſance, this Dream made ſo fearful an impreſſion in his heart, that he was throughly reſolved to ſtay no longer; and had made his Horſe ready, requiring the Lord *Haſtings* to go with him, and that preſently, to be out of danger, before it ſhould be day. But the Lord *Haſtings* anſwered the Meſſenger: Good Lord! leaneth your Maſter ſo much to ſuch trifles, to put ſuch faith in Dreams, which either his own fear fantaſieth, or elſe do riſe in the nights reſt, by reaſon of the days thoughts? Go back therefore to thy Maſter, and commend me to him, and pray him to be merry, and have no fear; for I aſſure him, I am as ſure of the man he wotteth of, as of my own hand. The man he meant, was one *Catesby*, well learned in the Laws of the Land; who by his favour was grown into good authority in *Leiceſterſhire*, where the Lord *Haſtings* Eſtate lay. Of this man he made himſelf ſo ſure, that he thought nothing could be plotted againſt him, which he would not preſently reveal unto him. But this man deceived him, and was grown ſo inward with the Protector, that being ſet by the Protector to draw him to be a party in his deſigns, and finding he could not do it, was himſelf the firſt mover to rid him out of the way. Another warning the Lord *Haſtings* had, the ſame morning in which he was beheaded, his Horſe twice or thrice ſtumbled with him, almoſt to falling: which though it often happen to ſuch to whom no miſchance is toward, yet hath it of old been obſerved as a token forgoing ſome great miſfortune. Alſo at the *Tower-Wharf*, near to the place where his head ſoon after was ſtrucken off, he met with one *Haſtings* a Purſuivant of his own name; to whom he ſaid, Ah *Haſtings*, doſt thou remember I met thee here once with a heavy heart? Yes, my Lord, ſaith he, I remember it well; and God be thanked that time is paſt. In faith man, ſaid the Lord *Haſtings*, I never ſtood in ſo great dread of life, as I did when thou and I met here: and lo, how the world is changed! Now ſtand my Enemies in the danger, as thou mayſt hap to hear hereafter (for the Enemies he meant, were the Lord *Rivers*, and others of the Queens Kindred, who that very day were beheaded at *Pomfret*:) and I never ſo merry, nor in ſo good ſurety as now I am. That we may know, there is not a greater *Omen* or ſign of ill Fortune, than to preſume of good. And indeed, ſuch is the uncertainty of our eſtate in this life, that we ſeldom know when we are in a tempeſt at Sea, nor when we are in a calm on ſhore; thinking our ſelves oftentimes moſt ſafe, when we are moſt in danger, and oftentimes to be in danger, when we are moſt ſafe: He only is in the true Haven that can ſay, as Chriſt teacheth us, *Thy Will be done in earth as it is in Heaven.*

The Lord *Haſtings* is beheaded.

His neglect of preſages and Warnings.

But this Lord being thus put to death, the Lord Protector, to colour the matter, immediately after dinner, in all haſte, ſent for many ſubſtantial Citizens; at whoſe coming, himſelf with the Duke of *Buckingham* ſtood harneſſed in old ruſty Brigandines, to make a ſhew they were forced by the ſudden danger to take ſuch as they could firſt come by: and withal, a Herauld of Arms is ſent with a Proclamation in the Kings name, ſignifying that the Lord *Haſtings* with ſome others had conſpired the ſame day to have ſlain the Lord Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, as they ſate in Council; and after to have taken upon them to rule the King and Kingdom at their own pleaſures. Now was this Proclamation made within two hours after the Lord *Haſtings* was beheaded; and was ſo curiouſly indicted, and ſo fair written in Parchment, and withal ſo long, that every Child might perceive it was prepared before; which made

How the Lord Protector colours the death of the Lord *Haſtings*.

made one that was Schoolmaſter of *Pauls* ſtanding by when the Proclamation was read, to ſay, *Here is a gay goodly caſt; foul caſt away for haſte.* To whom a Merchant anſwered, *It was written by Prophecy.* And now by and by, as it were in revenge of his offence, the Protector ſent the Sheriffs of *London* into the houſe of *Shore*'s Wife, and ſpoiled her of all her Goods, above the value of three thouſand Marks; and then conveying her through *London* to the *Tower*, there left her priſoner; where he laid to her charge, that ſhe went about to bewitch him, and was of Council with the Lord *Haſtings* to deſtroy him. In concluſion, ſhe was laid into *Ludgate*, and by the Biſhop of *London* put to open Penance for Incontinency; going before the Croſs in Proceſſion upon a Sunday, with a Taper in her hand: In which, although ſhe were out of all array, ſave her Kirtle only; yet went ſhe ſo fair and lovely, and withal ſo womanly and demurely, that many who hated her courſe of life, yet pitied her courſe uſage, and were not a little grieved to ſee her miſery. And indeed, this may be ſaid in her behalf, that being in extraordinary favour with King *Edward*, yet ſhe never uſed it to the hurt of any, but to the relief of many: and was ever a mediator, an Oppreſſor never.

Shore's Wife how puniſhed.

Now it was contrived by the Protector, that the very day in which the Lord *Haſtings* was beheaded at *London*, and about the very ſame hour, there were beheaded at *Pomfret* the Lord *Rivers*, and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at *Northampton* and *Stony-Stratford*; which was done in the preſence, and by the Order of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, Knight, whoſe ſervice the Protector ſpecially uſed in that buſineſs; who bringing them to the Scaffold, and not ſuffering them to declare their innocency, leſt their words might have inclined men to hate the Protector, cauſed them haſtily, without Judgment or Order of Proceſs, to be beheaded.

When theſe were thus rid out of the way, then thought the Protector, that now was the time to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the Crown: but all the ſtudy was, by what means this matter being ſo hainous in it ſelf, might be broken to the people, in ſuch wiſe as that it might be well taken: for which purpoſe, it was thought fit to call to this Council *Edmund Shaw*, Knight, the then Mayor of *London*: who upon promiſe of advancement, ſhould frame the peoples inclination to it. And becauſe ſpiritual men are beſt hearkned to, for matters of Conſcience, ſome of them were uſed alſo; among whom, choice was made of *John Shaw*, Clerk, Brother to the Mayor; Fryer *Penker*, Provincial of the Order of the *Auguſtine* Fryers; both great Preachers, both of more learning than vertue, of more fame than learning. Theſe two were appointed to preach, the one at *Pauls* Croſs, the other at the *Spittle*, in praiſe of the Protector: *Penker* in his Sermon ſo loſt his voice, that he was fain to leave off and came down in the midſt: *Shaw* by his Sermon loſt his reputation, and ſoon after his life; for he never after durſt come abroad for very ſhame of the world.

Shaw Mayor of *London* is made an inſtrument for bringing the Duke of *Gloceſter* to the Crown.

But now was all the labour and ſtudy, to find out ſome convenient pretext, for which the people ſhould be content to have the Prince depoſed, and the Protector be received for King; to which purpoſe many things were deviſed: the chief was, to alledge Baſtardy either in King *Edward* himſelf, or in his Children, or in both. To lay Baſtardy to King *Edward*, founded openly to the reproach of the Protector's own Mother, who was Mother to them both; he would therefore that point ſhould more favourably be handled: but the other point concerning the Baſtardy of his Children, he would have enforced to the uttermoſt. The ground whereof was, that King *Edward* had been formerly contracted to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, by whom he had a Child; though the ſaid Lady, having been examined about it, confeſſed plainly, they were never aſſured. Yet upon this pretext, Doctor *Shaw* taking for his Text, *Baſtard plants ſhall take no deep root*; in his Sermon declared, that King *Edward* was never lawfully married to the Queen, but was before God, Husband to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, and ſo his Children Baſtards. And beſides that, neither King *Edward* himſelf, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were reckoned very ſure for the Children of the noble Duke *Richard*, as thoſe that by their favours more reſembled other known men; but the Lord Protector (ſaith he) is the Fathers own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his Viſage, the plain expreſs likeneſs of that noble Duke. Now, it was before deviſed, that juſt at the ſpeaking of theſe words the Protector ſhould have come, to the end that theſe words meeting with his preſence, might be taken among the hearers, as though the Holy Ghoſt had put them in the Preachers mouth, and ſo ſhould move the people even then to cry, King *Richard*, King *Richard!* that it might be after ſaid, he was ſpecially choſen by God, and in a manner by Miracle: But this device failed, for whether by the Protectors ſlackneſs in coming, or the Doctors haſte in preaching, he had paſſed theſe words, and was gone clean to another matter before the Protector came; ſo as afterward ſeeing him come, he was fain to leave the matter he had in hand, and out of all Order and frame begin to repeat thoſe words again: This is the very noble Prince, the Fathers own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his Viſage, the plain expreſs likeneſs of that noble Duke. While theſe words were in ſpeaking, the Protector, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, preſſed through the people into the place where the Doctors ſit; and there ſate to hear the Sermon. But the people were ſo far from crying King *Richard*, that they cryed ſhame on the Preacher, for abuſing his ſacred Function with ſo ſhameful a Sermon.

Cauſes deviſed to make the two Princes illegitimate.

The Tueſday following this Sermon, the Duke of *Buckingham*, with divers Lords and Knights, came to the *Guildhall* in *London*; and there before the Mayor and whole aſſembly of Citizens, made a very ſolemn and long Oration, wherein he recited many grievances of the late King *Edward*'s Government; his many unneceſſary Taxations and unjuſt ſeverities; thereby to bring his Children into hatred: and then remembred them of the late Sermon made at *Paul*'s Croſs, by a learned Doctor; who clearly

The Duke of *Buckingham* at *Guildhall* propounded the Duke of *Gloceſter* for the rightful Heir to the Crown.

clearly shewed the bastardy of King *Edward*'s Children; and that *Richard* Duke of *Glocester* was the only rightful and indubitate Heir to the Crown of *England*: which the Lords of the Kingdom having taken into their consideration, had thereupon agreed to accept him for their King; and now himself was come to acquaint them with it, and to require their consents. Which Oration ended, all men stood wondering at the motion, but no man offered to speak a word. At which the Duke marvelling, as supposing the Mayor had prepared them before; he asked the Mayor privately, what this silence meant? who answered, that perhaps they had not heard or understood what it was he said. Whereupon the Duke with a more audible voice repeated the same matter again, in a more earnest and plain expression; yet neither did that move them to shew any inclination to the motion. Then the Duke whispering with the Mayor, it was thought that the Citizens being used to have such motions made them by their Recorder, they would better hear it from him; and thereupon the Recorder is commanded to move them in it: but the Recorder (called *Fitzwilliams*) being an honest man, and newly come to his place, repeated only as near as he could the words of the Duke, but added nothing of his own; so as neither did this move the people to break their silence. At last the Duke seeing their resolved sullenness, told them plainly, that all the Nobility and Commons of the Realm were agreed to chuse the Protector for their King, as the true and undoubted Heir; so as he needed not to have moved them to it, but only for the great respect they all bear to this honourable City, and therefore required them plainly to speak their minds, whether they would joyn with them in this choice or no. At this, certain servants of the Dukes, and others of their procuring, standing at the lower end of the Hall, cast up their Caps, and cried aloud, King *Richard*, King *Richard*; whereat, though the whole multitude of Citizens marvelled what they meant; yet the Duke taking advantage of it, as of an unanimous consent. A goodly cry (saith he) and thanked them all for their universal approbation, promising he would acquaint the Protector with the great love they shewed toward him; and then requiring the Mayor and chief Citizens to meet him the next morning at *Baynards* Castle, where the Protector then lay, there to joyn with him in petitioning the Protector to accept of this their freely profered subjection, he took his leave and so departed.

The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Mayor of *London* make suit unto the Protector to take the Crown upon him.

The next morning according to appointment they all meet at *Baynards* Castle; where the Duke of *Buckingham* sends up word to the Lord Protector, that himself with the Lord Mayor and his Brethren, were come to present a supplication to him concerning a business of great importance: but the Protector (though preacquainted with all passages, yet) made it strange what their supplication should be; and answered, that though he suspected nothing which the Duke of *Buckingham* presented to him, yet he desired at least some slight intimation to what it might tend. To this it was answered; that the business they came about was to be made known to himself in person; and therefore humbly besought him of admission in his presence. Upon this, as if not yet well assured of their meaning towards him; he appears unto them in an upper Gallery, making semblance as though he would prevent all danger, by standing something aloof and in his Fort: To whom the Duke of *Buckingham*, in behalf of the Mayor and Nobility there present, in most respective and reverent manner makes request that his Grace would pardon what he should deliver to him: and much circumstance he used, before he would discover their cause of coming: but though long first, yet at last he told it: That in respect of the urgent necessities of the Commonwealth, they all humbly intreated him to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom, as in his own right; to whom they all rendred their Allegiance. At which words the Protector starting back, as if he had heard something most unpleasing to him, passionately answered: I little thought, good Cousin, that you of all men would have moved me to a matter which of all things in the World I most decline: Far be it from me to accept of that, which without apparent wrong to my dear deceased Brothers sweet Children, and my own upright Conscience, I cannot well approve of. And then being about to proceed in his premeditated dissimulation, the Duke in a seeming abrupt passion, kneeling upon his knee, said, Your Grace was pleased to give me free liberty to deliver unto you in the name of this worthy Assembly the tender of their dutiful Obedience to you: but I must further add, that it is unanimously resolved on, That your late Brother King *Edward*'s Children, as being generally known to be Illegitimate, shall never be admitted to the Crown of *England*; and therefore if your Grace shall neither reguard your self nor us so much, as to accept it, we are directly determined to confer it upon some other of the House of *Lancaster*, that will be more sensible of his own and our good. These words wrought so powerfully upon the Protector's passions, that with some change of countenance, and not without seeming reluctation, he said: Since I perceive the whole Realm is so resolved, by no means to admit my dear Nephews, being but Children, to reign over you; and seeing the Right of succession belongs justly to me, as the indubitate Heir of *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, my Illustrious Father: We are contented to condescend to your importunities, and to accept of the Royal Government of the Kingdom; and will, to the uttermost of my power, endeavour to procure and maintain the welfare thereof. And having so said, he came down from his Gallery, and very formally saluted them all: which so pleased the giddy multitude, that presently they fell to acclamations, Long live King *Richard* our dread Sovereign Lord! and then every man departed.

The Protector starred at their motion.

But yet accepts it.

The REIGN of KING RICHARD The THIRD.

1483.

IT was now the eighteenth day of *June*, in the year 1483, when *RICHARD* Duke of *Glocester* took upon him the Crown: so as the imaginary Reign of *Edward* the Fifth, continued but just ten weeks. The next day King *Richard* with a great Train went to *Westminster*-Hall, and placed himself in the Court of the King's Bench, saying, he would take the Crown upon him in that place where the King himself sitteth and ministreth the Law, because he considered that it is the chiefest duty of a King to administer the Laws. And here, to get the love of the people by a feigned clemency, he sent for one *Forge* out of Sanctuary, who for fear of his displeasure was fled thither; and there in the sight of all the people, caused him to kiss his hand.

King *Richard* marries the Relict of Prince *Edward* Son to *Henry* the Sixth.

After his return home, he took to Wife the Lady *Anne*, youngest Daughter of the great *Warwick*, and the Relict of Prince *Edward*, Son of *Henry* the Sixth, though she could not be ignorant, that he had been the Author both of her Husbands and Fathers death. But womens affections are Eccentrick to common apprehension; whereof the two Poles are Passion and Inconstancy.

Against his Coronation he had sent for five thousand men out of the North; and these being come under the leading of *Robin Riddlesdale*, upon the fourth of *July*: together with his new Bride, he went from *Bayard*'s Castle to the *Tower* by water, where he created *Edward* his Son, a Child of ten years old, Prince of *Wales*; *John* Lord *Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, his Son Sir *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*; *William* Lord *Berckley* Earl of *Nottingham*; *Francis* Lord *Lovel* Viscount *Lovel* and his Chamberlain; and the Lord *Stanely* (who had been committed prisoner to the *Tower*, in regard his Son the Lord *Strange* was reported to have levied Forces in *Lancashire*) not only that day was released out of Prison, but was made Lord Steward of his Household. The Archbishop of *York* was likewise then delivered; but *Morton* Bishop of *Ely* (as one that could not be drawn to the disinheriting of King *Edward*'s Children) was committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who sent him to his Castle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*, there to be in custody. The same night were made seventeen Knights of the *Bath*, *Edmund* the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Son, *George Gray* the Earl of *Kent*'s Son, *William* the Lord *Zouches* Son, *Henry Aburgaveny*, *Christopher Willoughby*, *Henry Babington*, *Thomas Arundel*, *Thomas Boleign*, *Gervis Clifton*, *William Say*, *Edmund Bedingfield*, *William Enderby*, *Thomas Lewknor*, *Thomas* of *Urmond*, *John Brown*, and *William Berckley*. The next day, being the fifth of *July*, the King rode through the City of *London* to *Westminster*, being accompanied with the Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Buckingham*, and *Suffolk*; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Arundel*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Wiltshire*; *Huntington*, *Nottingham*, *Warwick*, and *Lincoln*, the Viscounts *Lisle* and *Lovel*, the Lords *Stanely*, *Audley*, *Dacres*, *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Powis*, *Scroop* of *Upsale*, *Scroop* of *Bolton*, *Gray* of *Codnor*, *Gray* of *Wilton*, *Sturton*, *Cobham*, *Morley*, *Burgaveny*, *Zouch*, *Ferrers* of *Croby*, *Wells*, *Lumley*, *Matrevers*, *Herbert* and *Beckham*, and fourscore Knights. On the morrow, being the sixth of *July*, the King, with Queen *Anne* his Wife, came down out of the White Hall, into the great Hall at *Westminster*, and went directly to the Kings Bench; and from thence, going upon Ray-cloth, bare-footed, went to St. *Edward*'s Shrine, all his Nobility going with him, every Lord in his degree. The Bishop of *Rochester* bore the Cross before the Cardinal: Then followed the Earl of *Huntington*, bearing a pair of gilt Spurs, signifying Knighthood: Then followed the Earl of *Bedford*, bearing St. *Edward*'s Staff for a Relique: After him came the Earl of *Northumberland* bare-headed, with the pointless Sword in his hand, signifying Mercy: The Lord *Stanely* bare the Mace of Constableship: The Earl of *Kent* bore the second Sword, on the right hand of the King, naked, with a point; which signified Justice to the Temporality: The Lord *Lovel* bore the third Sword on the Kings left hand, with a point, which signified Justice to the Clergy: The Duke of *Suffolk* followed with the Scepter in his hand, which signified Peace: The Earl of *Lincoln* bore the Ball and Cross, which signified Monarchy: The Earl of *Surrey* bore the fourth Sword before the King, in a rich Scabbard, which is called the Sword of Estate: Then went three together; (in the midst went *Garter* King of Arms, in his rich Coat; and on his right hand went the Mayor of *London*, bearing a Mace; and on his left hand went the Gentleman-Usher of the Privy-Chamber: Then followed the Duke of *Norfolk*, bearing the Kings Crown between his hands: Then followed King *Richard*

Lords created.

Morton Bishop of *Ely* committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

King *Richard* and his Queen in great state are crowned, and the manner of it.

chard in his Robes of Purple Velvet, and over his head a Canopy, born by four Barons of the Cinque-ports; and on each side of the King went a Bishop; on one side the Bishop of *Bath*, on the other, of *Durham*: Then followed the Duke of *Buckingham*, bearing the Kings Train, with a white Staff in his hand, signifying the Office of High Steward of *England*. Then followed the Queens Train, before whom was born the Scepter, the Ivory Rod, with the Dove (signifying Innocency) and the Crown: her self apparelled in Robes like the Kings, under a rich Canopy, at every Corner thereof a Bell of Gold. On her head she wore a Circlet, set full of precious Stones, the Countess of *Richmond* bearing her Train; the Dutchesses of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* in their Coronets, attending, with twenty Ladies of Estate most richly attired. In this order they passed the Palace into the Abbey: and going up to the High Altar, there shifted their Robes; and having other Robes open in divers places from the middle upward, were both of them Anointed and Crowned: and then after the Sacrament received (having the Host divided betwixt them) they both offered to St. *Edward*'s Shrine, where the King left St. *Edward*'s Crown wherewith he had been Crowned, and put on his own: and this done, in the same Order and State as they came, they returned to *Westminster* Hall, and there held a most Princely Feast; at the second course whereof, there came into the Hall Sir *Robert Dymock*, the King's Champion, making Proclamation, that whosoever would say that King *Richard* was not lawful King of *England*, he was there ready to prove it against him; and thereupon threw down his Gantlet: and then all the Hall cried, King *Richard*, King *Richard*. And thus with some other Ceremonies the Coronation ended, and the King and Queen returned to their Lodgings.

King *Richard* sends to make amity with the King of *France*, but he rejects it.

Presently after this, King *Richard* sent a Solemn Ambassage to *Lewis* King of *France*, to conclude a League and Amity with him: but the *French* King so abhorred him, and his Cruelty, that he would not so much as see or hear his Ambassadors; but sent them away with shame, in disgrace of their Master.

At this time with his Queen, he made a Progress to *Glocester*, under colour to visit the place of his old Honour; but indeed to be out of the way, having a special villany to be acted: for though he had satisfied his Ambition, by depriving his dear Nephews of their Livelihoods; yet it satisfied not his Fear, if he deprived them not also of their Lives. For effecting whereof, his old Friend the Duke of *Buckingham* was no fit Instrument; it must be one of a baser metal; and to find out such a one, he needed not go far; for upon inquiry, he was told of two that lay in the next chamber to him, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *James Tyrrel*; two Brothers like *Jacob* and *Esau*, not more near in blood, than different in conditions; of equal goodliness of personage both, but not of equal goodness of mind; Sir *Thomas* a man of an honest and sober disposition; but Sir *James* of a turbulent spirit, and one who gaping after preferment, would not stick to make a fortune out of any villany. Being told of this man as he was sitting at the Close-stool, he presently rose and went to him; where being met, the match is soon made up between them: for he found Sir *James* more ready to undertake the work, than he was himself to set him about it. It only remained to procure him free passage to the place where the work was to be done: for King *Richard* had formerly sent a trusty Privado of his, named *John Green*, to Sir *Robert Brackenbury* then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, thinking that he, having been raised by him, would not have refused to do the deed himself; but when he heard how averse he was from it, Good Lord (saith he) whom may a man trust? Once he saw plainly, that whilst he was Lieutenant, there was no possibility to effect it. To remove therefore this rub, he sends his Letters Mandatory to *Brackenbury*, to deliver presently the Keys of the *Tower* to Sir *James Tyrrel*, who being now Lieutenant for the time, and having the two Innocent Princes under his custody, gets two other, as very villaines as himself, the one *Miles Forrest*, the other *James Dighton*, his Horse-keeper, a big sturdy Knave; and these he makes his under-agents: who coming into the Childrens Chamber in the night (for they were suffered to have none about them, but one Black *Will*, or *William Slaughter*, a bloody Rascal) they suddenly lapped them up in their cloathes, and keeping down by force the Feather-bed and Pillows hard under their mouths, so stifled them, that their breath failing, they gave up their innocent souls to God: whom when the Murtherers perceived, first by their strugling with the pains of death, and then by their long lying still, to be throughly dead; they laid their bodies out upon the bed, and then fetched Sir *James* to see them; who presently caused their bodies to be buried under the stairs, under a heap of stones: from whence they were afterward removed to a place of Christian-burial, by a Priest of Sir *Robert Brackenburies*, who dying within a few days after, and none knowing the place but himself, was cause that it hath not been known to this day; and gave occasion afterward to the Imposture of *Perkin Warbeck* in King *Henry* the Seventh's Reign. Some report that King *Richard* caused their bodies to be taken up and closed them in Lead, and then to be put in a Coffin full of holes, hooked at the ends with Iron, and so cast into a place called the Black Deeps, at the *Thames* mouth, to be sure they should never rise up, nor be seen again. And now see the Divine Revenge upon the Actors of this execrable Murther: *Miles Forrest*, at St. *Martins le Grand*, piece-meal rotted away: *Dighton* lived at *Calice* a long time after, but detested of all men, died in great misery: Sir *James Tyrrel* was beheaded afterward on the *Tower-hill* for Treason: and King *Richard* himself, after this abominable fact done, never had a quiet mind, troubled with fearful Dreams; and would sometimes in the night start out of his bed, and run about the Chamber in great fright, as if all the Furies of Hell were hanging about him; that it was verified in him, *Ultrix Tisiphone vocat agmina saeva sororum.*

King *Richard* sets Sir *James Tyrrel* to murther the two Princes.

The Princes are murthered.

But where buried, not known.

The murtherers miserable ends.

Confederacies in evil are seldom long-lived

King *Richard* and the Duke of *Buckingham* fall at variance.

and commonly end in a reciprocal deſtruction: and ſo was it now with King *Richard* and the Duke of *Buckingham*; They had confederated together to the deſtruction of many; and now their Confederacy diſſolves in both their ruines. But what the cauſe was of their diſſolving, is not ſo certain: whether it were that the Duke thought not himſelf ſo well rewarded, as his great ſervices had deſerved; or whether it were, that King *Richard* thought not himſelf abſolute King as long as the Duke, by whoſe means he came to be King, was in ſuch a height of greatneſs; or whether it were (as was rather thought) that the Duke being a man ambitious, and of an aſpiring ſpirit; though he had himſelf been the means to bring King *Richard* to the Crown; yet when the Crown was put upon his head, ſo envied at it, that he turned his head another way, as not enduring the ſight; and for the ſame cauſe, was willing not to have been preſent at the Coronation, pretending ſickneſs in excuſe of his abſence: but that King *Richard* ſent him a ſharp meſſage, requiring him to come, or he would fetch him; whereupon the Duke went, but with ſo ill a mind, that he bore it in mind ever after. Whatſoever it was, certain it is, that preſently after the Coronation there grew great jealouſies between them, and the Duke retired himſelf to his Caſtle at *Brecknock*, where he had the Biſhop of *Ely* in cuſtody. And here we may obſerve the unſearchable depth of the Divine Providence, the bottom whereof, the ſoundeſt judgment of man can never ſound, as working effects by contrary cauſes: for whereas King *Richard* had committed the Biſhop to the Duke, as to one that would have a moſt watchful eye over him; this which the King did for the Biſhops greater puniſhment, proved a means afterward of the Biſhops greater advancement, and a means at the preſent of King *Richard*'s ruin: for the Duke being retired home, and having his head ſo full of thoughts, that of neceſſity it required vent; for his own recreation would ſometimes fall in talk with the Biſhop, with whoſe diſcourſe (as he was a man of great wit and ſolid judgment) the Duke was ſo taken, that he grew to delight in nothing more than to be conferring with him. One time it happened, that the Duke had opened his mind ſomething freely to him; and the Biſhop following him in his own way, and cunningly working upon that humour of the Duke which he found moſt working in the Duke; which he perceived to grow out of envy to King *Richard*; he ſaid to this purpoſe: My Lord, you know I followed firſt the part of King *Henry* the Sixth, and if I could have had my wiſh, his Son ſhould have had the Crown, and not King *Edward*: But after that God had ordained King *Edward* to Reign, I was never ſo mad, that I would with a dead man ſtrive againſt the quick. And ſo was I to King *Edward* alſo a faithful Chaplain, and glad would have been that his Child had ſucceeded him: Howbeit, if the ſecret Judgment of God have otherwiſe provided, I purpoſe not to labour to ſet up that which God pulleth down. And as for the Lord Protector, and now King——and even there he left, ſaying, he had already medled too much with the World, and would from that day meddle with his Books and his Beads, and no further. Then longed the Duke exceedingly to hear what he would have ſaid, becauſe he ended with the King, and there ſuddenly ſtopped; and thereupon entreated him to be bold to ſay whatſoever he thought; whereof he faithfully promiſed there ſhould never come hurt, and peradventure more good than he would think; and withal, that himſelf intended to uſe his ſecret counſel; which (he ſaid) was the only cauſe for the which he had procured of the King to have him in his cuſtody. The Biſhop humbly thanked him, and ſaid, In good faith my Lord, I love not to talk much of Princes, as a thing not all out of peril, though the word be without fault; for ſo much as it ſhall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaſeth the Prince to conſtrue it. And ever I think on *Æſop's* Tale, that when the Lion had proclaimed on pain of death, that no horned Beaſt ſhould abide in a certain Wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of fleſh, fled away a great pace: the Fox that ſaw him run ſo faſt, asked him whither he made all that haſte? who anſwered, In faith I neither wot nor reck, ſo I were once hence, becauſe of the Proclamation made of horned Beaſts: Why fool (quoth the Fox) thou mayeſt abide well enough, the Lion meant it not by thee, for it is no horn that is in thy head: No marry (quoth he) that wot I well enough: but what if he call it a horn, where am I then? The Duke laughed at the Tale, and ſaid, My Lord, I warrant you, neither the Lion nor the Boar ſhall pick any matter at any thing here ſpoken; for it ſhall never come near their ear. Then ſaid the Biſhop, In good faith, Sir, if it did, the thing I was about to ſay, taken as well as afore God I meant it, could deſerve but thanks; and yet taken as I ween it would, might happen to turn me to little good, and you to leſs. Then longed the Duke much more, to hear what it was: whereupon the Biſhop ſaid, My Lord, as for the late Protector, ſith he is now King in poſſeſſion, I purpoſe not to diſpute his Title: but for the weal of the Realm, I could wiſh he had in him thoſe excellent vertues which God hath planted in the perſon of your Grace; and there left again. The Duke ſomewhat marveling at this ſudden pauſe, ſaid, My Lord, I cannot but note your ſudden ſtoppage in your ſpeech, ſo as your words come not to any direct ſentence, whereby I may have knowledge, either what your inward intent is now toward the King, or what your affection is toward me: I therefore intreat you to uſe no more ſuch obſcurity, but plainly to diſcloſe your mind unto me, who upon mine Honour will be as ſecret in the caſe, as the deaf and dumb perſon is to the finger, or the tree to the Hunter. The Biſhop then upon confidence of the Duke's promiſe, ſaid, My Lord, I plainly perceive, the Kingdom being in the caſe as it is, under ſuch a King as now we have, muſt needs decay and be brought to confuſion; but one hope I have, that when I conſider and daily behold your noble Perſonage, your Juſtice, your ardent Love towards your Countrey, and in like manner the great love of your Countrey towards you; I muſt

The Duke of *Buckingham* plots with Morton Biſhop of *Ely*, to put down King *Richard*, and to bring in the Earl of *Richmond*.

must needs think this Realm fortunate, that hath such a Prince in store, meet and apt to be a Governour; in whose person consisteth the very undoubted Image of true honour. And then taxing the present King with many cruelties and oppressions, he concluded, saying, And now my Lord, if either you love God, your Lineage, or your native Countrey, you must your self take upon you the Crown and Imperial Diadem of this Realm: but if your self will refuse to take it upon you, I then adjure you, by the Faith you own to God, and by the love you bear to your native Countrey, to devise some way how this Realm may by your Princely Policy be reduced to some convenient regiment, under some good Governour by you to be appointed: And if you could devise to set up again the Lineage of *Lancaster*, or advance the eldest Daughter of King *Edward* to some puissant Prince: not only the new Crowned King should little enjoy the glory of his Dignity, but all Civil War should cease, and Peace and Profit should again flourish. When the Bishop had ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a good while, which sore abashed the Bishop, and made him change colour; which the Duke perceiving, he said, Be not afraid my Lord, all promises shall be kept; so for that time they parted. The next day the Duke sent for the Bishop, and having rehearsed unto him the communication had between them the day before, he went on and said: My Lord of *Ely*, since I perceive your true heart, and sincere affection toward me, I will now discover unto you all that hath passed my own imaginations. After I had found the dissimulation and falseness of King *Richard*, and especially after I was informed of the murther of the two young Princes, to which (God be my judge) I never condescended; I so much abhorred the sight, and much more the company of him, that I could no longer abide in his Court; but feigning a cause to depart, I took my leave of him, (he thinking nothing less, than that I was displeased) and so returned to *Brecknock* to you; but in that returning, whether it were by inspiration, or else through some melancholick disposition, I had divers imaginations, how to deprive this unnatural and bloody Butcher of his Royal Seat and Dignity. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take upon me the Crown, now was the time, when this Tyrant was abhorred and detested of all men; and knowing not of any that could pretend Title before me: In this imagination I rested two days at *Tewksbury*; in my journey from thence, I mused and thought, that it was not best nor convenient to take upon me as a Conquerour, for then I was sure that all men, and especially the Nobility would oppose me; but at last there sprung up a branch in my head, which I surely thought would have brought forth fair flowers, but they turned indeed to dry weeds: for I suddenly remembred that the Lord *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, my Grandfather, was with King *Henry* the Sixth, in two or three degrees of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*: so that I thought certainly, my Mother being eldest Daughter to Duke *Edmund*, that I was next Heir to King *Henry* the Sixth, of the House of *Lancaster*: This Title pleased well such as I made of my Council, and much more it elevated my ambitious intent; but while I was in amaze, whether I were best suddenly to set this Title open amongst the Common people, or else keep it secret a while, see what chanced: As I rode between *Worcester* and *Bridgnorth*, I met with the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, now Wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the Daughter and sole Heir to *John* Duke of *Somerset*, my Grandfathers elder Brother (which was as clean out of my mind, as if I had never seen her) so that she, and her Son the Earl of *Richmond*, have both of them Titles before mine, and then I clearly saw how I was deceived: whereupon I determined, utterly to relinquish all such fantastical imaginations concerning the obtaining the Crown my self; and found there could be no better way to settle it in a true establishment, than that the Earl of *Richmond*, very Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, should take to Wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to King *Edward*, the very Heir of the House of *York*; so that the two Roses may be united in one: and now (saith the Duke) I have told you my very mind. When the Duke had said this, the Bishop was not a little glad, for this was the mark he had himself aimed at: and thereupon, after some complements of extolling his device, he said: Since by your Graces incomparable wisdom, this noble conjunction is now moved; it is in the next place necessary to consider, what friends we shall first make privy of this intention. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with the Countess of *Richmond* the Earl's Mother; who knoweth where he is, either in Captivity, or at large in *Britain*. And thus was the foundation laid of a League, by these two great men; by which the death of the two young Princes was fully revenged: and it was not talkt of only, but presently put in execution; for now is *Reynold Bray* employed by the Bishop, to his Mistress the Dutchess of *Richmond*; Doctor *Lewis*, the Dutchesses Physician, was employed by her to the Queen *Elizabeth*; *Hugh Conway*, and *Thomas Rame*, were employed to the Earl of *Richmond*, to acquaint them, but in most secret manner, with the intended plot, and to procure their promises to the propounded marriage; which was no hard matter to make them all willing to their own wishes. This done, Instruments are employed to draw in parties to the confederacy: *Bray* by his credit drew in Sir *Giles Dawbeny*, Sir *John Cheyney*, *Richard Guildford*, *Thomas Rame*, and others; *Urswick* likewise drew in *Hugh Conway*, *Thomas Colepeper*, *Thomas Roper*, with some others; Doctor *Lewis* drew in *Edward Courtney*, and his Brother *Peter* Bishop of *Exeter*. It is memorable, that *Thomas Conway* being sent most part by Sea, and *Thomas Rame* most part by Land; yet came to the Earl of *Richmond* in *Britain*, within the space of little more than an hour; upon whose information of the plot, the Earl acquaints the Duke of *Britain* with it, who, though by *Hutton* King *Richard*'s Ambassador, he had by many great offers been solicited to detain him in Prison, yet he both readily promised, and really performed, both his advice and

and aid to the Earls proceedings. In this mean time Bishop *Morton*, not without asking the Dukes leave, though without obtaining it, secretly in disguise, gets him into the Isle of *Ely*; and there having done the Earl good offices by procuring of Friends, he thence passeth into *Britain* to him; from whence he returned no more, till afterward the Earl being King, sent for him home, and made him Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Bishop *Morton* in disguise passeth over into *Britain* to the Earl of *Richmond*.

But though all these things were carried closely, and oath taken by all for secrecy, yet came it to King *Richard*'s knowledge: who notwithstanding dissembled it, sends for the Duke of *Buckingham* to come to him; and he putting off his coming with pretended excuses, is at last peremptorily sent for to come upon his Allegiance: when he returned this resolute answer: that he owed no Allegiance to such a perjur'd inhumane Butcher of his own Flesh and Blood: and so from that time preparation for Arms is made on both sides. The Duke had gotten a good power of *Welshmen*, and the Marquess of *Dorset* having gotten out of Sanctuary, was labouring in *Yorkshire* to raise Forces; the like did the two *Courtneys* in *Devonshire* and *Cornwal*, and *Guilford* and *Rame* in *Kent*. King *Richard* setting forward with his Forces, the Duke of *Buckingham* doth the like, intending at *Glocester* to have passed the *Severn* and so to have joyned with the two *Courtneys*; but such abundance of rain at that time fell, that the *Severn* was broken out, and impossible to be passed over; which the *Welshmen* seeing, and taking it for an ill sign, they secretly slipt away; so as the Duke left well-near alone, without either Page, or so much as a Footman, repaired to the House of one *Humfrey Bannister* near to *Shrewsbury*; who having been raised by him, and his Father before him; he thought himself safe under his roof: But *Bannister*, upon proclamation made by King *Richard*, that whosoever could apprehend the Duke, should have a thousand pound for his labour; like an ungrateful and perfidious wretch, discovered him to *John Mitton*, High Sheriff of *Shropshire*, who took him in a pilled black Cloak, as he was walking in an Orchard behind the House; and carried him to *Shrewsbury*, where King *Richard* then lay, and there without Arraignment, or Legal proceeding, he was in the Market-place beheaded. Whether *Bannister* received the Proclaimed reward from the hand of the King, is uncertain; but certain it is, that he received the reward of a Villain frome the hand of Divine Justice, for himself was afterward hanged for man-slaughter, his eldest Daughter was defloured by one of his Carters, as some say, strucken with a foul Leprosie; his eldest Son in a desperate Lunacy murthered himself, and was found to have done so, by the Coroners Inquest; and his younger Son in a small puddle was strangled and drowned.

The Duke of *Buckingham* sent for by King *Richard*, refuseth to come.

The Duke of *Buckingham* betakes himself to the house of one *Humfrey Bannister* his own servant, who betrays him.

And is beheaded.

The Judgment of God upon *Bannister*.

Upon this disaster of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his complices shifted for themselves; some taking Sanctuary, some keeping themselves in unknown places, but many conveyed themselves into *Britain* to the Earl of *Richmond*; of whom the Marquess *Dorset*, *John* Lord *Wells*, the Bishop of *Exeter*, and his Brother Sir *John Bourchier*, Sir *Edward Woodvile* Brother to Queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Sir *Giles Daubeny*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *John Cheyney*, and his two Brethren, Sir *William Brackley*, Sir *William Brandon*, and his Brother *Thomas*, Sir *Richard Edgecome*, *Hollowel* and *Poynings* Captains, were the chief. Whilst these things are in doing, King *Richard* receives intelligence from *Hutton* his Ambassador lieger in *Britain*; that the Duke not only refuseth to restrain the Earl of *Richmond*, but intendeth also to give him assistance: whereupon the King took present order for preparing his Navy to stop the Earls landing in any Port of *England*. He apprehended also in divers parts of the Realm, certain Gentlemen of the Earl of *Richmonds* confederation; but coming himself to the City of *Exeter*, and to the Castle there, and understanding that it was called *Rugemont*, he suddenly fell into a dump, as one astonied, said; Well, I see my days be not long: He spake this of a Prophecy told him, that when he came once to *Richmond*, he should not live long after: which fell out to be true, not in respect of this Castle, but in respect of *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*.

Upon the twelfth day of *October*, in the year 1484, the Earl of *Richmond*, with forty Ships and five thousand waged *Britains*, took to Sea; but that evening by tempest of weather, his whole Fleet was dispersed; so as only the Ship wherein the Earl himself was, with one little Bark, was driven upon the Coast of *Cornwall*; where discovering upon the shore great store of Armed Souldiers to resist his landing, he hoised Sail, and returning toward *France*, arrived in *Normandy*; from whence sending Messengers to *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, he was by him not only kindly invited to come to his Court, but was aided also with good sums of money to bear his charges. After this, the Earl returning into *Britain*, received there the news of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s death, and the dispersing of the Confederates Forces; with which, though he was at first much troubled, yet was he as much comforted afterward, when he saw the Marquess *Dorset*, and those other Lords and Captains come unto him: soon after whose coming, upon *Christmas* day before the High Altar in the great Church of *Rheims*, the Earl of *Richmond* gave Oath, to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, as soon as he should be quietly settled in the Government of *England*: and thereupon all the Lords and Knights there present did him homage; and in the same place each to other Religiously vowed, taking the Sacrament upon it, never to cease prosecuting War against King *Richard*, till either his Deposition or Destruction.

1484.

The Earl of *Richmond* is aided by the King of *France*.

He takes Oath to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* King *Edward*'s eldest Daughter.

King *Richard* being informed of these things, makes diligent inquiry after all such as might be suspected to be favourers of *Richmond*'s association; of whom Sir *George Brown*, and Sir *Roger Clifford* with four other Gentlemen are apprehended and executed at *London*: Sir *Thomas Sentleger*, who married *Anne* the Duke of *Exeter*'s Widow, this Kings own Sister, and *Thomas Rame* Esquire, were executed at *Exeter*.

Thomas

Thomas Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and all ſuch as were with the Earl of *Richmond*, were at a Parliament then holden attainted of Treaſon, and all their Goods and Lands ſeized on to the Kings uſe: Beſides theſe, a poor Gentleman called *Collingborn*, for making a ſmall Rhyme of three of his wicked Councellors; the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Catesby*: which Rhyme was thus framed: *The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel the Dog, rule all England under a Hog:* was put to death, and his body divided into four quarters.

At this time a Truce is concluded betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, for three years; and for ſettling a firmer amity between the two Kingdoms, a marriage is treated of between the Duke of *Rothſay*, eldeſt Son to the King of *Scots*, and the Lady *Anne de la Pool*, Daughter to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Anne* Siſter to King *Richard*: which Siſter he ſo much favoured, that after the death of his own Son, who died ſome time before, he cauſed *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, her Son and his Nephew, to be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*.

King *Richard* ſeeks by great gifts to have the Earl of *Richmond* delivered to him.

And now King *Richard*, to take away the root of his fear, once again ſent Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Britain*, with order (beſides the great gifts they carried with them) to make offer, that King *Richard* ſhould yearly pay and anſwer the Duke of all the Revenues and Profits of all Lands and Poſſeſſions, as well belonging to the Earl of *Richmond*, as of any other Nobleman or Gentleman that were in his company; if he after that time would keep them in continual priſon, and reſtrain them from liberty. But the Duke of *Britain* being at that time fallen into ſuch infirmity, that the Ambaſſadors could have no audience; they addreſſed themſelves to *Peter Landois* the Dukes chief Treaſurer: and he taken with this golden hook, faithfully promiſed to ſatisfie their Requeſts; and had done ſo indeed, but that Biſhop *Morton* ſojourning then in *Flanders*, having by his friends intelligence of his purpoſe, preſently informed the Earl thereof. The Earl was then at *Vannes*, who upon the Biſhops information, taking with him only five Servants, as though he went but to viſit ſome friend; when he was five miles forward on his way, ſuddenly turned into a Wood adjoining, and there changing Apparel with one of his Servants followed after as their attendant, and never reſted till by ways unknown he came to his company, abiding at *Angiers*: yet was not his departure ſo ſecret nor ſo ſudden, but that *Peter Landois* had notice of it; who ſending Poſts after him, was ſo near overtaking him, that he was ſcarce entred one hour into *France*, when the Poſts arrived at the Confines, and then durſt go no further. In the mean time, Sir *Edward Woodvile* and Captain *Poinings*, who with their Companies were left behind in *Vannes*, had been in danger of *Peter Landois* his malice; but that the Duke being informed by the Chancellour of their caſe, not only protected them, but furniſhed them with all neceſſaries for their journey to the Earl: and was ſo incenſed againſt *Landois* for this action of his, that for this and ſome over-bold preſumptions he was afterward hanged.

Which plot the Earl eſcapes by Morton's information; and in what manner.

Peter Landois hanged.

The Earl having paſſed this danger in *Britain*, and being arrived in *France*, addreſſeth himſelf to the *French* King, imploring his aid; and hath it promiſed and performed: and in this time *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who had long time been kept priſoner in the Caſtle of *Hammes*, ſo far prevailed with *James Blunt* Captain of the Fortreſs, and Sir *John Forteſcue*, Porter of the Town of *Calice*; that not only they ſuffered him to be at liberty, but accompanied him alſo to the Earl of *Richmond*, to whom Captain *Blunt* gave aſſurance that the Fortreſs remained wholly at his Devotion. At this time alſo there reſorted to the Earl, divers young Gentlemen that were Students in the Univerſity of *Paris*, profering him their ſervice; amongſt whom was *Richard Fox*, at that time famous for his learning; with whom afterward the Earl adviſed in all his affairs, made him one of his moſt Privy Council, and at laſt Biſhop of *Winchester*.

Richard Fox made firſt known to the Earl of *Richmond*.

But now King *Richard* having been diſappointed of his deſign in *Britain*, hath another way in his head to diſapoint the Earl of *Richmond* of his Marriage with the Daughter of Queen *Elizabeth*: and to this end, he ſent to the Queen, (being ſtill in Sanctuary) divers meſſengers, who ſhould firſt excuſe and purge him of all things formerly attempted and done againſt her; and then ſhould largely promiſe promotions innumerable, not only to her ſelf, but alſo to her Son Lord *Thomas* Marqueſs *Dorſet*: by Force of which promiſes the meſſengers ſo prevailed with her, that not only ſhe began to relent, but at laſt was content to ſubmit her ſelf wholly to the King's pleaſure. And thereupon putting in oblivion the murther of her innocent Children, the Butchering of her own Brother and Son, the infamy of her Royal Husband, the aſperſion of Adultery caſt upon her ſelf, the imputation of Baſtardy laid to her Daughters, forgetting alſo her Oath made to the Earl of *Richmond*'s Mother: ſeduced by flattering words, ſhe firſt delivered into King *Richard*'s hands her five Daughters, and after ſent Letters to the Marqueſs her Son, being then at *Paris* with the Earl of *Richmond*; willing him by any means to leave the Earl, and with all ſpeed to repair into *England*; where for him were provided great Honours and Promotions: Aſſuring him further, that all offences on both parts were forgotten and forgiven; and both he and ſhe incorporated in the King's favour. If we conſider at this credulity in the Queen, we may conceive ſhe was moved with the two great motives of Fear and Hope; ſhe feared (no doubt) that if ſhe denyed the King's requeſt, he would preſently take ſome ſharp courſe both againſt her and her Daughters; and ſhe hoped that if ſhe yielded to his requeſt, he would undoubtedly perform his promiſe, ſeeing it was as eaſie for him to keep it as to break it.

King *Richard* ſeeks to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* King *Edward*'s Daughter.

The Queen is brought to give her conſent.

But now King *Richard*'s purpoſe being to marry one of his Brother King *Edward*'s Daughters; there was one impediment which directly hindred it, that he had a Wife living, and how to be rid of her, that he might not bring new aſperſions upon himſelf, he could not well tell: yet this he reſolved, that be rid of her

1485.

King *Richard* and rids himſelf of his preſent Wife, and by what devices.

her he would by ſome way or other: but before he would uſe extremity, he would firſt try milder ways; and firſt he abſtained both from her bed and company, and complained to divers of her barrenneſs; which coming to her ear, he hoped might cauſe her to dye with grief: and when this device failed, he then cauſed a rumour to be ſpread among the people, that ſhe was ſuddenly dead, hoping the very conceit thereof would kill her: When this device alſo failed, (for the Queen hearing of it, and miſtruſting the worſt, with a moſt ſorrowful countenance came unto him, demanding what ſhe had done, that he ſhould judge he worthy to dye? who anſwered with fair words, bidding her be of good chear, for (to his knowledge ſhe ſhould have no other cauſe) he then made ſure work, for within few days after, whether by poiſon, or by what other means, it is not certainly known, ſhe departed this life; and with all ſolemnity, not without ſome formal tears of King *Richard*, was interred in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Weſtminſter*.

He makes love to the Lady *Elizabeth*.

King *Richard* now by his Wives death, having made himſelf way to marry another; uſeth all the alluring means he can deviſe, to win the love of the Lady *Elizabeth* his Neece; but meaning at laſt to purchaſe his deſire by Rape, if he could not otherwiſe; and had perhaps done it, but that the ſtorms threatned from beyond the Seas, growing every day more ſtrong than other, forced him to prorogue the execution of his deſires, and look to the prevention of his preſent danger. The Lord *Stanley* is commanded preſently to levy Forces for the Kings aid, as he will juſtifie his integrity to him; but yet is not permitted to go down into the Country, untill he had left *George* Lord *Strange* his eldeſt Son, as a pledge of his Loyalty behind him. And now King *Richard* being informed (though the information was craftily ſuborned by his Enemies) that the Earl of *Richmond* was out of hope of any great aſſiſtance from *France*, diſchargeth the Ships which he had appointed to guard the Seas, and likewiſe all the Souldiers; only order is given for diligent watching of the Beacons.

At this time, one *Morgan Kidwelly*, a Student at the Inns of Court, with great hazard of his life, paſſed over to the Earl; informing him, that King *Richard* by all means laboured to match himſelf with the Lady *Elizabeth*; which ſo wrought with the Earl, that he ſaw there was no lingring: and the more, being by him further informed, that *Rice ap Thomas* and *John Savage*, two powerful men in their Countreys, were ready with great Forces to aſſiſt him: Whereupon, not having above two thouſand Mercenaries, and but indifferent Shipping to convey him over, about the middle of *Auguſt* he put to Sea, and by the advice of the ſaid *Kidwelly*, ſteered his courſe for *Wales*, and on the ſeventeenth day after his departure from *Harfleur*, arrived at *Milford*-Haven; and there landing his Forces without trouble or impeachment, from thence marched peaceably to *Hereford*, where by the Inhabitants he was joyfully received. Here he receiveth news by Captain *Arnold Butler*, that the Earl of *Pembroke* with all his retinue was upon the way to join with him; alſo thither came to him *Richard Griffith*, and *John Morgan*, with a band of brave *Welſhmen*, and the ſame day Sir *Gilbert Talbot* with all the Earl of *Shrewſbury*'s Tenants, (being about two thouſand well appointed men) came unto him: with theſe he marched toward *Shrewſbury*, at which time word is brought him, that Sir *Robert Herbert* and *Rice ap Thomas*, were ready with a great power to ſtop his paſſage, which ſomewhat troubled him, that his friends ſo ſuddenly ſhould revolt: but it was but a trick of *Rice ap Thomas*, to make his bargain the ſurer: for ſoon after, *Rice ap Thomas* meets him, and offers him his ſervice, ſo as the Earl will pledge his faith to perform his promiſe formerly made; which was, that having once obtained the Crown, he would make *Rice* ſole Governour of *Wales*; which was now aſſented to, and afterward performed. At this time the Lord *Stanley* with five thouſand men had taken up his lodging at the Town of *Leiceſter*; but hearing of the Earl's march that way, he left *Leiceſter*, and went to *Adderton*, not daring to ſhew himſelf openly for the Earl, for fear the King ſhould put his Son the Lord *Strange* to death, whom he had left an Hoſtage with him.

Which makes him haſten his coming over. To whom many Lords and others come.

All this time King *Richard* lay at *Nottingham*, and was as it were fatally taken with a ſpirit of ſecurity, hearing that the Earl had but ſmall aſſiſtance either from *France* or in *England*; and therefore ſlighting him as little able to do any greater matter: but when he heard that part of his own Forces was revolted to him, then he began to look about him, and ſends preſent direction to the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Surrey*, with Sir *Thomas Brackenbury* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, with all ſpeed to bring their Forces to him at *Lutterworth*; from whence upon their arrival, hearing that the Earl was encamped at *Lichfield*, he marcheth thitherward; At which time, Sir *Walter Hungerford* and ſome others, withdrew themſelves from King *Richard*'s part; and Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Brian Stanford*, and Sir *Simon Digby*, with their ſeveral Forces, joined with the Earl.

Near to Boſworth were their Armies meet: and how King *Richard*'s Army was marſhalled.

King *Richard* took the advantage of a large Plain near *Boſworth*, adjoining to a Hill called *Anne Beam*; where he encamped: And obſerving by his Adverſaries manner of approach, that they meant to give him Battel, he the next morning put his Forces in order: The Vaunt-guard was led by the Duke of *Norfolk*, which conſiſted of one thouſand two hundred Bowmen, flanked with two hundred Cuyraſſiers, under the conduct of the Earl of *Surrey*: The Battel, King *Richard* led himſelf, which conſiſted of a thouſand Bill-men, empaled with two thouſand Pikes: The Rereward was led by Sir *Thomas Brackenbury*, conſiſting of two thouſand mingled Weapons, with two wings of Horſemen, containing fifteen hundred, all of them caſt into ſquare maniples; expecting the Lord *Stanley*'s coming with two thouſand, moſt of them Horſemen: But the Lord *Stanley* carried himſelf ſo warily, that he might neither give cauſe of ſuſpition to the King, nor yet cauſe of diſadvantage to the Earl: that when early in the morning the Earl ſent unto him, deſiring his

his present repair; he answered, that he must look for no aid from him, till the Battels should be joyned; and therefore advised him, with all possible speed to give the onset. This answer somewhat staggered the Earl, because his number did but little exceed one half of the Kings: Yet to make the best shew he could, by the advice of his Council of War, he made his Vanguard open and thin; of which *John* Earl of *Oxford* had the leading: The Earl himself led the Battel, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* commanding the right wing, and Sir *John Savage* the left: whose Souldiers being all alike clad in white Coats and Hoods of Frize, by the reflection of the Sun upon them, made them appear in the view of their Enemies, double the number. The Rereward was governed by the Earl of *Pembroke*, which consisted most of Horse, and some Pikes, and black Bills. King *Richard*, to encourage his Souldiers, made a solemn speech to them: But alas! what hope could he have to put them in heart, whose hearts he had lost? or to raise alacrity in others who had none in himself? For now the remembrance of his fore-passed villanies, and specially a fearful Dream he had the night before, (wherein it seemed to him, he saw divers Images like Devils, which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take any rest or quiet) so damped his spirits, that although he set a good face upon the matter, yet he could not choose but have a presaging fear, that the date of his days was not far from expiring. The Earl of *Richmond* on the other side, having a clear conscience in himself, and speaking to men that followed him for love, had the easier means to give them encouragement: which he did with so chearful a countenance, as though already he had gotten the Victory. After their military exhortations ended, King *Richard* commanded to give the onset. Between both Armies there was a great Marsh; which the Earl left on his right hand, that it might be a defence for his Souldiers on that side; and besides, by so doing he had the Sun at his back, and in the faces of his Enemy. When King *Richard* saw the Earl's company was passed this Marsh, he commanded with all speed to set upon them. Then were the Arrows let fly on both sides, and those spent, they came to hand-strokes: at which encounter comes in the Lord *Stanley*, and joyns with the Earl. The Earl of *Oxford* in the mean time, fearing left his company should be compassed in with the multitude of his Enemies, gave charge in every rank, that no man should go above ten foot from the Standard: whereupon they knit themselves together, and ceased a while from fighting: which the Enemy seeing, and mistrusting some fraud, they also paused and left striking. But then the Earl of *Oxford*, having brought all his Band together, set on the Enemy afresh: which the Enemy perceiving, they placed their men slender and thin before, but thick and broad behind; and resolutely again began the fight. While these two Van-guards were thus contending, King *Richard* was informed that the Earl of *Richmond*, with a small number, was not far off: whereupon he presently makes towards him, and being of an invincible courage, whereof he was now to give the last proof, he made so furious an assault, that first with his own hands he slew Sir *William Brandon*, who bore the Earl's Standard; next he unhorst and overthrew Sir *John Cheyney*, a strong and stout man at Arms; and then assaulted the Earl of *Richmond* himself, who (though no man would have thought it, yet) for all the King's fury held him off at his Launces point, till Sir *William Stanley* came in with three thousand fresh men: and then oppress with multitude, King *Richard* is there slain. It is said, that when the Battel was at the point to be lost, a swift Horse was brought unto him; with which he might have saved himself by flight, but out of his undaunted courage he refused it, saying, He would that day make an end of all Battels, or else lose his life. In this Battel *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who led King *Richard*'s Rereward, never strook stroke; as likewise many other, who followed King *Richard* more for fear than love: and so King *Richard*, who had deceived many in his time, was at this time deceived by many; which was not unforeseen by some, who caused a Rhyme to be set upon the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Gate the night before the Battel, which was this:

King *Richard* encounters the Earl of *Richmond* hand to hand.

Jack *of* Norfolk, *be not too bold,*
For Dicken *thy Master is bought and sold:*

Yet notwithstanding this warning, the noble Duke continued firm to King *Richard*; and more considering what he was towards him, than what towards others, followed him at the last, and in his quarrel lost his life. This *John Howard* was the Son of Sir *Robert Howard* Knight, and *Margaret* eldest Daughter of *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, in whose right he was created Duke of *Norfolk* by King *Richard* the Third, in the year 1483, having been made a Baron before by King *Edward* the Fourth. The whole number slain in this Battel on King *Richard*'s part was not above a thousand persons; whereof, of the Nobility, besides the Duke of *Norfolk*, only *Walter* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *Robert Brackenbury* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and not many Gentlemen more. Sir *William Catesby*, one of the chief Counsellours of King *Richard*, with divers others, was two days after beheaded at *Leicester*. Amongst those that ran away, were *Francis* Viscount *Lovel*, *Humfrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* his Brother, who took Sanctuary in Saint *John's* at *Glocester*. Of Captives and Prisoners there were great number. *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who though on King *Richard*'s side, intermeddled not in the Battel, was incontinently taken into favour, and made of the Council: But *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, though he submitted himself, yet, as having been specially familiar with King *Richard*, was committed to the Tower, where he remained a long time: but at last was delivered and highly promoted. On the Earl of *Richmond*'s part were slain scarce an hundred persons, (some say but ten) of whom the principal was Sir *William Brandon*, the Earl's Standard-bearer. This Battel was fought at *Redmor*, near *Bosworth* in *Leicestershire*, the two and twentieth

Sir John Howard Duke of Norfolk firm to King Richard to the last.

day of *August*, in the year 1485 having continued little above two hours. Presently after the Battel, the Earl Knighted in the field, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Sir *John Mortimer*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Robert Poynts*, Sir *Humfrey Stanley*, Sir *John Turbervile*, Sir *Hugh Perſhal*, Sir R. *Edgecomb*, Sir *John Pyknil*, and Sir *Edmund Carew*: and then kneeling down, he rendred to Almighty God his hearty Thanks for the Victory he had obtained; and commanded all the hurt and maimed perſons to be cured: whereat the people rejoicing, clapped their hands, and cried, King *Henry*, King *Henry*: which good-will and gladneſs of the people when the Lord *Stanley* ſaw, he took the Crown of King *Richard*, which was found amongſt the ſpoils in the field, and ſet it on the Earls head, as though he had been elected King by the voice of the people. It may not be forgotten, that when King *Richard* was come to *Boſworth*, he ſent to the Lord *Stanley* to come preſently to his preſence; which if he refuſed to do, he ſwore by Chriſts Paſſion, that he would ſtrike off his Sons head before he dined: whereto the Lord *Stanley* anſwered, That if he did ſo, he had more Sons alive, and he might do his pleaſure; but to come to him, he was not then determined. Which anſwer when King *Richard* heard, he commanded the Lord *Strange* immediately to be beheaded; but being at the very time when both Armies were in ſight of each other; his Lords perſwaded him, it was now time to fight, and not to put to execution; and ſo the Lord *Strange* eſcaped.

The Lord *Stanley* takes the Crown from King *Richard*'s head, and puts it on the Earl of *Richmond*.

Of his Taxations.

WE muſt not look for Taxations in kind in this Kings Reign; for he drew from his Subjects not money ſo much as blood; and the money he drew was moſt by blood, which drew on Confiſcations: whereof let never any Prince make a Precedent: for where Taxations properly do but *Tondere*, theſe did *Deglubere*. Yet in his ſecond year. he called a Parliament, wherein, beſides the great Confiſcations of thoſe that were then attainted, he impoſed upon the people a great Tax, which what it was, is not recorded.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HAving gotten the Crown by peſtilent courſes, he ſought to eſtabliſh it by wholeſome Laws; for in no Kings Reign were better Laws made, than in the Reign of this man. Amongſt others of his Laws, it was enacted, That from thenceforth the Commonalty of the Realm ſhould in no wiſe be charged by any impoſition called a Benevolence, nor any ſuch like charge; and that ſuch actions called a Benevolence, before this time taken, ſhould be taken for no example to make any ſuch like charge hereafter; but ſhall be damned and annulled for ever. Many other good Laws were by him made; that we may ſay he took the ways of being a good King, if he had come to be King by ways that had been good.

No Benevolence to be required.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN his time the troubles of the Temporality kept the Clergy at quiet; and though there were complainings in the ſtreets, there was none in the Church. Only *Shore*'s Wife might complain, why ſhe ſhould do Penance for offending lightly againſt only the Seventh Commandment; and King *Richard* do none for offending heavily againſt all the ten, but that perhaps he had gotten ſome good fellow to be his Confeſſor.

Works of Piety done by him.

AS bad as this King was, yet ſome good works he did; he founded a Colledge at *Middleham* beyond *York*; and a Collegiate Chauntry in *London*, near unto the Tower, called our *Lady of Barking*: He endowed the Queens Colledge in *Cambridge*, with five hundred Marks of yearly Revenue; and diſforeſted the great field of *Wichwood*, which King *Edward* his Brother had incloſed for Deer.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his ſecond year, at the time when the Duke of *Buckingham* meant to paſs with his Army over *Severn*, ſo great an Inundation was of water, that men were drowned in their beds, houſes were overturned, children were carried about the fields ſwimming in Cradles, beaſts were drowned on hills: which rage of water continued ten days; and is to this day in the Countreys thereabout, called the Great Water, or the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Water.

A great Inundation called the Duke of Buckingham's water.

Of his Wife and Iſſue.

HE married *Anne* the ſecond Daughter of *Richard Nevil* the Great Earl of *Warwick*, being the Widow of *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the Son of King *Henry* the ſixth: ſhe lived his Wife to the laſt year of his Reign; and then, to make way for another, was brought to her end, and laid at reſt in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*: By her he had only one Son, born at *Middleham*, near *Richmond* in the County of *York*: at four years old, created Earl of *Salisbury* by his Uncle King *Edward* the Fourth; at ten years old created Prince of *Wales* by his Father King *Richard*, but died ſoon after.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

THere never was in any man a greater uniformity of Body and Mind, than was in him; both of them equally deformed. Of Body he was but low, crook'd back'd, hook-ſhouldered, ſplay-footed, and goggle-eyed, his face little and round, his complexion ſwarthy, his left arm from his Birth dry and withered: born a Monſter in nature, with all his teeth, with hair on his head, and nails on his fingers and toes. And juſt ſuch were the qualities of his mind: One quality he had in ordinary, which was, to look fawningly when he plotted, ſternly when he executed. Thoſe Vices, which in other men are Paſſions, in him were Habits: and his

and his cruelty was not upon occasion, but natural. If at any time he shewed any vertue, it was but pretence; the truth of his mind was only lying and falshood. He was full of courage, and yet not valiant; valour consisting not only in doing, but as well in suffering, which he could not abide. He was politick, and yet not wise; Policy looking but to the middle, Wisdom to the end: which he did, and did not. And it was not so much Ambition that made him desire the Crown, as Cruelty, that it might be in his power to kill at his pleasure: And to say the truth, he was scarce of the number of men who consist of flesh and blood, being nothing but blood. One Miracle we may say he did; which was, that he made the Truth of History to exceed the Fiction of Poetry, being a greater Harpy than those that were feigned. He would fain have been accounted a good King, but for his life he could not be a good Man; and it is an impossible thing to be one without the other. He left no Issue behind him: and it had been pity he should, at least in his own Image; one such Monster was enough for many Ages.

Of his Death and Burial.

King Richard basely used being dead.

BEing slain in the Battel at *Bosworth*, as before is related; his body was left naked and despoiled to the very skin, not so much as a clout left about him to cover his privy parts: and taken up, was trussed behind a pursuivant at Arms, one *Blaneh Senglier*, or *White-Boar*; his head and arms hanging on one side of the Horse, and his legs on the other; and all besprinkled with mire and dirt; he was brought to the *Gray-Friers* Church within the Town of *Leicester*, and there for some time lay a miserable spectacle; and afterward, with small Funeral Pomp was there interred. But after this, King *Henry* the Seventh caused a Tomb to be made, and set up over the place where he was buried, with a Picture of Alabaster, representing his person; which at the suppression of that Monastry was utterly defaced: Since when, his Grave overgrown with Nettles and Weeds, is not to be found; only the Stone Chest, wherein his Corps lay, is now made a Drinking-Trough for Horses at a common Inn in *Leicester*, and retaineth the only memory of this Monarchs greatness. But his body (as is reported) was carried out of the City, and contemptuously bestowed under the end of *Bowbridge*, which giveth passage over a branch of *Stowre*, upon the West side of the Town. Upon this Bridge (the like report runneth) stood a Stone of some height; against which King *Richard*, as he passed toward *Bosworth*, by chance struck his Spur: and against the same stone, as he was brought back, hanging by the horse-side, his head was dashed and broken: as a wise Woman (forsooth) had foretold; who before his going to Battel, being asked of his success, said, That where his Spur struck, his head should be broken. But these are but Reports. He had lived seven and thirty years, Reigned two, and two Months.

Of Men of Note in his time.

OF men of Note for wickedness and villany, enough hath been mentioned in the body of the Story: and for men of Valour and Learning, they will fitter be placed in a better Kings Reign.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his first year,
William Billesdon was Mayor:
Thomas Newland, *William Martin*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Thomas Hill was Mayor:
Richard Chester; and he dying, *Ralph Astry*,
Thomas Britain, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of KING HENRY The SEVENTH.

1485. King Henry's first Title.

HENRY Earl of *Richmond*, born in *Pembroke* Castle, Son to *Edmund* Earl of *Richmond*, by his Wife *Margaret*, sole Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, which *John* was Son of *John* Earl of *Somerset*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, by his third Wife *Katharine Swinford*; and by this descent, Heir of the House of *Lancaster*; having won the Battel at *Bosworth*, against King *Richard*, is by publick acclamations saluted King of *England*, on the 22 day of *August*, in the year 1485; and this was his first Title. And now to take away a root of danger, before his departure from *Leicester*, he sent Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Castle of *Sheriffehaton* in the County of *York*, for *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, being then of the age of fifteen years, whom King *Richard* had there kept a prisoner all his time; who was thence conveyed to *London*, and shut up in the *Tower* to be kept in safe custody. In the same Castle also King *Richard* had left residing the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth: and her now King *Henry* appoints honourably attended to be brought up to *London*, and to be delivered to the Queen her Mother. This done, he took his journey towards *London*, where at his approaching near the City, *Thomas Hill* the Mayor, *Thomas Britain* and *Richard Chester*, Sheriffs, with other principal Citizens, met him at *Shoreditch*, and in great state brought him to the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, where he offered three Standards: In the one was the Image of St. *George*; in the other was a red fiery Dragon, beaten upon white and green Sarcenet; in the third was painted a Dun Cow, upon yellow Tartern. After Prayers said, he departed to the Bishops Palace, and there sojourned a season: And in the time of his stay here, he advised with his Council, and appointed a day for solemnizing his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*: before which time notwithstanding, he went by water to *Westminster*, and was there with great solemnity Anointed and Crowned King of *England*, by the whole consent as well of the Commons, as of the Nobility, by the Name of *Henry the Seventh*, on the thirtieth day of *October*, in the year 1485; and this was his second Title. And even this was revealed to *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britains*, seven hundred ninety and seven years past; That his Off-spring should Reign and bear Dominion in this Realm again.

Edward Plantagenet Son and Heir of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, shut up in the Tower.

The Earl of *Richmond* is Crowned King.

On the seventeenth day of *November* following, he called his High Court of Parliament: where, at the first sitting, two scruples appeared: One concerning the Burgesses, for that many had been returned Burgesses and Knights of Shires, who by a Parliament in King *Richards* time stood attainted still: and it was thought incongruous for men to make Laws, who were themselves outlawed: For remedy whereof an Act was presently passed for their restoring, and then they were admitted to sit in the House. The other concerning the King himself, who had been attainted by King *Richard*: but for this, It was resolved by all the Judges in the Chequer-Chamber, That the possession of the Crown takes away all defects; yet for Honours sake, all Records of his Attainder were taken off the File. And so these scruples thus removed, the Parliament began; wherein were attainted, first, *Richard* late Duke of *Gloucester*, calling himself *Richard* the Third: Then his Assistants at the Battel of *Bosworth*: *John* late Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, *Francis* Viscount *Lovel*, *Walter Devereux* late Lord *Ferrers*, *John* Lord *Zouch*, *Robert Harington*, *Richard Charleton*, *Richard Ratcliff*, *William Berley* of *Wely*, *Robert Middleton*, *James Harington*, *Robert Brackenbury*, *Thomas Pilkington*, *Walter Hopton*, *William Catesby*, *Roger Wake*, *William Sapcote*, *Humfrey Stafford*, *William Clark* of *Wenlock*, *Geoffry* St. *Germain*, *Richard Watkins* Herauld at Arms, *Richard Sevel*, *Thomas Pulter*, *John Welsh*, *John Kendal* late Secretary to the late King *Richard*, *John Buck*, *Andrew Rat*, and *William Brampton*, of *Burford*. But notwithstanding this Attainder, divers of the persons aforesaid were afterwards not only by King *Henry* pardoned, but restored also to their Lands and Livings. As likewise he caused Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would submit themselves, and take Oath to be true Subjects, should have their Pardon, Whereupon many came out of Sanctuaries and other places; who submitting themselves, were received to mercy.

The possession of the Crown takes away all defects.

Lords and others attainted by Parliament.

And now King *Henry* considering that *Pœnæ & Præmio Respublica continetur*; after punishing for Offences, he proceeds to rewarding for Service; and first, *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke* his Uncle, he created Duke of *Bedford*: *Thomas* Lord

Dukes and Earls created.

Lord *Stanley* he created Earl of *Derby*; the Lord *Cbendow* of *Britain*, his special friend, he made Earl of *Bath*: Sir *Giles Daubeny* was made Lord *Daubeny*; Sir *Robert Willoughby* was made Lord *Brook*; and *Edward Stafford* eldest Son to *Henry* late Duke of *Buckingham*, he restored to his Dignity and Possessions. Besides, in this Parliament an Act was made, for setling the Crown upon the Person of King *Henry* and the Heirs of his body successively for ever. And then with all speed he sent and redeemed the Marquess *Dorset*, and Sir *John Bourchier*, whom he had left Hostages in *France* for money: and called home *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, and *Richard Fox*, making *Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fox* Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Bishop of *Exeter*. Besides these, he made also of his Privy Council, *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *John* Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Will. Stanley* Lord Chamberlain of his Houshold; Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brook*, Lord Steward of his Houshold; *Giles* Lord *Daubeny*; *John* Lord *Dynham*, after made Lord Treasurer of *England*; Sir *Reynold Bray*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, Sir *Richard Tunstal*, Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Sir *Edmund Poynings*, Sir *John Risley*, with some other.

Morton is made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Fox* is made Lord Privy Seal.

1486. These things thus done, as well in performance of his Oath, as to make the Crown sit the surer on his head; on the eighteenth day of *January* he proceeded to the solemnizing his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*; which gave him a third Title: And indeed this conjunction made a wreath of three so indissoluble, that no Age since hath ever questioned it: and it is fixt upon a Tree planted so happily by the waters side, and hath at this day so many flourishing branches, that there is good hope it will continue as long as the World continues.

King *Henry* marries the Lady *Elizabeth*.

The Kings Guard first ordained.

And now whether King *Henry* doubted any sudden attempt upon his person, or whether he did it to follow the example of *France*; in the very beginning of his Reign he ordained a band of tall personable men to be attending upon him, which was called the Kings Guard; which no King before, and all Kings since have always used: But though he provided a Guard for defence of his own body, yet for the bodies of his people he could provide none; for at this time a Sickness (of the Symptome called the Sweating-sickness) seized so violently upon them, that within a short time many thousands perished; particularly in *London*, two Mayors successively, and six Aldermen within eight dayes died: and for this Sickness no Physick afforded any cure; till at last this remedy was found: If a man were taken with the sweat in the day-time, that then he should presently lie down in his cloaths, and so lie still the whole four and twenty hours; if he were taken in the night, then he should not rise out of his bed for the space of four and twenty hours; not provoking sweat, nor yet eating or drinking at all, at least but very moderately. In this Sickness there was one good circumstance, that though it were violent, yet it lasted not long: for beginning about the one and twentieth of *September*, it cleared up before the end of *October* following.

A violent Sickness in *London*, and the remedy.

And now all things being set in good order in the South parts, there ariseth a little storm in the North, but was soon dispersed. For King *Henry* making a journey into the North parts, to shew himself there where he had not yet been; and where the respect to King *Richard* might have left some opposites: at his coming to *Lincoln*, was certified that the Lord *Lovel* and *Humfrey Stafford* were gone out of Sanctuary in *Colchester*; but whither, no man knew. The King therefore not much regarding it, went forward to *York*; and being come thither, it was then plainly told him, That the Lord *Lovel* with a strong power was at hand, and would presently invade the City. This made the King in a great strait: for neither had he any Army ready; nor if he had men, had he any Weapons or Munition for them. Yet in this strait, he commanded the Duke of *Bedford*, with three thousand men to set out against him; but so ill armed, that their Armours for the most part were but of tanned Leather: who being come near the Camp of the Rebels, caused Proclamation to be made; That whosoever would submit themselves as Loyal Subjects, should have their Pardons, and be received into Grace. Which Proclamation so prevailed that it made the Lord *Lovel* secretly in the night to flee away; and then the Army, left without a head, submitted themselves to the Kings mercy. The Lord *Lovel* fled into *Lancashire*, and there for a time lurked with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a man powerful in those parts. *Humfrey Stafford* took Sanctuary in a Village called *Culnham*, two miles from *Abbington*; but the Sanctuary being judged by the Justices of the Kings Bench, to be no lawful defence for Traytors; he was taken from thence by force, and conveyed to the *Tower*, afterward to *Tyburn*, and there hanged. His Brother *Thomas* was pardoned, because it was thought he was drawn in by his Brother *Humfrey*.

The Lord *Lovel* raiseth an Army against the King, but upon Proclamation of pardon is dispersed.

A Sanctuary no defence for Traytors.

In this year *John Percival* the Mayor of *London*'s Carver, waiting at his Table, was chosen one of the Sheriffs of *London*, only by Sir *John Collets*, then Mayor, drinking to him in a Cup of Wine, as the custom is to drink to him whom he list to name Sheriff, and forthwith the said *Percival* sate down at the Mayors Table, and covered his head, and was afterward Mayor himself.

The Mayors Carver chosen sheriff of *London*, and by what occasion.

At this time a mean instrument attempted a great work; by which we may see, how far imaginations may out-go reason: One *Richard Simond* a Priest, a man of base birth, though some learning; had a Scholar of baser birth; the Son of a Shoomaker (some say a Baker) named *Lambert Symnel*; but of a pregnant wit, and comely personage: Him he gives out to be *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, lately (as was said) escaped out of Prison, both of them being of like years and Stature: with this Scholar of his, he sails into *Ireland*, and so sets forth the matter, that not only the Lord *Thomas Fitz-Gerrard* Earl of *Kildare*, and Deputy of *Ireland*; but many other of the Nobility gave credit to his words; and as those that affected the House of *York*, were ready to take his part, and even already saluted the young *Simnel* King. Withal they

Lambert Simnel given forth to be *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*.

Countenanced in *Ireland*.

Chiefly by the Lady Margaret Dutchess of Burgoyne.

they sent into *Flanders* to the Lady *Margaret* Sister to the late King *Edward*, and Widow of *Charles* Duke of *Burgoigne*, requiring aid and assistance from her. This Lady being of the House of *York*, bore an inward grudge against King *Henry*, being of the House of *Lancaster*; and therefore, though she well understood it was but a coloured matter, yet was willing to take advantage of it: and thereupon promised her assistance. King *Henry* being advertised of these things, advised with his Council, by whom it was agreed, that two things presently should be done. First, to grant a pardon to any that would submit themselves, for any offence whatsoever, though it were for High Treason. The next, that the Earl of *Warwick* should be openly shewed abroad in the City, and other publick places; whereby, the report spread abroad of his being in *Ireland*, might appear plainly to be false. Withal, the Queen *Elizabeth*, Widow of King *Edward* the Fourth, and Mother to the present Queen, was adjudged to forfeit all her Lands and Possessions, and to live confined in the Abbey of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, where in great pensiveness within a few years she died. But for what cause this severity was used against this Queen, is not altogether certain: To say (as was commonly said) that it was for rendring her self and her Daughters into the hands of King *Richard*, were manifest Injustice, to punish her for doing a thing out of fear, which else she should have been compelled to do by force: And to say (as some also have said) That it was for giving aid under-hand to *Perkin*, were a manifest unlikelihood, that she should aid a Counterfeit against her own Son-in-law. We must therefore content our selves with knowing the bare colourable pretext, and leave the true reason as a secret of State. But this shewing abroad of the true Earl of *Warwick*, though it satisfied some, yet not all: for some gave out that it was but a trick of the King, and not the true *Warwick*. At least the Earl of *Lincoln*, Son to *John de la Pool*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth* Sister to King *Edward* the Fourth, would not omit to take the advantage, though he knew that *Symnel* was a Counterfeit. And thereupon, as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he fled secretly into *Flanders*, to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, Dutchess of *Burgoigne*; between whom it was concluded, that he and the Lord *Lovel* should go into *Ireland*, and there attend upon the Counterfeit *Warwick* and honour him as a King, and with the power of the *Irish* men bring him into *England*: but it was concluded withal, that if their actions succeeded, then the Counterfeit *Warwick* should be deposed, and the true be delivered out of Prison, and Anointed King. And to this purpose the Earl of *Lincoln*, by the help of the Lady *Margaret*, had gotten together two thousand *Almains*, with one *Martin Swart*, a valiant and expert Captain, to be their Leader. With this power the Earl sailed into *Ireland*, and at the City of *Dublin*, caused young *Lambert*, the Counterfeit *Warwick*, in most solemn manner, first to be proclaimed, and after to be Crowned King of *England*: and then with a great number of beggerly and unarmed *Irish* men, under the conduct of the Lord *Thomas Gerardine* Earl of *Kildare*, they sailed into *England*, and landed at a place called the *Pile of Fowdray*, not far from *Lancaster*; hoping there by the means of Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a powerful man in that Country, to have their Army both furnished and increased. King *Henry* hearing that the Earl of *Lincoln* was landed at *Lancaster*, assembled a great Army, conducted by the Duke of *Bedford* and the Earl of *Oxford*; and with these he marched to *Nottingham*, and there by a little Wood called *Bowres*, he pitched his Field; whither there came unto him, the Lord *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Strange*, Sir *John Cheyney*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. In which meantime the Earl of *Lincoln* being entred into *Yorkshire*, passed quietly on his journey, without doing spoil or hurt unto any; trusting thereby to have won the people to come to his aid; but when he perceived few or none to resort unto him, he then determined to venture a Battel with the Army he had already; and thereupon took his way from *York* to *Newark* upon *Trent*. King *Henry* understanding which way he took, came the night before the Battel, to *Newark*; and going three miles further, near to a Village called *Stoke*, there waited the approach of the Earl of *Lincoln*; so the next day they joyned Battel; where after a long fight of at the least three hours; though the *Almains*, and specially their Captain *Martin Swart*, behaved themselves most valiantly; yet their *Irish*, being in a manner but naked men, were at last overthrown, four thousand slain, and the rest put to flight, but not one of their Captains; for the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, *Martin Swart*, and the Lord *Gerardine*, were all found dead in the very place where they had stood fighting; that though they lost the Battel, yet they won the reputation of hardy and stout Souldiers. Only of the Lord *Lovel*, some report, that attempting to save himself by flight, in passing over the River of *Trent*, he was drowned. On the Kings part, though some were slain, yet not any man of note. This Battel was fought on a *Saturday* (observed as always fortunate to King *Henry*) being the sixteenth of *June*, in the second year of King *Henry*'s Reign. The young *Lambert* and his Master *Simond* the Priest, were both taken, and both had their lives saved: *Lambert*, because but a Child, *Simond* because a Priest; yet *Simond* was kept in prison, *Lambert* was taken into the Kings Kitchin, to turn the Spit in the turn of his fortune, and at last made one of the Kings Faulkners.

Queen Elizabeth hath all her goods confiscated and her self confined.

By the Plot of the Earl of *Lincoln* and the Lady *Margaret*, *Symnel* is conveyed into *Ireland*, and there Crowned King of *England*.

1487.

King *Henry* goeth with an Army against the Earl of *Lincoln*, &c.

At *Stoke* he gives him battel, and overthrows him.

Where he and divers other Lords are slain.

Saturday always fortunate to King *Henry*.

Lambert is taken into the Kings Kitchin.

In the beginning of his third year, King *Henry* having been in *Yorkshire*, to settle the minds of that people, about the midst of *August* came to *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, and from thence sent Ambassadors into *Scotland*, *Richard Fox*, lately before made Bishop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard Edgecomb* Comptroller of his House, to conclude a Peace or Truce with *James* King of *Scots*: A Peace, by reason of the peoples backwardness, could not be obtained: but a Truce was concluded for the term of seven years; with a promise from the King, that it should be renewed before

1488.

A Truce for seven years between King *Henry* and the King of *Scots*.

fore the first seven years should be expired.

At this time Ambassadours came from the King of *France* to King *Henry*; who declared, that their Master King *Charles* was now at War with *Francis* Duke of *Britain*, for that he succoured the Duke of *Orleance* and other Rebels against the Realm of *France*; and therefore requested, that for the old familiarity that had been between them, he would either assist him, or not assist the Duke, but stand Neuter. King *Henry* answered, That having received courtesies from them both, he would do his uttermost endeavour to make them friends: and to that end, as soon as the *French* Ambassadours were departed, he sent *Christopher Urswick* his Chaplain over into *France*, who should first go to the *French* King, and after to the Duke of *Britain*, to mediate a Peace between them.

Queen *Elizabeth* is Crowned.

In the time of *Urswick*'s Ambassage, King *Henry* caused his Wife the Lady *Elizabeth* to be Crowned Queen on Saint *Katherine*'s day, in *November*, with all solemnity; and at the same time delivered the Lord *Thomas* Marquess *Dorset* out of the *Tower*, and received him again into his former favour.

Urswick travelled between the two Princes to procure a Peace: but they, though making a shew to incline to Peace, yet prepared for War, and offers on neither side would be accepted. In which time *Edward* Lord *Woodvile*, Uncle to the Queen, made suit to the King, for leave to go over with a power of men, in aid to the Duke of *Britain*; which suit, though the King denied, yet the Lord *Woodvile* would venture it; and with a power of four hundred able men, got secretly over, and joyned with the *Britains* against the *French*. This the *French* King took ill at King *Henry*'s hand; but being informed that it was against the King's will, he seemed

A Peace between *France* and *England*.

satisfied; and a Peace was concluded between *France* and *England*, to endure for twelve months. But in conclusion, King *Henry* finding that the *French* King dealt not really with him, but only held him on with pretences; he called his High Court of Parliament, requiring their advice what was fit to be done: where it was concluded, that the Duke of *Britain* should be aided; and to that end great summes of money were by Parliament granted. This determination of the Parliament, King *Henry* signifies to the *French* King, hoping it would have wrought him to some terms of Peace. But the King of *France* little regarding it, proceeded on in his violent courses against the *Britains*, so at last, on the eight and twentieth day of *July*, the *Britains* gave Battel to the *French*, near to a Town called St. *Aulbyn*; having apparelled seventeen hundred of the *Britains* in Coats with red Crosses, after the *English* fashion, to make the *French* men believe they were all *English*, although indeed they had no more *English* than the four hundred of the Lord *Woodvile*'s. But notwithstanding this device, the Victory fell to the *French*; so that all the *English* men almost were slain, with the Lord *Woodvile* himself, besides six thousand *Britains*. The Duke of *Orleance*, and the Prince of *Orange*, who were on the *Britain*'s part, were taken Prisoners. The *French* lost twelve hundred men; and amongst other, that valiant *Italian* Captain, *James Galeot*.

The King of *France* overthrows the Duke of *Britain*'s Army, where the Lord *Woodvile* is slain.

This news being brought into *England*, caused King *Henry* to make haste to send forth his Army: and thereupon the Lord *Brook*, with Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *John Middleton*, Sir *Ralph Hilton*, Sir *Richard Corbet*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Richard Lacon*, and Sir *Edmund Cornwal*, are sent over with all speed into *Britain*, having with them eight thousand men, to aid the Duke of *Britain* against the *French*. But while this War was thus set forward, the Duke of *Britain* died; leaving, in effect, one only Daughter, the Lady *Anne* (for the other being the younger, died soon after) and then the chief Rulers of *Britain* falling at dissention amongst themselves, little regarded the defence of the Countrey: whereupon the *English* returned home within five months after their setting forth; and the *French* King getting the upper hand of the *Britains*, and marrying the Lady *Anne* sole Daughter of the Duke of *Britain*, incorporated that Dutchy to the Crown of *France*.

King *Henry* sends an Army to aid the Duke of *Britain*.

The *French* King marries the Heir of the Duke of *Britain*.

In the last Parliament, a Subsidy was granted for the furnishing out an Army into *Britain*; and it was agreed that every man should be taxed after the rate of his substance, to pay the tenth penny of his goods: which Tax the most part of *York-shire* and the Bishoprick of *Durham* refused to pay: whereof the Collectors complained to *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, President of the North parts: The Earl signifies it to the King, and the King commands him to levy the same by distress or otherwise (without sparing of any) as he should think most meet. The rude multitude, hearing of this Command from the King, with great violence set upon the Earl, by the exciting of a simple fellow named *John a Chamber*; and alledging all the fault to be in the Earl, as chief author of the Tax, they cruelly murthered both him and divers of his houshold-Servants. And to make good their seditious fact, they assembled a great number, and made one Sir *John Egremond* their Captain: declaring, That in defence of their liberties, they would bid the King battel. In this bravery they stood, as long as none opposed them; but when *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* appeared with an Army, though they skirmished a while, yet they were soon discomfited, and their Ring-leader *John a Chamber* was taken, and at *York* on a Gibbet set upon a square pair of Gallows, like an Arch-traytor, was hanged, and many of his Complices on a lower Gallows; the innocent people for the most part pardoned. But Sir *John Egremond* fled into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgundy*; the common and sure refuge for all Rebels against King *Henry*. After this, the King appointed Sir *Richard Tunstal* to gather the Subsidy, & would not spare the payment of a penny. This year, notwithstanding this Tax, the King borrowed of every Alderman of *London* two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eighty two pounds, seventeen shillings and four pence, which was paid again at the time with great thankfulness; which he did at a time he needed not, to the end perhaps he might do it another time, when he needed.

The Earl of *Northumberland* is slain in collecting the Subsidy.

John a Chamber Ring-leader of the Insurrection is hanged.

1489.

At this time *James* the third, King of *Scotland*,

land, having by some errors of Government incurred the hatred of his Nobility and people, laboured with King *Henry*, as also with the Pope, and the King of *France*, to make an accord between him and his people; who had compelled Prince *James* his Son to be the Titular head of those Arms which they assumed against him. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediations by Ambassadors; but could receive no other but this outragious answer, That there was no talking of Peace, unless he would resign his Crown. Which answer the Kings protested against, declaring by their Ambassadors, that they thought it a common injury to themselves, and that the Example was not sufferable for Subjects to lift their hands against their Soveraign. Hereupon it came to a Battel at *Bannocks-born* by *Strivelin*; where King *James*, rashly beginning the fight before his whole Forces were come, was (notwithstanding the contrary commandment of the Prince his Son) slain in the Mill of that field, whither he fled after the Battel ended.

James King of Scots in a Battel at *Bannocks-born* is slain.

About this time, a difference fell out which grew to a War, between the Emperour *Frederick*, and some Towns of his in *Flanders*, especially *Gaunt* and *Bruges*: In this War, the Lord *Ravenstein* a principal person about *Maximilian*, not only forsook the Emperour and his Son *Maximilian* his Lord (corrupted as was thought from *France*) but made himself head of the popular party, seizing upon the Towns of *Ipre* and *Sluce*: and not this only, but forthwith sent to the Lord *de Cordes*, Governor for the *French* King in *Picardy*, to aid him against some Towns in *Flanders*: To which the Lord *de Cordes*, willing of any occasion to set foot in *Flanders*, was easily drawn. But K. *Henry* not liking to have the *French* so near his *English* pale, sent over the Lord *Morley* with a thousand men, who should joyn with the Lord *Dawbeny* then Deputy of *Callice*, to resist them. Amongst other Acts by them performed, this was chief, That the Lord *Dawbeny*, with the Lord *Morley*, Sir *James Tyrrel* Captain of *Guisnes*, Sir *Henry Willoughby*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and Sir *Humfrey Talbot* Marshal of *Callice*, and others, to the number of two thousand, issued secretly one night out of *Callice*, and came to *Newport*, and from thence to *Dixmude*; where the Lord *Dawbeny* commanded all men to send back their Horses: which the Lord *Morley* only refusing to do, was cause that he only of all the Captains was slain with a Gun: for the rest after their arrows discharged, fell prostrate to the ground: by which means the Enemies Ordnance over-shot them, killing only the Lord *Morley* that was on Horse-back. Here they slew of the Enemy to the number of eight thousand; of the *English* part was slain the Lord *Morley*, and not above a hundred more. This Victory so enrich'd the *English*, that they who went forth in Cloth, came home in Silk: and they who went out on foot, returned back on Horse-back. Upon this defeat, the Lord *de Cordes* lying at *Ipre* with twenty thousand, and thinking to be revenged, belieged the Town of *Newport*; and so strongly assaulted it, that one day his men entred, and set up his Banner upon a Tower of the Town: when suddenly a Bark arriving with only fourscore fresh *English* Archers, so terrified them, thinking their number to be far greater, that the *French* were glad to leave their Banner behind them, and give over the assault; and the night following, the Lord *de Cordes* (who so much longed for *Callice*, that he would commonly say, he would be content to lye seven years in Hell, so that *Callice* were in the possession of the *French*) brake up his siege, and returned to *Helding* with as much shame, as the *English* to *Callice* with honour.

King *Henry* sends an Army to assist the Emperor against the *French*.

The Lord *Morley* slain, and by what chance.

The *French* frighted with a conceit.

How much the *French* longed for *Callice*.

A little before this time, *Francis* Duke of *Britain* dying, left only one Daughter, the Lady *Anne*, affianced to *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*; and in so solemn a manner, that she taking upon her to be the Bride, and being laid in her bed, was contented to permit *Maximilian*'s Deputy, in presence of many noble witnesses, as well men as women, to put his leg stript naked to the knee, between the Spousal-sheets; accounting that Ceremony to amount to the Consummation. The King of *France* likewise had been contracted to the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter to the foresaid *Maximilian*, and had received her to that end: Yet all this notwithstanding, out of a violent desire to joyn the Dutchy of *Britain* to the Crown of *France*, he disannulled and made void both the Contracts. But to the end he might do it without opposition of the King of *England*, he sent Ambassadours, the Lord *Francis* of *Lutzemburgh*, *Charles Marignane*, and *Robert Canguine*, to King *Henry*; partly to conclude a Peace, but chiefly to procure King *Henry*'s good will to make void the foresaid Contracts: to which, though King *Henry* was not willing to give consent, yet he consented willingly to have a Treaty for Peace; and to that end, sent over *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, and *Thomas Goldenstone* Prior of *Christ*'s Church in *Canterbury*, to the *French* King about it. But during this Treaty, and before conditions of Peace could be agreed on, the *French* King had gotten into his possession the Lady *Anne* of *Britain*, and solemnly married her. Which under-hand dealing so incensed King *Henry*, that he presently called his High Court of Parliament, and there declared the just cause he had of War with *France*, desiring their Benevolence to the Charge thereof; which was as readily granted as desired, and great sums of money were soon collected.

Two Contracts of Marriage, formerly made, disannulled by the King of *France*.

King *Henry* propounds to this Parliament a War with *France*, to which end he hath a Benevolence granted.

In the year 1491, being the sixth year of the King's Reign, on the sixth of *April*, the Nobility of the Realm assembled in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, where also was the Mayor and Aldermen, and principal Citizens in their Liveries: to whom Doctor *Morton* Lord Chancellor made an Oration, declaring from his own Letters, that the King of *Spain* had won the great and rich City and Countrey of *Granada* from the Moors, which had been in their possession above seven hundred years: and having, in places of their superstition, built Churches to the Honour of Christ, was thereupon entituled the Catholick King. For joy whereof, *Te Deum* was sung with great solemnity.

1491.

Granada won by the King of *Spain* from the Moors.

In the Month of *May* was holden a solemn Justing at the King's Palace of *Sheen*, now called *Richmond*, which continued the space of a month,

A Just at *Sheen* which continued a month.

month, sometimes within the Palace, and sometimes without, upon the Green before the Gate; in which Justs, Sir *James Parker* running against a Gentleman named *Hugh Vaughan*, by reason of a faulty Helmet, was strucken into the mouth at the first course; so that his tongue was born to the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place.

King *Henry* is drawn into *France* to assist the Emperour, upon promise, which the Emperor keeps not.

And now *Maximilian* having received back his Daughter from the King of *France*, was so displeased, that he presently sent an Ambassador, one *James Contibald*, to King *Henry*, requiring him to take his part in a War against the *French* King; towards which he promised to provide ten thousand men with pay for two years: King *Henry* consented to it; and having provided himself of a puissant Army, on the sixth day of *October* sailed to *Callice*; but sending his Almoner *Christopher Urswick*, and Sir *John Resley* to *Maximilian*, requiring his promised Forces; they found him altogether unprovided of either men or money: which brought King *Henry* into a great strait what he should do. To proceed in the War with his own Forces alone, would be full of hazzard: to return home without doing any thing, would bring an imputation upon him among his Subjects, as though he had used the pretence of War but as a trick to get money: at last he resolved to do something; and thereupon went and besieged *Boloigne*, having in his Army, of chief Lords, *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, his Lieutenant General, *Thomas* Marquess *Dorset*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Suffolk*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Kent*, *Devonshire*, and *Ormond*; sundry Barons, as *Dawbeny*, *Aburgany*, *De la Ware*, *Zouch*, *Hastings*, *Cobham*, and others. During his siege of *Boloigne* (in which there were but a few slain, and none of note, but Sir *John Savage*, who riding to take view at what place the Town might best be assaulted, was set upon by certain *French* men, and by them slain) King *Henry* was secretly dealt with by the Lord *Cordes* Governor of *Heynault*, on the King of *France*'s behalf, to accept of certain conditions of Peace. Who thereupon sent *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Exeter*, and *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny* to conclude them; which amongst other Articles were; That King *Henry*, without quitting his claim to *France*, should, for a Peace to continue during the two Kings lives, receive in present of *Charles* King of *France*, for his charges in that War, seven hundred forty and five thousand Duckats, which in *English* mony amounts to one hundred eighty six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds; and five and twenty thousand Crowns yearly, towards the expences he had been at before in aiding the *Britains*; which (by the *English* called Tribute) was duly paid, during all the King's Reign, and also to King *Henry* his Son afterward, longer than it could continue upon any computation of charges. There was also assigned by the *French* King, unto all King *Henry*'s principal Councellors, great Pensions, besides rich gifts for the present. Which whether the King did permit, to save his own Purse from Rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business that was displeasing to his people, was diversly interpreted: for certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace; and therefore a little before it was concluded, he had underhand procured some of his best Captains and Men of War, to advise him to a Peace under their hands in an earnest manner, in the nature of a Supplication; that he might have it to shew for justifying himself, and to give some allay to the discontentments of many, who had sold and engaged their Estates upon the hopes of the War. After the Peace thus concluded; he went to *Callice*, where he stayed some time; and the seventeenth of *December* following, came to *Westminster*, where he kept his Christmas.

King *Henry* hath a great sum of money of the King of *France*, to agree to a Peace.

Soon after his return, he elected into the Order of the Garter, *Alphonsus* Duke of *Calabria*, Son and Heir to *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*: to whom *Christopher Urswick*, the Kings Almoner, was sent to *Naples* to carry it; which as soon as *Alphonsus* had received, he apparelled himself presently in the Habit, before a great Assembly, indeed to shew what favour he was in with the King of *England*.

There had been disturbance in the Realm before, by a Counterfeit Son of the Duke of *Clarence*; but that device had two main imperfections; one, that the true Son of the Duke was forth-coming, and to be shewed openly for convincing the false; the other, that though the counterfeit had been the true, yet he could have laid no claim to the Crown, as long as any Daughters of King *Edward* the Fourth were living: Now therefore a device is found, by which those imperfections were both of them amended: for now a Counterfeit was set on foot, who pretended to be *Richard* the younger Son of King *Edward* the Fourth: so that neither any other could be produced to convince him of being false, nor any Daughters of King *Edward* could hinder his Right for claiming the Crown. This device was first forged by *Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgundy*; a Woman that could never be quiet in her mind, as long as King *Henry* was quiet in his Kingdom: and by this device she hoped, if not to put him clean out of his seat, yet foully at least to disturb him in it; and this was the purpose of the plot: but by what instrument it was acted, by what abettours fomented, and what issue the device had, are worthy all to be related. The Dutchess having formerly given out, that *Richard* the younger Son of King *Edward*, was not murthered, but in compassion spared, and sent secretly away to seek his fortune; and having after long search gotten at last a fit Boy to personate a Prince, keeps him secretly a good time with her; in which time she so throughly instructed him in all Circumstances, and he afterward put them so gracefully in practice, that even those who had seen and known the young Prince while he lived, could hardly perceive but that this was he. It is true, though he were not King *Edward*'s Son, yet he was his Godson, and might perhaps have in him some base blood of the house of *York*. This *Perkin Warbeck* (for so was the youth's name, called *Perkin*, as a diminutive of *Peter*) when he so perfectly had learned his lesson, that he was fit to come upon the Stage, she sent him into *Portugal*, that coming

1493. The Dutchess of *Burgundy* sets up *Perkin Warbeck*, to take upon him to be *Richard* the younger Son of *Edward*, and how the plot was carried.

from a ſtrange Countrey, it might be thought, he had been driven to wander from one Countrey to another, for ſafeguard of his life, at leaſt that ſhe of all other might not be ſuſpected. From *Portugal* ſhe cauſed him to paſs into *Ireland*, where the Houſe of *York* was ſpecially reſpected, in reſpect of the great love which *Richard* Duke of *York*, Father of King *Edward* the fourth, had won amongſt them: by reaſon whereof, this *Perkin*, as eſteemed his Grandchild, was well entertained by them, and held in great eſtimation. He had not been long in *Ireland*, when the *French* King ſent for him: for being at that time at variance with King *Henry*, he thought he might make good uſe of *Perkin*, as a pretender againſt King *Henry* for the Crown. *Perkin* being come to *Paris*, was entertained in a Princely faſhion; and for his more honour, had a guard aſſign'd him, over which the Lord *Congreſhal* was Captain. He had not been long at *Paris*, when there reſorted to him Sir *George Nevil* Baſtard, Sir *John Taylour*, *Richard Robinſon*, and about a hundred other *Engliſh*. Amongſt the reſt, one *Stephen Fryon*, that had been King *Henry*'s Secretary for the *French* Tongue; but diſcontented, fled, and became a chief Inſtrument in *Perkin*'s proceedings. But this float of *Perkins* laſted not long; for as ſoon as Peace was concluded between the two Kings, the King of *France* diſmiſſed *Perkin*, and would keep him no longer. Then paſſed he ſecretly to his firſt Foundreſs, the Lady *Margaret*; who at his firſt coming, made a ſhew of ſuſpecting him to be a Counterfeit: but cauſing him in great aſſemblies to be brought before her, as though ſhe had never ſeen him before; and finding him to anſwer directly to all queſtions ſhe put unto him: ſhe openly profeſſed, That ſhe was now ſatisfied, and thought him verily to be her true Nephew, and thereupon aſſigned a Guard of thirty perſons, clothed in Murrey and Blue, and called him the White Roſe of *England*. Upon report hereof many in *England* were inclined to take his part; and Sir *Robert Clifford*, and *Robert Barcley* were ſent into *Flanders*, to acquaint the Dutcheſs with the peoples reſpect to *Perkin*: and indeed Sir *Robert Clifford* upon ſight and conference with him, wrote Letters into *England*, wherein he affirmed, that he knew him to be the true Son of King *Edward*, by his face, and other lineaments of his body. King *Henry* hearing of theſe things, ſent certain eſpials into *Flanders*, that ſhould feign themſelves to have fled to *Perkin*, and by that means the better ſearch out who were of the Conſpiracy with him. Whoſe names being returned unto the King, he cauſed them to be apprehended and brought to his preſence: the chief of whom were *John Ratcliff*, Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Simon Montford*, and Sir *Thomas Thwayts*, Knights, *William Dawbeny*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Creſſenor*, and *Thomas Aſtwood*: Alſo certain Prieſts, *William Richford* D. of Divinity, *Thomas Boyns*, D. *William Sutton*, *William Worſley* Dean of *Pauls*, *Robert Layborn*, & *Richard Liſley*, of whom ſome hearing of it, fled to Sanctuary; others were taken and condemned, as Sir *Simon Montford*, *Robert Ratcliff*, and *William Dawbeny*, who were all three beheaded. The Lord *Fitzwater* pardoned of life, was conveyed to *Callice*, and there laid in hold; where ſeeking to make eſcape by corrupting his Keeper, he loſt his head. Shortly after, Sir *Robert Clifford*, returning out of *Flanders* (not as ſome think, ſent a ſpy from the beginning, but rather now at laſt, either diſcerning the fraud, or won by rewards) ſubmitted himſelf to the King's mercy, diſcovering unto him, as far as he knew, all that were either open or ſecret abettors of the Conſpiracy; amongſt whom, he accuſed Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain: his accuſation was this, That in conference between them, Sir *William* had ſaid, That if he certainly knew that the young man named *Perkin* were the Son of King *Edward* the fourth, he would never fight nor bear Arms againſt him. Theſe words being conſidered of by the Judges, ſeemed to expreſs a tickle hold of Loyalty: for who could tell how ſoon he might be perſwaded that he knew it? beſides, that the uttering ſuch an expreſſion was in it ſelf upon the matter, to be diſloyal to King *Henry*; and withal it ſtruck upon a ſtring which had always ſounded harſh in King *Henry*'s Ears, as preferring the Title of *York* before that of *Lancaſter*. Sir *William* being hereupon arraigned, whether truſting to the greatneſs of his favours, or the ſmalneſs of his fault, denied little of that wherewith he was charged, and upon confeſſion was adjudged to die; and accordingly on the ſixteenth day of *February* was brought to the *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded: after whoſe death, *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny* was made Lord Chamberlain. This was that Sir *William Stanley* who came in to reſcue the Earl of *Richmond* when he was in danger of his life; who ſet the Crown upon his head; and was the cauſe of his being ſaluted King: And could it enter into his breaſt, to put him to death, that had ſaved his life, and done him ſo many great ſervices beſides? But it may be ſaid, It was not the Earl of *Richmond* that did it, but the King of *England*: for certainly, in many caſes, a King is not at liberty to ſhew mercy, ſo much as a private man may. Though there be that affirm, the cauſe of his death was not words only, but real acts, as giving aid to *Perkin* underhand by money. And it ſeems there was ſome conflict in the mind of King *Henry*, what he ſhould do in this caſe; for he ſtayed ſix weeks after his Accuſation, before he brought him to his Arraignment. However it was, the Summer following, the King went in Progreſs to *Latham*, to the Earl of *Derby*, who had married his Mother, and was Brother to Sir *William Stanley*: perhaps to congratulate his own ſafety; perhaps to condole with him his Brothers death; but certainly to keep the Earl from conceiving any ſiniſter opinion of him; For to think that Sir *William*'s ſuing to be Earl of *Cheſter* (an Honour appointed to the King's Son) or his great wealth, (for he left in his Caſtle at *Holt* in ready money forty thouſand Marks, beſides Plate and Jewels) were cauſes that procured or ſet forward his death, are conſiderations very unworthy of ſo juſt a Prince, againſt a ſervant of ſo great deſerving.

But in this mean while *Perkin* having gotten a power of idle looſe fellows, took to Sea,

Perkin is entertained by the King of France.

Perkin's aſſiſtances taken and put to death.

Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain accuſed to partake with Perkin.

Is convicted and beheaded.

1495

A hundred and sixty of *Perkin*'s followers executed.

Sea, intending to land in *Kent*; where, though he were repelled, yet some of his Souldiers would needs venture to go on Land, of whom a hundred and sixty persons were taken prisoners, whereof five were Captains; *Mortford*, *Corbet*, *Whitebolt*, *Quintyn*, and *Gemyne*; The hundred and sixty persons were brought to *London*, railed in Ropes, like Horses drawing in a Cart, who upon the arraignment, confessing their offence, were executed, some at *London*, and some in Towns adjoining to the Sea-Coast. *Perkin* finding no entertainment in *Kent*, sailed into *Ireland*, and having stayed there a while, and finding them also, being a naked people, to be no competent assistants for him, from thence he sailed into *Scotland*, where he so moved the King of *Scots* with his fair words and colourable pretext, (made no doubt before by the Dutchess of *Burgoigne*) that he received him in great state, and caused him to be called the Duke of *York*; and to perswade the world that he thought him so indeed, he gave him in marriage the Lady *Katharine Gourdon*, Daughter to *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley*, his own near Kinswoman; and soon after, in *Perkin*'s quarrel, entred with a puissant Army into *England*, making Proclamation, That whosoever would come in and aid the true Duke of *York*, should be spared; but none coming in, he then used all kind of cruelty, and the whole County of *Northumberland* was in a manner wasted: whereat *Perkin* at his return, expressed much grief, saying, It grieved him to the heart, to see such havock made of his people: To whom the King answered, Alas, alas, you take care for them, who for any thing that appears are none of yours; for not one of the Countrey came in to his Succour. King *Henry*, incensed with this bold attempt of the King of *Scots*, called his High Court of Parliament, acquainting them with the necessity he had of a present War to revenge the indignity offered him by the *Scots*; and thereupon requiring their aid by money, had a Subsidy of sixscore thousand pounds readily granted him; and then in all haste a puissant Army is provided, and under the conduct of the Lord *Dawbeny* sent into *Scotland*; but before he arrived there, he was suddenly called back by reason of a commotion begun at *Cornwal*, for payment of the Subsidy lately granted, which though it were not great, yet they grudged to pay it. The Ring-leaders of this Commotion were *Thomas Flammock* a Gentleman learned in the Laws, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith; who laying the blame of this exaction upon *John Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *Reynold Bray*, as being chief of the King's Council, exhorted the people to take up Arms; and having assembled an Army, they went to *Taunton*, where they slew the Provost *Peyrn*, one of the Commissioners for the Subsidy, and from thence came to *Wells*, intending to go to *London*, where the King then lay, who having revoked the Lord *Dawbeny*, appointed *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey* (after the death of the Lord *Dinham*, made Lord Treasurer of *England*) to have an eye to the *Scots*, and if they made invasion, to resist them. In the mean time *James Twichet* Lord *Audley* confederated himself with the Rebels of *Cornwal*, and took upon him to be their Leader, who from *Wells* went to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Winchester*, and so to *Kent*, hoping there to have had great aid, but found none; for the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Aburgain*, *John Brook*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Edmund Peyninge*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, *John Peachy*, and *William Scot*, were ready in Arms to resist them; whereupon the Rebels brought their Army to *Black-heath*, four miles distant from *London*, and there in a Plain on the top of a hill encamped themselves; whereof when the King had knowledg, he presently sent *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, *Edmund de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and Sir *Humfrey Stanley* to environ the hill on all sides, that so all hope of flight might be taken from them; and then set forward himself, and encamped in St. *George*'s fields; where for encouragement he made divers Bannerets. The next day he sent the Lord *Dawbeny* to set upon the Rebels early in the morning, who first got the Bridge at *Debtford Strand*, though strongly defended by the Rebels Archers, whose Arrows were reported to be full Cloth-yard in length; but notwithstanding, the Lord *Dawbeny* coming in with his company, and the Earls assailing them on every side, they were soon overcome: In which conflict were slain of the Rebels above two thousand, taken prisoners a very great number, many of whom the King pardoned, but of the chief Authors none: for the Lord *Audley* was drawn from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a Coat of his own Arms, painted upon paper, reversed and all torn; and there on the four and twentieth day of *June* was beheaded; *Thomas Flammock* and *Michael Joseph* were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their heads and quarters pitched upon stakes, set up in *London*, and other places. Of the King's Army were slain not above three hundred. It is memorable, with what comfort *Joseph* the Blacksmith cheared up himself at his going to execution, saying, That yet he hoped by this that his name and memory should be everlasting; so dear even to vulgar spirits is perpetuity of Name, though joyned with infamy: what is it then to Noble Spirits, when it is joyned with Glory?

Perkin received by the King of *Scots*, marries the Earl of *Huntley*'s Daughter. The King of *Scots* in *Perkin*'s quarrel enters and spoils *Northumberland*.

A Commotion in *Cornwal* by the Instigation of *Thomas Flammock* a Lawyer, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith.

The Lord *Audley* confederate with the Rebels.

The Rebels are overthrown.

The Lord *Audley* beheaded, *Flammock* and *Joseph* the smith hanged and quartered.

1496.

The King of *Scots* invades the Frontiers, but is repelled.

In the mean time the King of *Scots*, taking advantage of these troubles in *England*, invaded the Frontiers, forraged the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and at last besieged the Castle of *Norham*, whereof *Richard Fox* then Bishop of *Durham* was owner; who thereupon sent presently to the Earl of *Surrey*, acquainting him with this Invasion: Whereupon the Earl, taking with him *Ralph* Earl of *Westmorland*, *Thomas* Lord *Barns*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevil*, *George* Lord *Strange*, many other Lords and Knights, and an Army of little less than twenty thousand men; besides a Navy, whereof the Lord *Brook* was Admiral, set forward against the *Scots*, and not only forced the *Scots* to raise the siege of *Norham* Castle; but followed them also into *Scotland*; where he overthrew and defaced the Castle at *Cawdestrains*, the Tower of *Heton hall*, the Tower of *Edington*, the Tower of *Fulden*, and at last by composition took the strong Castle of *Hayton*, and raised it to the ground.

At the Earls being at *Hayton*, the King of *Scots* ſent to him *Marchemont* and another Herald, requiring him at his Election, either to fight with him with their whole Armies, or elſe they two to fight with him in ſingle combat; upon condition, that if the victory fell to the *Scottiſh* King, the Earl ſhould deliver for his Ranſom the Town of *Berwick*: Whereunto the Earl made anſwer, That the Town of *Berwick* was the King his Maſters, and therefore not for him to diſpoſe of; but for his offer of ſingle Combat, he willingly accepted it, and thought himſelf highly honoured by ſuch a match: But King *James* of *Scotland* had no meaning to perform either one or other, but privily in the night fled back into *Scotland*, and then the Earl returned to *Berwick*. In the mean time, one *Peter Hyalus*, a man of great learning and policy, was ſent Ambaſſadour to the King of *Scots*, from the King of *Spain*, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; who finding the King of *Scots* conformable to his motion, found after, the King of *England* (who was never averſe from Peace upon honourable Conditions) no leſs inclining to it: and ſo a Truce was concluded for certain years; upon condition, that *Perkin Warbeck* ſhould be ſent out of the *Scottiſh* Dominions.

A Truce between King *Henry* and the King of *Scots*.

About this time the Lord *Camphyre*, and others ſent from *Philip* Archduke of *Auſtria*, and Duke of *Burgundy*, came to King *Henry* for a concluſion of Amity, and to procure the *Engliſh* Merchants reſort again to his Countrey; for King *Henry* ſometime before, upon diſpleaſure with the *Flemings*, but ſpecially with the Lady *Margaret*, for abetting *Perkin Warbeck*, not only had baniſhed all *Flemiſh* Wares and Merchandizes out of his Dominions, but had alſo reſtrained all *Engliſh* Merchants from having any Traffick in any of their Territories, cauſing the Mart for all *Engliſh* Commodities to be kept at *Calice*: but now, upon this invitation, and having found it had been a great hinderance to his own Merchant-Adventurers, and thereupon ſome Inſurrections had riſen, he willingly condeſcended to their requeſt, and ſo the *Engliſh* reſorted again to the Archdukes Dominions, and were received into *Antwerp* with general Proceſſion: ſo glad was that Town of the *Engliſh* mens returns.

In the eleventh year of this Kings Reign died *Cicely* Dutcheſs of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* the Fourth, at her Caſtle of *Berkamſtead*, being of extream age; who had lived to ſee three Princes of her Body Crowned, and four Murthered: ſhe was buried at *Foderingham* by her Husband.

Shortly after the Truce concluded between *England* and *Scotland*, *Perkin Warbeck* was commanded to depart out of the *Scottiſh* Dominions: who thereupon with his Wife and Family ſailed into *Ireland*: where underſtanding that the *Corniſh* men were ready to renew the War again, he thought beſt not to let paſs ſo fair an occaſion; and thereupon, having with him four ſmall Ships, and not above ſixſcore men, he ſailed into *Cornwal*, and there landed in the month of *September*, and came to a Town called *Bodmin*; where with fair words, and large promiſes he ſo prevailed with the people, that he had gotten to him above three thouſand perſons to take his part; and then made Proclamations in the name of King *Richard* the Fourth, as Son to King *Edward* the fourth: and, by the advice of his three Counſellors; *John Heron* a bankrupt Mercer, *Richard Skelton* a Taylor, and *John Aſtley* a Scrivener, determined to attempt firſt the winning of *Exeter*; which with great violence he aſſaulted, and the Townſmen with as great valiantneſs defended: whereof when the King heard, he ſent the Lord *Dawbeny* to their reſcue: but before he came, the Lord *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the valiant Lord *William* his Son, accompanied with Sir *Edmund Carew*, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Fulford*, Sir *John Halewel*, Sir *John Croker*, *Walter Courtney*, *Peter Edgecomb*, *William* St. *Maure*, with others, came to their aid: upon whoſe coming *Perkin* left the ſiege, and retired to *Taunton*; where he muſtered his men, as though he meant to prepare for Battel: but finding his number to be much diminiſhed (for of ſix thouſand which he had at *Exeter*, many were fled from him, when they ſaw no great ones to take his part) he began to diſtruſt his caſe; and hearing withal, that the King with a great Power was at hand, about midnight with threeſcore Horſemen in his company, he departed in poſt from *Taunton*, and took Sanctuary in a Town called *Beauly* near to *Southampton*. When King *Henry* heard that *Perkin* was fled, he ſent after him to the Sea ſide, to ſtop his paſſage, and apprehend him: But the Meſſengers that were ſent, when they came to St. *Michaels Mount*, though they found not *Perkin*, yet there they found his Wife the Lady *Katherine Gourdon*, whom they preſently brought to the King; a beautiful young Lady; to whom, in honour of her birth, and commiſeration of her beauty, the King allowed a competent maintenance, which ſhe enjoyed during the King's life, and many years after. King *Henry*, being come to *Exeter*, ſtayed there a few days, about examination of the Rebellion, and execution of the chief Offendors: of whom there being a great multitude, and all of them craving pardon, the King cauſed them all to be aſſembled in the Church-yard of St. *Peter*, where they all appeared bare-headed in their ſhirts, and halters about their necks: whom the King viewing out of a window made for the purpoſe, after he had pauſed a while, made a ſpeech unto them, exhorting them to obedience; and then in hope they would afterward be dutiful Subjects he pardoneth them all: whereat they made a great ſhout, crying all, God ſave King *Henry*! though ſome of them afterward, like ungrateful wretches, fell into new Rebellions.

Followed by the King's Forces, he takes Sanctuary already.

King *Henry* pardons Perkin's followers.

Perkin thruſt out of *Scotland*, ſailed into *Ireland*, and from thence came into *Cornwal*, and there gets Forces.

All this while *Perkin* was in Sanctuary: and the King, thinking himſelf in danger as long as he was in ſafety, ſet a Guard about the place, to keep him from eſcaping; whereby *Perkin* was ſo reſtrained, that at laſt he ſubmitted himſelf to the King's mercy, and was thereupon ſent to the Tower, to be there in ſafe cuſtody. This done, King *Henry* appointed *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Amyas Paulet*, and *Robert Sherburn* Dean of *Pauls*, to be Commiſſioners for

Perkin ſubmits himſelf to King *Henry*, and is ſent to the Tower.

for making enquiry of the Offenders, and for aſſeſſing their Fines, which they did with great ſeverity to ſome, with great mildneſs to others, to all with equity.

1499. It was now the fourteenth year of the King's Reign, when one *Sebaſtian Gabato*, a *Genoweſe*'s Son, born at *Briſtow*, perſwaded the King to Man and Victual a Ship at *Briſtow*, to ſearch for an Iſland, which (he ſaid) he knew to be repleniſhed with rich Commodities; who ſetting forth with three other ſmall Ships of *London*-Merchants, returned home two years after, when he had made a large diſcovery Weſtward, and would have gone to *Cataia*, if the Mariners had not forced him to return; as likewiſe ſix years before, one *Chriſtopher Columbus* a *Spaniard*, made the firſt diſcovery of *America*.

Perkin makes eſcape out of the Tower. *Perkin* being in the *Tower*, and carefully guarded, yet found means to eſcape; and fled to the Priory of *Sheen*, near *Richmond*; where diſcovering himſelf to the Prior of that Monaſtery, he begged of him for God's ſake to get the King's Pardon for his life; which the Prior effected: but then was *Perkin* brought to the Court at *Weſtminſter*, and was one day ſet ſettered in a pair of Stocks before *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and there ſtood a whole day: the next day he was ſet upon a like Scaffold in *Cheapſide*; and there ſtanding the whole day alſo, he then read openly his Confeſſion, written with his own hand; wherein he declared his Parentage, and the place of his Birth, and all the paſſages of his Life, and by what means he was drawn to make this attempt. After this, he was committed again to the *Tower*, and care taken he ſhould be better looked to than he was before. But all the care notwithſtanding once again *Perkin* attempted to eſcape; and drawing into a confederacy with him the young Earl of *Warwick*; by fair words and large promiſes ſo corrupted his Keepers, *Strangwiſh*, *Blewet*, *Aſtwood*, and Long *Roger*, Servants to Sir *John Digby* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, that they intended to have ſlain their Maſter, and ſet *Perkin* and the Earl of *Warwick* at liberty: But this practice was ſoon diſcovered, ſo that *Perkin* and *John a Water*, ſometime Mayor of *Cork* in *Ireland*, one of *Perkin*'s chief Founders, were on the ſixteenth day of *November* arraigned at *Weſtminſter* and condemned, and both of them on the two and twentieth day were drawn to *Tyburn* and there hanged; where *Perkin* took it upon his death, that the Confeſſion he had formerly made, was true: ſoon after alſo *Blewet* and *Aſtwood*, two of the Lieutenants men were in the ſame place executed. On the one and twentieth day of the ſame month, *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick* was arraigned at *Weſtminſter* before the Earl of *Oxford*, then High Steward of *England*; not for conſenting to break Priſon, but for conſpiring with *Perkin* to raiſe Sedition, and deſtroy the King; and, upon his Confeſſion, had Judgment, and on the eight and twentieth day of the ſame month, in the year 1499, was brought to the Scaffold on the *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded. This Earl of *Warwick* was the eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, and was the laſt Heir-male of the name of *Plantagenet*, and had been kept in the *Tower* from his very infancy out of all company of Men, and ſight of Beaſts; ſo as he ſcarcely knew a Hen from a Gooſe, nor one Beaſt from another; and therefore could never know how to practiſe his eſcape of himſelf, but by *Perkin*'s ſubtilty: for which cauſe the King favoured him ſo far, that he was not buried in the *Tower*, but at *Biſſam* by his Anceſtors. And thus ended the deſigns of *Perkin Warbeck*, which had troubled both the Kingdom and the King the ſpace of ſeven or eight years, a great part of the King's Reign.

Submits himſelf again, and is again ſent to the Tower.

Perkin attempting again to eſcape, is hanged at Tyburn.

Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, for plotting with Perkin is beheaded.

But in the time of *Perkin*'s being in the *Tower*, another like practice was ſet on foot: for an *Auguſtine* Frier called *Patrick*, in the County of *Suffolk*, having a Scholar named *Ralph Wilford*, a Cordwaner's Son, he cauſed him to take upon him to be the Earl of *Warwick*, lately by great chance gotten out of the *Tower*; and they going together into *Kent*, when the Frier perceived ſome light credit to be given to him, he then ſtuck not to declare it openly in the Pulpit, deſiring all men to aſſiſt him. But this practice was ſoon diſcovered, and both the Maſter and the Scholar were apprehended and attainted, the Scholar *Wilford* was hanged on *Shrove-Tueſday* at S. *Thomas Waterings*, & the Frier was condemned to perpetual priſon: for at that time ſo much reverence was attributed to Holy Orders, that a Prieſt, though he had committed Treaſon againſt the King, yet had his life ſpared: And this practice was ſome cauſe to exaſperate the King againſt the Earl of *Warwick*, who though innocent in himſelf, yet was nocent in pretenders: and beſides K. *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, with whom at this time there was a Treaty for marriage of his Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, had written to the King in plain terms, that he ſaw no aſſurance of his Son's ſucceſſion, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived: & thus all things unfortunately concurred to bring this innocent Prince to his end.

Another practice to ſet up one *Ralph Wilford* to be the Earl of *Warwick*.

But the practice diſcovered, and *Wilford* hanged.

1500. In the fifteenth year of his Reign, partly to avoid the danger of the Plague, then reigning in *England*; but chiefly to confer with the Duke of *Burgoigne* about many important buſineſſes; the King and Queen ſailed over to *Calice*, where at an enterview between him and the Duke, at St. *Peter*'s Church without *Callice*, the Duke offered to hold the King's ſtirrop at his alighting, which the King by no means would permit, but deſcending from horſe-back, they embraced with great affection: and after communication between them, the King and Queen in the end of *June* returned into *England*.

King *Henry* ſails to *Calice* to confer with the Duke of *Burgoigne*.

1502. In his ſeventeenth year two great Marriages were ſolemnized: the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain* was ſent by her Father King *Ferdinand*, with a puiſſant Armada of Ships into *England*; where ſhe arrived at *Plymouth* the ſecond day of *October*; and, on the fourteenth of *November* after, was eſpouſed openly to Prince *Arthur*, both being clad in white; he of the age of fifteen years, ſhe of eighteen, at night they were laid together in one Bed, where they lay as Man and Wife all that night: when morning appeared, the Prince (as his Servants about him reported) called for drink, which before time he had not uſed to do; whereof one of his Chamberlains asking him the cauſe, he anſwered merrily, ſaying, I have been this night in the midſt of *Spain*, which is a hot Country, and that

Prince *Arthur* eſpouſeth the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain*, and lye together all night.

that makes me so dry: though some write, that a grave Matron was laid in bed between them, to hinder actual Consummation. The Ladies portion was Two hundred thousand Duckets, her Joynture the third part of the Principality of *Wales*, *Cornwal*, and *Chester*. At this Marriage was great solemnity and Royal Justings: during which time there came into *London* an Earl, a Bishop, and divers other Noble Personages sent from the King of *Scots* for a conclusion of Marriage (before treated of) between the Lady *Margaret* the King's eldest Daughter, and him; where the Earl, by Proxy in the name of King *James* his Master, affianced and contracted the said Lady; which Contract was published at *Paul's* Cross, the day of the Conversion of Saint *Paul*; for joy whereof, *Te Deum* was sung, and great fires were made through the City of *London*; And if such joy were made when the Match was made, what joy should be made now at the issue of the Match, when by the Union of those persons is made an Union of these Kingdoms; and *England* and *Scotland* are but one *Great Britain*? The Ladies portion was Ten thousand pounds, her joynture Two thousand pounds a year, after King *James* his death; and in present One thousand. When this Match was propounded at the Council-Table, some Lords opposed it; objecting, that by this means the Crown of *England* might happen to come to the *Scottish* Nation. To which King *Henry* answered, What if it should? It would not be an accession of *England* to *Scotland*, but of *Scotland* to *England*. And this answer of the King passed for an Oracle: and so the Match proceeded, & in *August* following was consummate at *Edenburgh*, and she conducted thither in great state by the Earl of *Northumberland*.

The King of *Scots* marries the Lady *Margaret*, King *Henry's* eldest Daughter.

Prince *Arthur* after his marriage, was sent again into *Wales* to keep that Country in good order; to whom were appointed for Councellors, Sir *Richard Pool* his Kinsman and chief Chamberlain, Sir *Henry Vernon*, Sir *Richard Crofts*, Sir *David Philips*, Sir *William Udal*, Sir *Thomas Englefield*, Sir *Peter Newton*, *John Walleston*, *Henry Marton*, and Doctor *William Smith* President of his Council; but within five months after his marriage, at his Castle at *Ludlow*, he deceased, and with great solemnity was buried at the Cathedral Church at *Worcester*. His Brother *Henry* Duke of *York* was stayed from the Title of Prince of *Wales* the space of half a year, till to women it might appear, whether the Lady *Katharine*, the Relict of Prince *Arthur*, was with child or no. The towardlines in learning of this Prince *Arthur* is very memorable; who dying before the age of sixteen years, was said to have read over all or most of the Latin Authors, besides many other.

Prince *Arthur* within five months after his marriage dieth.

His towardlines in learning.

Prince *Henry* not above twelve years old is contracted to the Lady *Katharine* his Brother's Widow, by dispensation from the Pope.

And now Prince *Arthur* being dead, and the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain* left a young Widow; King *Henry* loth to part with her Dowry, but chiefly being desirous to continue the Alliance with *Spain*, prevailed with his other Son Prince *Henry*, though with some reluctation, such as could be in those years (for he was scarce twelve years of age) to be contracted with the Princess *Katharine* his Brother's Widow: for which marriage, a dispensation, by advice of the most Learned men at that time in Christendom, was by Pope *Julius* the second granted, and on the five and twentieth day of *June*, in the Bishop of *Salisbury's* house in *Fleetstreet*, the marriage was solemnized.

A little before this time, *Edmund de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, Son to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, and Lady *Elizabeth* Sister to King *Edward* the Fourth, had in his fury killed a mean person, and was thereupon indicted of Murther; for which, although he had the King's Pardon, yet because he was brought to the King's-Bench-Bar, and there arraigned, he took it for so great a blemish to his Honour, that in great rage he fled into *Flanders* to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*; where having stayed a while, when his passion was over, he returned again. But after the marriage between Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katharine*, whether it were that in that solemnity he had run himself in debt, or whether he were drawn to do so by the Lady *Margaret*, he passed over the second time, with his Brother *Richard*, into *Flanders*. This put the King into some doubt of his intention; whereupon he had recourse to his usual course in such cases, and sent Sir *Robert Curson* Captain of *Hammes* Castle, to feign himself one of that Conspiracy, thereby to learn the depth of their intentions: and to take away all suspicion of his employment, the first Sunday of *November* he caused the said Earl and Sir *Robert Curson*, with five others, to be accursed openly at *Paul's* Cross, as enemies to him and his Realm. In conclusion, Sir *Robert Curson* acquainted the King with divers of that Faction; amongst whom, *William* Lord *Courtney*, and *William de la Pool*, Brother to the foresaid Earl of *Suffolk*, who were taken but upon suspicion, yet held long in Prison: but Sir *James Tyrrel* (the same that had murdered the two young Princes in the *Tower*) and Sir *John Windham*, who were proved to be Traytors, were accordingly attainted, and on the sixth day of *May*, at the *Tower-hill* beheaded. Whereof when the Earl heard, despairing now of any good success, he wandered about all *Germany* and *France*, where finding no succour, he submitted himself at last to *Philip* Duke of *Austria*, by whom afterward he was delivered to King *Henry*, by this occasion: *Ferdinand* King of *Aragon*, by his Wife *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, had only two Daughters, the eldest whereof named *Jone*, was married to this *Philip* Duke of *Austria*; the younger named *Katharine*, to *Arthur* Prince of *England*; and now Queen *Isabella* being lately dead, by whose death the Kingdom of *Castile* descended in Right of his Wife, to this Duke *Philip*; they were sailed out of *Germany* into *Spain*, to take possession of the Kingdom; but by tempest and contrary winds were driven upon the Coast of *England*, and landed at *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*; where desiring to refresh themselves a little on shore, they were invited by Sir *Thomas Trenchard* (a principal Knight in that Countrey) to his house, who presently sent word to the King of their arrival. King *Henry* glad to have his Court honoured by so great a Prince, and perhaps upon hope of a courtesie from him, which afterward he obtained; sent presently the Earl of *Arundel* to wait upon him, till himself might follow:

Edmund de la Pool Earl of *Suffolk* his courses by which he offended King *Henry*, and what his end was.

1506.

follow; and the Earl went to him in great magnificence, with a gallant Troop of three hundred Horſe, and for more ſtate came to him by Torch-light. Upon whoſe Meſſage, though King *Philip* had many reaſons of haſte on his journey; yet not to give King *Henry* diſtaſte; and withal, to give his Queen the comfort of ſeeing the Lady *Katharine* her Siſter; he went upon ſpeed to the Queen at *Windſor*, while his Queen followed by eaſie Journeys. After great magnificence of entertainment, King *Henry* taking a fit opportunity, and drawing the King of *Caſtile* into a room, where they two only were private; and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, ſaid unto him, Sir, you have been ſaved upon my Coaſt; I hope you will not ſuffer me to wrack upon yours. The King of *Caſtile* asking him what he meant by that ſpeech? I mean it (ſaith the King) by that hare-brain'd fellow the Earl of *Suffolk*, who being my Subject, is protected in your Countrey, and begins to play the fool when all others are weary of it. The King of *Caſtile* anſwered, I had thought, Sir, your felicity had been above thoſe thoughts; but if it trouble you, I will baniſh him. King *Henry* replied, that his deſire was to have him delivered to him: With this the King of *Caſtile* a little confuſed, ſaid, That can I not do with my Honour. Well then (ſaid the King) the matter is at an end. At laſt the King of *Caſtile*, who held King *Henry* in great eſtimation, compoſing his countenance, ſaid, Sir, you ſhall have him; but upon your Honour, you ſhall not take his life. I promiſe it upon my Honour, ſaid King *Henry*: And he kept his promiſe, for he was not put to death during all his Reign; but yet he took ſuch order, that in the Reign of his Son King *Henry* the Eighth, he had his head cut off. During the King of *Caſtile*'s being here, a Treaty was concluded, and bears date at *Windſor*; which the *Flemings* term *Intercurſus malus*, for that the free Fiſhing of the *Dutch* upon the Coaſts and Seas of *England*, granted in the Treaty of *Undecimo*, was not by his Treaty confirmed, as all other Articles were. And now when King *Henry* had received the King of *Caſtile* into the Fraternity of the Garter, and had his Son Prince *Henry* admitted to the Order of the Golden-Fleece; and that the Earl of *Suffolk* was brought over and committed to the *Tower*, the King of *Caſtile* departed home.

Two Calls of ſerjeants at Law.

In this King's time were two Calls of Serjeants at Law; one in his eleventh year, in which were called nine Serjeants, *Mordant*, *Higham*, *Kingeſmil*, *Conuby*, *Butler*, *Taxely*, *Frowick*, *Oxenbridge*, and *Conſtable*; who kept their Feaſt at the Biſhop of *Ely*'s Palace in *Holborn*, where the King, the Queen, and all the chief Lords dined. The other Call in his twentieth year, in which were called ſeven Serjeants, *Robert Brudnel*, *William Grevil*, *Thomas Marow*, *George Edgore*, *Lewis Pollard*, *Guy Palmes*, and *William Fairfax*, who kept their Feaſt at the Archbiſhop's Houſe in *Lambeth*.

King *Henry* having gotten as much honour as the eſtimation of neighbouring Princes could give him, began now to be intentive to getting of wealth; wherein he quickly found Inſtruments fit for his purpoſe; but eſpecially two, *Empſon* and *Dudley*, both Lawyers, and both of them Barons of the Exchequer: *Dudley* of a goodly Family, but *Empſon* the Son of a Sieve-maker. Theſe two perſons being put in authority, turned Law and Juſtice into Rapine. For firſt, their manner was, to cauſe divers Subjects to be indicted of Crimes, and then preſently to commit them; and not produce them to their anſwer, but ſuffer them to languiſh long in priſon; and by ſundry artificial devices and terror, extort from them great Fines, which they termed Compoſitions and Mitigations. Neither did they (towards the end) obſerve ſo much as the half face of Juſtice, in proceeding by Indictment; but ſent forth their Precepts to attach men, and convent them before themſelves and ſome others at their private houſes, and there uſed to ſhuffle up a Summary proceeding by examination, without trial of Jury; aſſuming to themſelves, to deal both in Pleas of the Crown, and Controverſies Civil. Then did they alſo uſe to inthral and charge the Subjects Land with Tenures in *Capite*, by finding falſe Offices; refuſing upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverſe thoſe falſe Offices, as by Law they might. Nay the King's Wards, after they had accompliſhed their full age, could not be ſuffered to have Livery of their Lands, without paying exceſſive Fines, far exceeding all reaſonable rates. When men were out-lawed in perſonal actions, they would not permit them to purchaſe their Charters of Pardon, except they paid great and intolerable ſums; ſtanding upon the ſtrict point of Law, which upon Outlawries gives forfeiture of Goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of mens Lands and Rents during the ſpace of full two years, for a Pain in caſe of Outlawry. They would alſo ruffle with Jurors, and enforce them to find as they would direct; and if they did not, then convent, impriſon, and fine them. Theſe and many other courſes they had of preying upon the people: but their principal working was upon Penal Statutes; wherein they conſidered not whether the Law was obſolete, or in uſe; and had ever a rabble of Promoters and leading Jurors at their command, ſo as they could have any thing found, either for fact or valuation. There remaineth to this day a report, that K. *Henry* was on a time entertained very ſumptuouſly by the Earl of *Oxford*, at his Caſtle of *Heningham*: and at the King's going away, the Earl's Servants ſtood in their Livery-coats with Cogniſances, ranged on both ſides, to make the King a lane. Whereupon the King called the Earl to him, and ſaid, My Lord, I have heard much of your Hoſpitality, but I ſee it is greater than is ſpoken; theſe handſom Gentlemen and Yeomen whom I ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure your Menial Servants. At which the Earl ſmiled, and ſaid, It may pleaſe your Grace, That were not for mine eaſe; they are moſt of them my Retainers, and are come to do me ſervice at ſuch a time as this, and chiefly to ſee your Grace. Whereat the King ſtarted a little, and ſaid: By my faith (my Lord) I thank you for my good chear; but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my ſight: my Attorney

Empſon and *Dudley* King *Henry*'s inſtruments for raiſing of money, and by what unjuſt courſes.

Chiefly upon Penal Statutes.

The Earl of *Oxford* entertains King *Henry* to his coſt.

torney muſt ſpeak with you about it. And it is part of the Report, that it coſt the Earl for a compoſition, fifteen thouſand Marks. And to ſhew further the King's extream diligence, I remember (ſaith Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord of *Verulam*, in his Hiſtory) to have ſeen long ſince a Book of Accompt of *Empſon*'s, that had the King's hand almoſt to every leaf, by way of ſigning: and was in ſome places poſtilled in the Margent with the King's own hand likewiſe, where was this remembrance:

Item, Received of ſuch a one five Marks for the Pardon to be procured; and if the Pardon do not paſs, the money to be repaid, except the party be ſome other way ſatisfied.

And over-againſt this *Memorandum* (of the King's own hand) *Otherwiſe ſatisfied.* This (ſaith he) I do the rather mention, becauſe it ſhews in the King a nearneſs, but yet with a kind of juſtneſs.

1508. In his three and twentieth year there was a ſharp proſecution againſt Sir *William Capel*, now the ſecond time, for miſgovernment in his Majoralty: The great matter was, that in ſome payments he had taken notice of falſe moneys, and did not his diligence to examine who were the Offenders: for which, and ſome other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thouſand pounds; whereof, being a man of ſtomach, he refuſed to pay a farthing; and thereupon was ſent to the *Tower*, where he remained until the King's death. *Knefworth* likewiſe, that had been lately Mayor of *London*, and both his Sheriffs, were for abuſes in their Offices queſtioned and impriſoned, and not delivered but upon payment of one thouſand four hundred pounds. Sir *Lawrence Aylmer*, who had likewiſe been Mayor of *London*, and his two Sheriffs, were put to the Fine of one thouſand pounds; & Sir *Lawrence* for refuſing to pay it, was committed to priſon, where he ſtayed till *Empſon* himſelf was committed in his place. By theſe courſes he accumulated ſo great ſtore of Treaſure, that he left at his death moſt of it in ſecret places, under his own key, and keeping, at *Richmond* (as is reported) the ſum of near 18 hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. But though by this courſe he got great ſtore of Treaſure, yet by it he loſt the beſt Treaſure (the peoples hearts) but that he ſomething qualified it by his laſt Teſtament, commanding that Reſtitution ſhould be made of all ſuch moneys as had unjuſtly been levied by his Officers.

King Henry at his death leaves eighteen hundred thouſand pounds

It ſeems King *Henry*, after the death of his Queen the Lady *Elizabeth*, had an inclination to marry again; and hearing of the great Beauty and Vertue of the young Queen of *Naples*, the Widow of *Ferdinando* the younger, he ſent three confident perſons, *Francis Marſin*, *James Braybrook*, and *John Stile*, to make two enquiries; one of her Perſon and Conditions, the other of her Eſtate: who returning their anſwer, that they found her Beauty and Vertues to be great, but her Eſtate to be only a certain Penſion or Exhibition, and not the Kingdom of *Naples*, as he expected; he then gave over any further medling in that matter. After this, another Treaty of Marriage was propounded to the King between him and the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſs Dowager of *Savoy*, only Daughter to *Maximilian*, and Siſter to the King of *Caſtile*; a Lady wiſe and of great fame: in which buſineſs was employed, for his firſt piece, the King's then Chaplain, and after the great Prelate, *Thomas Woolſey*. It was in the end concluded, with ample conditions for the King, but with the promiſe *de futuro* only. Which Marriage was protracted from time to time, in reſpect of the infirmity of the King; which held him by fits till he died.

King Henry had concluded to marry the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſs Dowager of *Savoy*; but protracted by reaſon of his Infirmity.

He left Executors, *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, *Richard Fitz-James*, Biſhop of *London*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Durham*, *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and Treaſurer of *England*, *Edward* Earl of *Worceſter*, and Lord Chamberlain, *John F.* Knight, chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and *Robert R.* Knight, chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas. A little before his death he had concluded a Marriage (in which negotiation *Fox* Biſhop of *Winchester* was employed) between his younger Daughter the Lady *Mary*, of the age of ten years, and *Charles* King of *Caſtile*, not much elder: but though concluded, yet not ſolemnized; and ſhe was afterward married to *Lewis* the *French* King.

King Henry's Executors.

Of his Taxations.

IN his third year there was by Parliament granted toward the maintaining an Army in *Britain*, That every man ſhould pay the tenth penny of his Goods: which Tax though at firſt withſtood in *Yorkſhire* and *Durham*, yet was afterward levied to the uttermoſt. In his ſeventh year, towards his Wars in *France*, a Benevolence was by Parliament granted, by which great ſummes of money were collected of the richer ſort only. In his eleventh year, a Subſidy of ſixſcore thouſand pounds was granted him by Parliament, towards his Wars with *Scotland*, which cauſed afterward the Inſurrection in *Cornwal*. In his nineteenth year a Subſidy was granted him by Parliament. In his one and twentieth year he raiſed great ſums of money from Offenders againſt Penal Statutes: the greateſt, but the unjuſteſt way for raiſing of money, that ever any King of *England* uſed; and not content with this, he required, and had at the ſame time a Benevolence both from the Clergy and Laity. To the Clergy was employed *Rich. Fox*, then Biſhop of *Winchester*: who aſſembling the Clergy before him, exhorted them to be liberal in their Contribution; but the Clergy being of two ſorts, rich and poor, made each of them ſeveral excuſes: The rich, and ſuch as had great Livings, ſaid, they were at great charges in keeping Hoſpitality, and maintaining their Families; and therefore deſired to be ſpared. The poor ſort alledged, that their Means were ſmall, and ſcarce able to find them neceſſaries, and therefore deſired to be forborn. But the Biſhop anſwered them both with a pretty Dilemma, ſaying to the rich, It is true, you live at great charges in Hoſpitality, in Apparel, and other demonſtrations of your wealth; and ſeeing you have ſtore to ſpend in that order, there is no reaſon but for your Prince's ſervice you ſhould do it much more, and therefore you muſt pay. To the poorer ſort he ſaid, Though your Livings be ſmall, yet your frugality is great, and you ſpend not in houſe-keeping and apparel as others do; therefore be content, for you ſhall pay.

Biſhop Fox's Dilemma to draw the Clergy to contribute to the King.

Of

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

Yeomen of the guard when first ordained.

THis King was the first that ordain'd a company of tall strong men (naming them Yeomen of the Guard) to be attending about the person of the King, to whom he appointed a Livery by which to be known, and a Captain by whom to be chosen. In his time the authority of the Star-Chamber, which subsisted before by the Common-Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain cases by Act of Parliament. In his time were made these excellent general Laws: One, that from thenceforth fines should be final, and conclude all strangers rights: Another for admission of poor suitors, *in forma pauperis*, without paying Fee to Counsellor, Attorney, or Clerk. Another, that no person that did assist by Arms or otherwise the King for the time being, should after be impeached therefore, or Attainted either by course of the Law, or by Act of Parliament; and that if any such Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it should be void, and of none effect. Another for the Benevolence, to make the sums which any had agreed to pay, and were not brought in, to be leviable by course of Law. Another, that Murtherers should be burnt on the Brawn of the left hand, with the Letter *M*; and Thieves with the Letter *T*: so that if they offended the second time, they should have no mercy, but be put to death; and this to reach also to Clerks Convict. In his fifth year, it was ordained by Parliament, That the Mayors of *London* should have Conservation of the River of *Thames*, from the Bridge of *Staines* to the Waters of *Tendale* and *Medway*. In his seventeenth, *John Shaw* Mayor of *London* caused his Brethren the Aldermen to ride from the *Guild-hall* to the water-side, when he went to *Westminster* to be presented in the Exchequer: he also caused the Kitchins and other houses of Office to be builded at the *Guild-hall*; where since that time the Mayors Feast hath been kept, which before had been in the Grocers or Taylors Hall. In his eighteenth year, King *Henry* being himself a Brother of the Taylors Company, as divers Kings before had been, namely, *Richard* the third, *Edward* the fourth, *Henry* the sixth, *Henry* the fifth, *Henry* the fourth, and *Richard* the second; also of Dukes 11, Earls 28, Lords 48; he now gave to them the Name and Title of Merchant-Taylors, as a name of worship to endure for ever.

Fines to be final, ordained by this King.

The Mayors Feast when first kept at Guild-hall.

The Title of Merchant-Taylors when first given.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the tenth year of his Reign, *Joan Boughton* Widow, was burnt in *Smithfield* for holding certain opinions of *John Wickliff*. In his seventh year, King *Henry*, finding great inconvenience by the priviledge of Sanctuaries, wrote to Pope *Alexander*, desiring him by his authority to adjudge all *English* men being fled to Sanctuary for the offence of Treason, to be enemies of the Christian Faith; and to prohibit the priviledge of Sanctuary to all such as once had enjoyed it before. Which request the Pope granted, to the great contentment of the King, and quiet of the Realm. In his sixteenth year, being the year 1500, a Jubilee in *Rome* was celebrated; whereof *Alexander* the then Pope; by his Messenger *Gaspar Pons* a *Spaniard*, gave notice to the King; offering withal, that those who could not come to *Rome*, should notwithstanding at a certain price have pardons, and as full a benefit of the Jubilee, as if they came: and to the end the King should not hinder his purpose, both offered part of his gains to the King, and also promised to bestow it upon a War against the *Turk*; by which course he gathered great sums, for which he had other use than to spend it so idly. In the two and twentieth year of this King, Pope *Alexander* the sixth died of Poyson, by this accident: He went to supper in a Vineyard near the *Vatican*, where his Son *Valentinois* meaning to Poyson *Adrian* Cardinal of *Cornetta*, sent thither certain flaggons of Wine infected with Poyson, and delivered them to a servant of his, who knew nothing of the matter; commanding him, that none should touch them, but by his appointment: It happened, the Pope coming in something before Supper, and being very dry through the immoderate heat of the season; called for drink, his own provision being not yet come: The servant that had the poysoned Wine in keeping, thinking it to be committed to him as a special Wine, brought of it to the Pope; and while he was drinking, his Son *Valentinois* came in, and drank also of the same; whereby they were both poysoned: but the Pope only overcome of the Poyson, died; his Son by the strength of youth bare it out, though with long languishing.

Pope *Alexander* the sixth poisoned, by what chance.

Works of Piety and other Structures by him and others.

THis King magnificently enlarged *Greenwich*, which *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester* had formerly builded, calling it *Placentia*. In his sixteenth year he new builded his Mannor of *Sheen*, and named it *Richmond*. He also new builded *Baynards* Castle in *London*. In his two and twentieth year, he finished the goodly Hospital of the *Savoy* near *Charing-cross*; to which he gave Lands for the relieving of two hundred poor people. This was first called *Savoy-place*, built by *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, Father to *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; about the nine and twentieth year of *Henry* the third, who made the said *Peter* Earl of *Richmond*. The house belonged since to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and at this time was converted to an Hospital, retaining still the first name of the *Savoy*. In this Kings time, *John Morton* being Bishop of *Ely*, bestowed great cost upon his House at *Hatfield* in *Hartfordshire*; now the House of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Salisbury*; and at *Wisbich*-Castle in *Cambridgshire*, a house belonging to that See; all the Brick building was of his charge: being afterward Bishop of *Canterbury*, he bestowed great sums in repairing and augmenting his houses at *Maidstone*, *Allington-Park*, *Charing*, *Ford*, *Lambeth*, and specially at *Knoll* in *Kent*, where he died: King *Henry* also builded three houses of *Franciscan*-Friers, which are called Observants: one at *Richmond*, another at *Greenwich*, a third at *Newark*; and three others of *Franciscan*-Friers, which are called Conventuals, one at *Canterbury*;

Greenwich enlarged by King *Henry* 7.

Richmond new builded.

The Savoy made an Hospital.

another at *Newcastle*, and a third at *Southampton*, And drawing near his end, he did these works of Charity: He granted a general Pardon to all men, for any offence committed against any of his Laws, Thieves and Murtherers only excepted: He paid also all Fees of all Prisoners in all Goals in and about *London*, abiding there for that cause only. He paid also the Debts of all such persons as lay in the Counters or Ludgate for forty shillings or under, and some also for ten pounds. In his eighteenth year, the Chappel of our Lady, above the East-side of the High Altar at *Westminster*-Church, with a Tavern called the *White-Rose* near adjoining, was taken down in which place a most beautiful Chappel was then presently begun to be builded by King *Henry*: the charges whereof amounted to the sum of fourteen thousand pounds (as *Stow* witnesseth.) In his second year, the great Conduit in *Cheapside* at the charges of *Thomas Ilam* Alderman of *London*, was new made; and the Cross also in *Cheapside* was new builded; towards the charges whereof, *Thomas Fisher*, Mercer, gave five hundred Marks. In his seventh year, the Conduit in *Grace-street* was begun to be builded by the Executors of Sir *Thomas Hill*, Grocer, late Mayor of *London*. Also this year, *Hugh Clopton* Mayor of *London*, builded the great Bridge of *Stratford* upon *Avon*; as likewise a fair Chappel toward the South-end of that Town; and near unto the same, a pretty house of Brick and Timber, where he lay and ended his life. He glazed also the Chancel of the Parish-Church in that Town; and made a way of four miles long, three miles from *Alisbury* towards *London*, and one mile beyond *Aulbury*. In his tenth year, *John Tate* Mayor of *London*, builded the Church of St. *Anthonies*, with a Free-School, and certain Alms-houses for poor men. In his time his Mother the Lady *Margaret*, Countess of *Richmond*, builded two Colledges in *Cambridge*, one called *Christs* Colledge, the other St. *Johns*; and endowed them with large possessions for the maintenance of learning. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, founded *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*; and *William Smith* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Brazen-nose* Colledge: He also builded at *Litchfield* an Hospital, for a Master, two Priests, and ten poor men; as likewise a Free-School, with a School-Master, and an Usher. *Anne Aveling* gave an hundred Marks towards the building of the Church in *Cicester*. In his time also *John Alcock* Bishop of *Ely*, builded *Jesus* Colledge in *Cambridge*: and in his two and twentieth year *Tho. Knesworth* Mayor of *London* builded the Conduit at *Bishopsgate* at his own charge; and gave to the Fishmongers certain Tenements; for which they are bound to allow to four Scholars, two at *Oxford*, and two at *Cambridge*, to each of them four pounds a year: also to poor people and Prisoners in *Ludgate* something yearly. In his twentieth year, Sir *William Capel* Mayor of *London*, caused all *Hounsditch* to be paved over, which till that time had lien very noyously to all travellers that way. In his fourteenth year all the Gardens without *Moor-gate* (which had continued time out of mind) were destroyed; and of them was made a plain Field for Archers to shoot in. In this Kings time also, *Thomas Savage* Archbishop of *York*, repaired the Castle of *Cawood*, and the Mannor of *Scroby*, and founded the Chappel at *Macclesfield* in *Cheshire*, where he was born. Also in his time *Stephen Gennings*, Mayor of *London*, founded a Free Gramar-School at *Woolverhampton* in *Staffordshire*, where he was born; and gave Lands sufficient for a Master and an Usher, leaving the over-sight to the Merchant-Taylors in *London*. This Town of *Wolverhampton*, commonly so called, is originally and rightly called *Wilfrunehampton*, upon this occation: The Town was anciently called *Hampton*, to which a Noble Woman named *Wilfrune*, a Widow, some time Wife of *Athelm* Duke of *Northampton*, obtained of King *Ethelred*, to give Lands to the Church there which she had founded; and thereupon the Town took the addition of the said *Wilfrune*. In this Kings time also *John Colet* Dean of *Pauls*, founded *Pauls School* in the Church-yard there.

The Cross in *Cheapside* new builded.

The Conduit in *Grace-street* builded.

Christs Colledge, and Saint *Johns* in *Cambridge* founded.

Corpus Christi Colledge, and *Brazen nose* in *Oxford* founded.

Jesus Colledge in *Cambridge* founded.

Hounsditch was first paved.

Wolverhampton why so called.

Pauls School first founded.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN his first year happened the Sickness called the Sweating-Sickness; which though it continued not long, yet took away many thousands. And in his two and twentieth year the like Sweating-Sickness happened again, but, by reason of Remedies found in the former, took away fewer.

Two Sweating Sicknesses.

In his second year Wheat was sold for three shillings the Quarter, Bay-salt at the like price. In his seventh year Wheat was sold at *London* for twenty pence the bushel, which was counted a great Dearth. In his tenth year Wheat was sold at *London* for six-pence the bushel, Bay-salt for three pence half-peny, *Nantwich* Salt for six-pence, white Herrings nine shillings the barrel, red Herrings three shillings the Cade, red Sprats six-pence the Cade, and *Gascoigne* Wines for six pounds the Tun. In his fifteenth year *Gascoigne* Wine was sold at *London* for forty shillings the Tun, a Quarter of Wheat four shillings, and Bay-salt four pence the Bushel.

The price of Corn and other things in his time.

The two and twentieth of *August*, 1485, the very day that King *Henry* got the Victory of King *Richard*, a great fire was in *Bread-street* in *London*, in which was burnt the Parson of St. *Mildreds*, and one other man in the Parsonage there.

In his tenth year, in digging a new Foundation in the Church of St. *Mary-Hill* in *London*, the body of *Alice Hackney*, which had been buried in the Church a hundred seventy five years before, was found whole of skin, and the joynts of her Arms pliable; which Corps was kept above ground four days, without annoyance, and then again buried.

A dead body found whole of skin above a hundred years after it was buried.

In his twelfth year, on *Bartholomew*-day, at the Town of St. *Neots* in *Bedfordshire*, there fell Hail-stones that were measured eighteen Inches about.

Hail stones 18 Inches about.

In his thirteenth year, on the one and twentieth of *December*, suddenly in the night brake out a fire in the Kings Lodgings, being then at his Mannor of *Sheen*; by violence whereof, a great part of the old building was burnt, with Hangings, Beds, Apparel, Plate, and many Jewels. In his fifteenth year, the Town of *Braham* in

Nor-

Norfolk was burnt: also this year a great Plague happened, whereof many people died in many places, but specially in *London*, where there died in that year thirty thousand.

In his twentieth year, Allum which for many years had been sold for six shillings a hundred, rose to five Nobles a hundred, and after to four Marks.

In his two and twentieth year the City of *Norwich* was well-near consumed with fire. Also in the same year, in *July*, a Gallery new builded at *Richmond*, wherein the King and the Prince his Son had walked not an hour before, fell suddenly down, yet no man hurt.

The great Tempest which drave King *Philip* into *England*, blew down the Golden Eagle from the Spire of *Pauls*; and in the fall, it fell upon a sign of the black Eagle, which was in *Pauls* Church-yard, in the place where the School-house now standeth; and battered it, and brake it down. This the people interpreted to be an ominous Prognostick upon the Imperial House; as indeed it proved: for this King *Philip* being the Emperours Son, arriving in *Spain*, sickned soon after; and being but thirty years of age, deceased: upon whose decease, his Wife Queen *Jone* (out of her tender love to him) fell distracted of her Wits.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Elizabeth* eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth, being of the age of nineteen years; whom two years after his Marriage he caused to be Crowned. She lived his Wife eighteen years, and died in Childbed in the *Tower* of *London*, the eleventh of *February*, the very day in which she was born: and is buried at *Westminster*, in the Magnificent Chappel and rich monument of Copper and Gilt, which her Husband had erected. He had Issue by her, three Sons and four Daughters: his eldest Son *Arthur* was born at *Winchester*, the twentieth day of *September*, in the second year of his Reign, and died at *Ludlow*, at fifteen years old and a half: and of this short life some cause may be attributed to his Nativity, being born in the eighth month after conception: He was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Maries* in *Worcester*, where in the South-side of the Quire he lies entombed in Touch or Jet, without any remembrance of him by Picture. His second Son *Henry* was born at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, on the two and twentieth day of *June*, in the seventh year of his Fathers Reign; and succeeded him in the Kingdom. His third Son *Edmund* was born in the tenth year of his Fathers Reign, and died at five years of age, at *Bishops Hatfield*, and lies buried at St. *Peters* in *Westminster*. His eldest Daughter *Margaret* was born the nine and twentieth day of *November*, the fifth year of her Fathers Reign: and at fourteen years of age was married to *James* the fourth King of *Scotland*; unto whom she bare three Sons, *James* the fifth, *Arthur* and *Alexander*, and one Daughter; which three last died all of them young; and after the death of her Husband King *James* (slain at *Flodden-field* in fight against the *English*) she was re-married to *Archibald Dowglas* Earl of *Angus*, in the year 1514, to whom she bare *Margaret*, espoused to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, Father of the Lord *Henry*, who died at the age of 9 months, and lieth interred in the upper end of the Chancel in the Parish-Church of *Stepney* near *London*. Her second Son was *Henry* Lord *Dernly*, reputed for Personage the goodliest Gentleman of *Europe*; who married *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, the Royal Parents of the most Royal Monarch *James* the first, King of *Great Britain*. Her third Son was *Charles* Earl of *Lenox*, Father to the Lady *Arbella*. King *Henry*'s second Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth*, was born in the year 1492, at three years of age died, and was buried at *Westminster*. His third Daughter the Lady *Mary* had been promised to *Charles* King of *Castile*; but was married to *Lewis* the twelfth, King of *France*; who dying three months after, she was then married to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*. His fourth Daughter, the Lady *Katharine*, was born in the year 1503, in the eighteenth year of her Fathers Reign, and died an Infant.

The Lady *Arbella*'s Parentage.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of Body lean and spare, yet of great strength; of stature somewhat higher than the common sort; his eyes gray, his hair thin; of a fair complexion, and pleasing countenance. Concerning his Conditions, he had in him the vertue of a Prince, and of a private man; affable, yet reserved. We might say he was Politick, if not rather that he was Wise: for though he used tricks of Cunning sometimes; yet solid Circumspection more. He loved not War, but in case of necessity; always Peace, but with conditions of Honour. Never any Prince was less addicted to bodily pleasures of any kind, than he. Three pleasures he had, but in three cases; one for Safety, another for Honour, and the third for Wealth: in all which he attained his end. His great respect of the Church was seen by his great employment of Church-men: for through the hands of Bishop *Morton*, Bishop *Fox*, and his Chaplain *Urswick*, the greatest part of all his Negotiations passed. He was frugal from his youth, not covetous, till ancient and sickly; and therefore what defect he had in that kind, must be attributed to age and weakness. The City of *London* was his Paradise; for what good fortune soever befell him, he thought he enjoyed it not, till he acquainted them with it. His Parliament was his Oracle; for in all matters of importance he would ask their advice; and he put his very Prerogative sometimes into their hands. He was no great lover of Women; yet all his great fortune both precedent and subsequent, came by Women; his own Title to the Crown was by a Woman; his Confirmation in the Crown was by a Woman; his transmission of the Crown to his Posterity, was by a Woman: The first by the Lady *Margaret*, descended from *John* of *Gaunt*; the second by the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth; the third by the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of himself King of *England*, and Married to *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*; by means whereof, as he was

Queen Elizabeth died the very day in which she was born.

Births in the eighth month not long liv'd.

Margaret Queen of Scots her Issue.

the Prince that joyned the two Roſes in one, ſo he was the Founder of joyning the two Kingdoms in one. And laſtly, it may be ſaid of him as was ſaid by one, of *Auguſtus Ceſar*—— *Hic vir, hic eſt, tibi quem promitti ſæpius audis*: For *Cadwallader* laſt King of the *Britains*, ſeven hundred years before had propheſied of him; and of later time King *Henry* the ſixth plainly foreſhewed him.

Of his Death and Burial.

IN the two and twentieth year of his Reign, he began to be troubled with the Gout; but a defluxion alſo taking into his breaſt, waſted his Lungs, ſo that thrice in a year, and ſpecially in the Spring, he had great fits and labours of the Ptiſick, which brought him to his end, at his Palace of *Richmond*, on the two and twentieth day of *April*, in the year 1508, when he had lived two and fifty years, reigned three and twenty and eight months: Being dead, and all things neceſſary for his Funeral prepared, his Corps was brought out of his privy Chamber into the great Chamber, where it reſted three days, and every day had there a Dirge and Maſs ſung by a Prelate Mitred: and from thence it was conveyed into the Hall, wherein it remained alſo three days, and had a like ſervice there; and ſo three days in the Chappel. Upon *Wedneſday* the ninth of *May*, the Corps was put into a Chariot, and over the Corps was a picture of the late King laid on Cuſhions of Gold: and the Picture was apparelled in the Kings rich Robes, with a Crown on the head, and a Ball and Scepter in the hands: when the Chariot was thus ordered, the Kings Chaplain and a great number of Prelates ſet forward, praying; then followed all the Kings Servants in Black; then followed the Chariot, and after the Chariot nine Mourners, and on every ſide were carried Torches, to the number of ſix hundred: and in this order they came from *Richmond* to St. *Georges* field: where there met with it all the Prieſts and Religious men within the City and without: the Mayor and Aldermen, with many Commoners, all cloathed in Black, met with the Corps at *London-bridge*, and ſo the Chariot was brought throughout the City, to the Cathedral of St. *Paul*; where the body was taken out, and carried into the Choire, and ſet under a goodly Hearſe of Wax; where after a ſolemn Maſs, was made a Sermon by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. The next day the Corps in like manner was removed to *Weſtminſter*; Sir *Edward Howard* bearing the Kings Banner. In *Weſtminſter* was a curious Hearſe full of Lights, which were lighted at the coming of the Corps; and then was the Corps taken out of the Chariot by ſix Lords, and ſet under the Hearſe, which was double railed. When the Mourners were ſet, *Garter* King at Arms, cried, For the ſoul of the Noble Prince *Henry* the Seventh, late King of this Realm. The next day were three Maſſes ſolemnly ſung by Biſhops; and after the Maſſes was offered the Kings Banner and Courſer, his Coat of Arms, his Sword, his Target, and his Helm; and at the end of the Maſs, the Mourners offered up rich Palls of Cloth of Gold and Bodkin: and when the Choire ſang *Libera me*, the Body was put into the Earth; then the Lord Treaſurer, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, the Treaſurer and Comptroller of the Kings Houſhold, brake their Staves, and caſt them into the Grave. Then *Garter* cried with a loud voice, *Vive le Roy Henry le huitieſme, Roy d' Angleterre & de France, ſyre d' Irlande.* And thus ended the Funeral.

Of Men of Note in his time.

OF Men of Valour and Arms, they are to be ſeen in the Hiſtory of this Kings Reign. For men of Letters in his time, of Forreigners were *Sanctus Pagninus*, a great Hebrician; *Leonicenus*, *Gattinaria*, *Cabelus* and *Optatus*, Phyſitians; *Auguſtinus Niphus*, *Jacobus Faber*, *Stapulenſis* and *Pighius*, Philoſophers; *Petrus Bembus*, and the Famous Clerk *Reuchlin*, who reſtored again the knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue. Of our own Country there lived in his time, *George Ripley* a Carmelite Frier of *Boſton*, who wrote divers Treatiſes in the Mathematicks; and after his death was accounted a Necromancer. *John Erghom* born in *York*, a Black-Frier, ſtudious in Prophecies, as by the Title of the Works he wrote, may appear. *Thomas Mallorie* a Welſhman, who wrote of King *Arthur*, and of the Round-Table. *John Rouſe* born in *Warwickſhire*, a diligent ſearcher of Antiquities, and wrote divers Treatiſes of Hiſtorical Argument: *Thomas Scroop*, ſirnamed *Bradley*, of the Noble Family of the *Scroops*, entred into divers Orders of Religion, and after withdrew himſelf to his houſe, where for twenty years he lived the life of an *Anchorite*; and after, coming abroad again, was made a Biſhop in *Ireland*, and went to *Rhodes* in Ambaſſage; from whence being returned, he went bare-footed up and down in *Norfolk*, teaching the Ten Commandments, and lived till near a hundred years old. *John Tonneys*, an Auguſtine Frier in *Norwich*, who wrote certain Rules of Grammar, and other things, printed by *Richard Pinſon*. *Robert Fabian* a Sheriff of *London*, and an Hiſtoriographer. *Edmund Dudley*, the ſame man whom King *Henry* uſed to take the forfeitures of Penal Statutes; who wrote a Book entituled, *Arbor Reipublicæ*. *John Bockingham* an excellent School-man; and *William Blackney* Carmelite Frier, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Necromancer.

Robert Fabian lived at this time.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *Hugh Brice* was Mayor:
John Tate, *John Swan*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Sir *Henry Collet* was Mayor:
John Percival, *Hugh Clopton*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
William Horn was Mayor:
John Fenkel, *William Remington*, Sheriffs.

In

In his fourth year,
Robert Tate was Mayor:
William Isaac, *Ralph Tinley*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
William White was Mayor:
William Capel, *John Brook*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Matthew was Mayor:
Henry Cote, or *Coot*, *Robert Revel*, and he dying,
Hugh Pemberton, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Hugh Clopton was Mayor:
Thomas Wood, *William Brown*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *William Martin* was Mayor:
William Purchase, *William Walbeck*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Ralph Austry was Mayor:
Robert Fabian, *John Winget*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Richard Chawrie was Mayor;
Nicholas Alwin, *John Warner*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir *Henry Collet* was Mayor:
Thomas Kneesworth, *Henry Sommer*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
John Tate was Mayor:
John Shaa, *Richard Hedon*, Sheriffs:

In his thirteenth year,
William Purchase was Mayor:
Barth. Rede, *Thomas Windew*, or *Windout*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir *John Percival* was Mayor:
Thomas Bradbury, *Stephen Gennings*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Nicholas Aldmine was Mayor:
James Wilford, *Thomas* or *Richard Brond*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
William Rennington was Mayor:
John Hawes, *William Steed*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Sir *John Shaa* was Mayor:
Lawrence Aylmer, *Henry Hede*, Sheriffs.

THE

The REIGN of KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

KING *Henry* the Seventh being deceased, his only Son Prince *Henry*, Heir by his Father of the House of *Lancaster*, and by his Mother of the House of *York*; by unquestionable right succeeded in the Crown at the age of eighteen years, on the two and twentieth of *April*, in the year 1509; who having been trained up in the study of good Letters all his Fathers time, he governed at first as a man newly come from Contemplation to Action, as it were by the Book; in so regular and fair a manner, that as of *Nero*'s Government there was said to be *Quinquennium Neronis*; so of this Kings there might as justly be said, *Decennium Henrici*; and perhaps double so long a time, comparable with so much time of any Kings Reign that had been before him. How he came to alter, and to alter to such a degree of change as he did, we shall then have a fit place to shew when we come to the Time of his alteration. King *Henry* having learned by Books, that the weight of a Kingdom is too heavy to lie upon one mans shoulders, if it be not supported by able Counsellors; made it his first care to make choice of an able Council; to which he called *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellour of *England*; *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and Treasurer of *England*, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Lord Steward of his Houshold, *Charles Somerset* Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Sir *Henry Wyat*, Doctor *Thomas Ruthal*, and Sir *Edward Poynings*: by advice of these Counsellors, his first Act after the care of his Fathers Funeral, was the care to perform his Fathers Will, in marrying the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother Prince *Arthur*; to which perhaps, but in respect of filial piety, he had not the greatest devotion: and for relinquishing whereof, he might (no doubt) more easily have obtained a Dispensation from the Pope, than his Father had done for getting it to be allowed: but obsequiousness to his Fathers desire, and respect to his Council's advice, so far prevailed with him, that he would not be Crowned till that were performed, that one Coronation might serve them both; and so on the third day of *June* following, he married the said Lady at the Bishop of *Salisburies* House in *Fleet-street*; where of many great solemnities, I will remember but this one; that though the Bride were a Widow, yet to shew she was a Virgin-widow, she was attired all in white, and had the hair of her head hanging down behind at the full length; and then (having made in the *Tower* four and twenty Knights of the *Bath*) two days after, being *Midsummer-day*, he was Crowned at *Westminster*, together with his Queen, by the hands of *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all circumstances of State in such cases usual; and then all the Nobility, Spiritual and Temporal, did him Homage; and the people being asked whether they would receive him for their King? They all with one voice cried, Yea, Yea.

An. Dom. 1509.

His choice of good Counsellors.

He marries the Lady *Katharine* the Relict of his Brother *Arthur*.

He and his Queen Crowned.

This done, his next Act was another part of performing his Fathers Will, which was to proclaim pardon for all Offences (Treason, Murder, and Felony only excepted) and to have restitution made of all goods unjustly taken from any; and because the Instrumenrs of such injustice are always most odious; and nothing gives the people so much contentment, as to see their Persecutors punished: he therefore caused *Empson* and *Dudley*, the two chief Actors of the late unjust proceedings, to be committed to the *Tower*, and divers of their inferiour Agents, called Promoters, as *Canby*, *Page*, *Smith*, *Derby*, *Wight*, *Simpson*, and *Stockton*, to be set on the Pillory in *Cornhill*, with Papers on their heads, and then to ride through the City with their faces to the Horse tails; with the shame whereof in seven days after they all died in *Newgate*. Shortly after, a Parliament was called, whereof Sir *Thomas Inglesby* was chosen Speaker; and therein *Empson* and *Dudley* were attainted of High Treason, and after arraigned, *Edmund Dudley* in the *Guildhall*, on the seventeenth of *July*, and Sir *Richard Empson* at *Northampton* in *October* following; and on the seventeenth of *August* the year following, they were both of them beheaded on the *Tower-hill*, and their bodies and heads buried, the one at *White-Fryers*, the other at the *Black*.

Empson and *Dudley* committed to the Tower.

1510.

Both of them beheaded.

On *Midsummer*-Eve at night, King *Henry* came privily into *Cheapside*, cloathed in one of the Coats of his Guard, to behold the same: and this first year King *Henry* spent in Jousts and Masks, which were almost perpetual, performed with great Magnificence always, and sometimes with great acts of Valour, on the Kings part specially.

In *February* the same year, Ambassadors came from

from the Kiugs Father-in-law, the King of *Aragon*, requiring aid againſt the *Moors*, in which ſervice the Lord *Thomas Darcy*, a Knight of the Garter, making ſuit to be employed, he was ſent thither, and with him the Lord *Anthony Gray*, Brother to the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, *Henry Guilford*, *Wolſtan Brown*, and *William Sidney*, Eſquires of the Kings Houſe, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *Roger Haſtings*, Sir *Ralph Elderton*, and others; who, on the *Monday* in the Rogation-week, departed out of *Plymouth*-Haven with four Ships Royal; and on the firſt of *June* arrived at the Port of *Cadis* in South-*Spain*; of whoſe coming the King of *Aragon* hearing, ſent to bid them welcome; but advertiſing them withal, that he had now by reaſon of new troubles with *France*, taken truce with the *Moors*, and therefore they might return again to their own Countrey; to whom yet he allowed wages for all his Souldiers. Whereupon the Lord *Darcy* and all his men went aboard their Ships; but *Henry Guilford*, *Wolſtan Brown*, and *William Sidney*, deſirous to ſee the Court of *Spain*, went thither, and were honourably entertained. *Henry Guilford*, and *Wolſtan Brown* were made Knights by the King; who gave to Sir *Henry Guilford* a *Canton* of *Granado*; and to Sir *Wolſtan Brown* an *Eagle* of *Sicily* on a *Chief*, to the augmentation of their Arms: *William Sidney* ſo excuſed himſelf, that he was not made Knight. After this they returned to their Ships, and their Ships into *England*.

Sir Henry Guilford and Sir Wolſtan Brown the honors done them in Spain.

During the time that the Lord *Darcy* was in *Spain*, the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, Daughter unto *Maximilian* the Emperour, and Governeſs of *Flanders*, and other the Low-Countreys, pertaining to *Charles* the young Prince of *Caſtile*, ſent to King *Henry* for fifteen hundred Archers to aid her againſt the Duke of *Gelders*, which the King granted; and thereupon Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the Kings houſe, is appointed to go, accompanied with his Son-in-Law the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Matthew Brown*, Sir *John Digby*, *John Werton*, *Richard Wiſberſil*, and others to the number of fifteen hundred, took ſhipping at *Sandwich*, and paſſing over to the ſaid Lady-Regent, did her there great ſervice; for which *John Norton*, *John Fogge*, *John Scot*, and *Thomas Linde* were Knighted; and then with many thanks and rewards returned, not having loſt in all the Journey, by War or Sickneſs, above an hundred men.

Sir Edward Poynings ſent to aid the Dutcheſs of Savoy.

In the third year of King *Henry*'s Reign, one *Andrew Barton* a *Scottiſh Pyrate*, was grown ſo bold, that he robbed *Engliſh* men no leſs than other Nations, till the King ſent his Admiral Sir *Edward Howard*, to repreſs him: who in a fight ſo wounded the ſaid *Barton* that he died; and then taking two of his Ships, brought the men Priſoners to *London*: and though their offence deſerved no leſs than death, yet the King was ſo merciful as to pardon them all, provided they departed the Realm within twenty days. The King of *Scots* hearing of the death of *Barton*, and taking of his Ships, ſent to King *Henry*, requiring reſtitution: but King *Henry* anſwered his Herauld, that he rather looked for thanks for ſparing their lives, who ſo juſtly had deſerved death.

Sir Edward Howard Admiral repreſſeth Andrew Barton a Scottiſh Pyrate.

In the third year alſo of King *Henry*'s Reign, the *French* King made ſharp War againſt Pope *Julius* the ſecond: whereupon King *Henry* wrote to the *French* King, requiring him to deſiſt from his War againſt the Pope, being his Friend and Confederate. But when the King of *France* little regarded his requeſt, he then ſent him word to deliver him his Inheritance of the Dutchy of *Normandy* and *Guyen*, and the Countreys of *Anjou* and *Mayne*; as alſo his Crown of *France*, or elſe he would recover it by the Sword. But when the King of *France* was not moved with this Threatning neither; King *Henry* then joyning in League with the Emperour *Maximilian*, with *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, and with divers other Princes, reſolved by advice of his Council to make War on the King of *France*; and to that end made preparation both by Sea and Land.

Anno Reg. 1512.

King Henry makes preparation for War with France.

This year the King kept his Chriſtmas at *Greenwich* in a moſt Magnificent manner. On New-years-day was preſented one of his Jovial Devices, which, only for a Pattern what his Shews at other times were, I think fit to ſet down at large. In the Hall was made a Caſtle, garniſhed with Artillery and Weapons, in a moſt Warlike faſhion; and on the Front of the Caſtle was written, *la Fortreſſe Dangereuſe*: within the Caſtle were ſix Ladies cloathed in Ruſſet-Sattin, laid all over with leaves of Gold: on their heads Coyſs and Caps of Gold. After this Caſtle had been carried about the Hall, and the Queen had beheld it, in came the King with five others, apparelled in Coats, one half of Ruſſet-Satten, with Spangles of fine Gold; the other half of rich Cloth of Gold: on their heads Caps of Ruſſet-Satten, embroidered with works of fine Gold. Theſe ſix aſſaulted the Caſtle, whom the Ladies ſeeing ſo luſty and couragious, they were contented to ſolace with them; and upon further communication, to yield the Caſtle; and ſo they came down and Danced a long ſpace: After that, the Ladies led the Knights into the Caſtle, and then the Caſtle ſuddenly vaniſhed out of their ſights. On the Twelfth day at night, the King with eleven more were diſguiſed, after the manner of *Italy*, called a Mask; a thing not ſeen before in *England*. They were apparelled in Graments long and broad, wrought all with Gold, with Viſors and Caps of Gold. And after the Banquet done theſe Maskers came in, with ſix Gentlemen diſguiſed in Silk, bearing Staff-Torches, and deſired the Ladies to Dance; and after they had Danced and Communed together, took their leave and departed.

One of King Henry's Jovial Devices.

The five and twentieth of *January* began the Parliament, of which was Speaker Sir *Robert Sheffield* Knight, where the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhewed the wrong which the King of *France* did to the King of *England*, in withholding his Inheritance from him; and thereupon the Parliament concluded, that war ſhould be made on the *French* King and his Dominions.

The War with France concluded by Parliament.

At this time King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, having War with the *French* King, wrote to his Son-in-Law King *Henry*, that if he would ſend over an Army into *Biſkey*, & invade *France* on that ſide; he would aid them with Ordinance, Horſes, and

Upon the King of *Spain's* promiſe of aid, King *Henry* ſends a great Army to him, but is deluded.

and all other things neceſſary: whereupon *Thomas Gray*, Marqueſs *Dorſet*, was appointed to go, and with him the Lord *Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *Brook*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lords *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard Gray*, all Brothers to the Marqueſs; Sir *Griffith ap Rice*, Sir *Maurice Barkely*, Sir *William Sands*, the Baron of *Burford*, and Sir *Richard Cornwal* his Brother; *William Huſſey*, *John Melton*, *William Kingſtone*, Eſquires, and Sir *Henry Willoughby*, with divers others, to the number of ten thouſand; who taking ſhip at *Southampton* on the ſixteenth of *May*, the third of *June* they landed on the Coaſt of *Biskey*; whither, within three days after their arrival, came from the King a Marqueſs and an Earl to welcome them; but of ſuch neceſſaries as were promiſed, there came none; ſo as the *Engliſh* being in ſome want of victuals, the King of *Navar* offered to ſupply them, which they accepted, and promiſed thereupon not to moleſt his Territories. After the Army had lien thirty days, looking for aid and proviſion from the King of *Spain*, at laſt a Biſhop came from the King, deſiring them to have patience a while, and very ſhortly he would give them full contentment. In the mean time the *Engliſh*-men, forced to feed upon much Garlick, and to drink of hot Wines, fell into ſuch ſickneſs, that many of them died, at leaſt eighteen hundred perſons; which the Lord Marqueſs ſeeing, he ſent to the King to know his pleaſure; who ſent him anſwer, that very ſhortly the Duke of *Alva* ſhould come with a great power, and joyn with him: and indeed the Duke of *Alva* came forward with a great Army, as if he meant to joyn with him as was promiſed; but being come within a days journey, he ſuddenly turned towards the Realm of *Navarre*; and entring the ſame, chaſed out the King, and conquered the Kingdom to the King of *Spain's* uſe. This *Spaniſh* policy pleaſed not the *Engliſh*, who finding nothing but words from the King of *Spain*, and being weary of lying ſo long idle, they fell upon ſome ſmall Towns in the borders of *Guyen*; but, for want of Horſes, as well for ſervice as draught, were unable to perform any great matter: at which time, being now *October*, the Lord Marqueſs fell ſick, and the Lord *Howard* ſupplied his place of General. To whom the King of *Spain* once again ſent, excuſing his preſent coming, and requiring him, ſeeing the time of year was now paſt, that he would be pleaſed to break up his Army, and diſperſe his Companies into Towns thereabouts till the next Spring, when he would not fail to make good all his promiſes. Hereupon the Lord *Howard* and his Company went to *Rendre*, the Lord *Willoughby* to *Gorſchange*, and Sir *William Sands*, with many other Captains, to *Fontareby*. King *Henry* in the mean time hearing what the King of *Spain's* intention was, ſent his Herauld *Windſor* with Letters to the Army, willing them to tarry there, for that very ſhortly he meant to ſend them a new ſupply of Forces, under the conduct of the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain; but this meſſage ſo incenſed the Soldiers, that in a great fury they had ſlain the Lord *Howard*, if he had not yielded preſently to return home; who thereupon was forced to hire Ships, and in the beginning of *December* they landed in *England*; being taught by this experience what truſt is to be given to *Spaniſh* promiſes.

About the ſame time that the Marqueſs went into *Spain*, Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, with twenty great ſhips, made forth towards *Britain*: where letting his men on land, he burned and waſted divers Towns and Villages; and being threatned by the Lords of *Britain* to be encountred, to encourage his Gentlemen, he made divers of them Knights; as Sir *Edward Brook*, Brother to the Lord *Cobham*; Sir *Griffith Down*, Sir *Thomas Windham*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *John Burdet*, Sir *William Pirton*, Sir *Henry Sherburn*, and Sir *William Bull*. The *Britains* were ten thouſand, the *Engliſh* but five and twenty hundred; yet the *Britains*, not contented with this advantage of number, would needs uſe policy beſides: for, by the advice of an old experienced Captain, their General commanded his men, that as ſoon as the Battels were joyned, they ſhould retire a little, meaning thereby to draw the *Engliſh* into ſome diſadvantage: but the Common Souldiers not knowing their Generals purpoſe, and ſuppoſing he had ſeen ſome preſent danger, inſtead of retiring, took their heels and fled: ſo giving the *Engliſh* by their *Britiſh* policy, if not a Victory, at leaſt a ſafety to return to their Ships. After which the *Britains* ſued for Truce, and I could not obtain it; for the *Engliſh* Admiral purſued his foraging the Countrey, till fearing there were many *French* Ships abroad at Sea, he came and lay before the Iſle of *Wight*. King *Henry* in the mean time followed his pleaſures, and in *June* kept a ſolemn Jouſt at *Greenwich*, where he and Sir *Charles Brandon* took up all comers: and the King ſhewed himſelf no leſs a King at Arms than in Eſtate.

An. Reg. 5 1514.

Policy to ſell-hurt.

After this, King *Henry* having prepared men and Ships ready to go to Sea, under the Government of Sir *Anthony Outbread*, Sir *Edmund Iebingham*, *William Sidney*, and divers other Gentlemen; appointed them to take the Sea, and to come before the Iſle of *Wight*, there to joyn with the Admiral; which all together made a Fleet of five and twenty fair ſhips; and to *Portſmouth* he went himſelf to ſee them; where he appointed Captains, for one of his chiefeſt ſhips called the Regent, Sir *Thomas Knevet* Maſter of his Horſe, and Sir *John Carew* of *Devonſhire*; and to another principal ſhip called the Soveraign, he appointed for Captains Sir *Charles Brandon*, and Sir *Henry Guilford*; and then making them a Banquet, ſent them going. The *French* King likewiſe had prepared a Navy of Nine and thirty ſhips in the Haven of *Breſt*, whereof the chief was a great *Carrick*, called the *Cordelyer*, pertaining to the Queen his Wife. Theſe two Fleets met at the Bay of *Britain*, and there entred a terrible fight; the Lord Admiral made with the great ſhip of *Deep* and chaſed her; Sir *Charles Brandon* and Sir *Henry Guilford* being in the Soveraign, made with the great *Carrick* of *Breſt*, and laid ſtem to ſtem to her; but, whether by negligence of the Maſter, or by reaſon of the ſmoak from the Ordnance, the Soveraign was caſt at the ſtern of the *Carrick*; whereat the *French* men

The two Fleets of the *French* and *Engliſh* have a terrible Fight.

ſhouted

Sir *Thomas Knevet* the King's ship called the *Regent* drowned.

shouted for joy; which Sir *Thomas Knevet* seeing, suddenly he caused the Regent in which he was, to make to the Carrick, and to grapple with her a long board; and when they of the Carrick perceived they could not get asunder, they let slip an Anchor, and so with the stream the Ships turned, and the Carrick was on the Weather-side, and the Regent on the Lee-side; at which time a cruel fight passed between these two Ships: But in conclusion the *English* men entred the Carrick, which when a Gunner saw, he desperately set fire on the Gun-powder (as some say) though others affirmed, that Sir *Anthony Outbread* following the Regent at the Stern, bowged her on divers places, and set her powder on fire; but howsoever it chanced, the Carrick and the Regent both were consumed by fire. In the Carrick was Sir *Piers Morgan*, and with him nine hundred men: In the Regent were Sir *Thomas Knevet* and Sir *John Carew*, and with them seven hundred men, all drowned and burnt. King *Henry* to repair the loss of the Regent, caused a great Ship to be made, such a one as had never been seen in *England*, and named it *Henry Grace de Dieu*.

King *Henry* makes the great ship called *Henry Grace de Dieu*.

Though King *Henry* had hitherto followed his pleasures, as well agreeing with his youth and constitution; yet he neglected not in the mean time severer studies; for he frequented daily his Council-Table, and no matter of importance was resolved on, till he had heard it first maturely discussed: as was now a War with *France*, which he would not enter into upon his own head, nor yet upon advice of his private Council, till he had it debated and concluded in Parliament; whereupon he called his High Court of Parliament, wherein it was resolved, That himself in person with a Royal Army, should invade *France*; and towards the charges thereof an extraordinary Subsidy was willingly granted.

It is concluded in Parliament, that King *Henry* in person should invade *France*.

On *May* even this year, *Edmund de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk* was beheaded on the *Tower-hill*: This was that Earl of *Suffolk*, whom King *Philip* Duke of *Austria* had delivered up into the hands of King *Henry* the Seventh, upon his promise that he would not put him to death; which indeed he performed; but his Son King *Henry* the Eighth was not bound by that promise, and by him he was; and shortly after, to bring another Lord in his place, Sir *Charles Brandon* was created Viscount *Lisle*.

Edmund de la Pool Earl of *Suffolk* put to death.

Sir *Charles Brandon* is created Viscount *Lisle*.

For all the great preparation for *France*, King *Henry* forbore not his course of Revelling, but kept his Christmas at *Greenwich*, with divers curious devices, in most magnificent manner. In *March* following, the King's Navy Royal, to the number of two and forty Ships was set forth, under the conduct of Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admiral, accompanied with Sir *Walter Devereux*, Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Woolstan Brown*, Sir *Edward Ichingham*, Sir *Anthony Poynings*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Thomas Windham*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, *William Fitz-williams*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, *William Sidney* Esquires, and divers other Gentlemen, who sailing to *Britain*, came into *Bertram*-Bay, and there lay at Anchor in sight of the *French* Navy, whereof one *Prior John* was Admiral, who keeping himself close in the Haven of *Brest*; the *English* Admiral intended to assail him in the Haven; but because his Ships were too great to enter the Bay, he caused certain Boats to be manned forth, thinking thereby to toul out the *French*; but when this neither would draw them to come abroad, he then called a Council, where it was determined, that first they should assail *Prior John* and his Gallies, lying in *Blankesable* Bay, and after set upon the rest of the *French* Fleet in the Haven of *Brest*, and it was further appointed that the Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, and others should go on Land, with a convenient number, to assault the Bulwarks, which the *French* had there made; while the Admiral with Row-Barges, and little Gallies entred into the Bay, that so the *French* men might at once be assailed both by Sea and Land. But though this were determined by a Council of War, yet the Lord Admiral had a trick by himself, for by the advice of a *Spanish* Knight called Sir *Alphonso Charunt*, affirming that he might enter the Bay with little danger; he called to him *William Fitz-williams*, *William Cook*, *John Colley*, and Sir *Wolstan Brown*, as his most trusty friends, making them privy to his intent, which was to take on him the whole enterprise with their assistants only; and so confident he was of success, that he wrote to the King to come thither in person, to have the honour of the enterprise himself; but it seems the King had better Fates, at least went not; and thereupon on Saint *Mark*'s day the Admiral put himself in a small Row-Barge; and appointed three other small Row-Ships, and his own Ship-Boat to attend him, therewith on a sudden rowed into the Bay, where *Prior John* had moored up his Gallies just to the ground; which Gallies, with the Bulwarks on the Land, shot most cruelly, yet the Admiral went on, and coming to the Gallies, drove out the *French* men: the Bay was shallow, and the other Ships, by reason of the Tide was spent, could not enter; which the *French* men perceiving, they entred the Gallies again with Morris-Pikes, and began a new fight; whereupon the Admiral attempting to return back into his Row-Barge, which by violence of the Tide, was driven down the stream, with a Pike was thrown over-board and drowned; the just issue of his head-strong enterprise; the fore-named *Alphonso* was also there slain: upon which sorrowful accident, the Lord *Ferrers* with the rest returned into *England*. After whose departure *Prior John* came forth with his Gallies; and coasting over the Borders of *Sussex*, burnt certain poor Cottages; but the King made suddenly a new Admiral, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, eldest Brother to him that was drowned, Son and Heir of the Earl of *Surrey*: who so scowred the Seas, that the *French* were no more to be seen on any Coast of *England*.

Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admiral, following his own head-strong device, is drowned.

King *Henry* had hitherto performed Acts of Arms, though in Jest, yet with great magnificence; he will not perform them with less, being now in earnest, and specially to deal with so potent an Adversary: and therefore when it was concluded by Parliament, that he should make a War in *France* himself in person; he sent before to prepare the way for him, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* high Steward of his

Houſhold, accompanied with the Lord *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Dowckeroy* Prior of Saint *John's*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Haſtings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Cornwal* and others, to the number of eight thouſand, who arrived at *Callice* about the middle of *May*; after him in the end of *May*, followed Sir *Charles Somerſet*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord *Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Gray* Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Stafford* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, the Lord *Dudley*, the Lord *Delaware*, Sir *Edward Huſſey*, Sir *Edward Dimmock*, Sir *David Owen*, with others to the number of ſix thouſand: Theſe Generals joyning together, iſſued out of *Callice*, and on the two and twentieth day of *June*, ſate down before the ſtrong Town of *Terwin*, which City was ſtrongly fortified; and in it was Governour the Lord *Poultrey*, who had with him ſix hundred Horſemen, and five and twenty hundred *Almains*, beſides the Inhabitants. Here at the very firſt happened two diſaſters to the *Engliſh*, one, that the Baron *Carew* was ſlain with a ſhot from the Town; the other, that Sir *Nicholas Vaux*, and Sir *Edward Belknappe* coming from *Guyſnes* with four and twenty Carts of Proviſion, were ſet upon by the Duke of *Vendoſme*, Lieutenant of *Picardy*, and many of the *Engliſh* ſlain, and the Proviſion taken. In this ſtate was the *Engliſh* Campat *Terwin*, when King *Henry* the laſt day of *June* came himſelf to *Callice*, and on the one and twentieth of *July* took the field, having in his Army of fighting men not above nine thouſand, but with Pioneers and others that attended the Carriages, eleven thouſand and three hundred men: His forward was led by *Charles Brandon* Viſcount *Liſle*, his main Battel by himſelf, and Sir *Henry Guilford* carried his Standard; and in this order he marched forward to the ſiege of *Terwin*, entring upon the *French* ground the five and twentieth of *July*. On the morrow after, by negligence of the Carters, that miſtook the way, a great Gun called the *John Evangeliſt*, was overthrown in a deep pond of water, and could not at that time be recovered; but a few days after, the Maſter Carpenter taking with him a hundred Labourers, went and weighed it up; but having carted it ready to bring away, was ſet upon by eight hundred *French*; and the moſt of his company ſlain: The Gun was taken by the *French*, and carried to *Bulloign*. In the *French* Army were to the number of eleven thouſand Footmen, and four thouſand Horſe; whereof were Captains, the Lord *de la Palyce*, the Lord *de Priennes*, the Duke *de Longuevyle*, the Earl of Saint *Paul*, the Lord of *Floringes*, the Lord of *Clermont*, and *Richard de la Pool*, an *Engliſh* man, Son to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*. The Armies were come within two miles one of another, and ſome light skirmiſhes paſſed between them, ſpecially one; on a day called *The dry Wedneſday*, for the day was wonderful hot, and the King with his Army ſtood in order of Batel, from ſix a clock in the morning, till three in the afternoon: after this, the King removed towards *Terwin*; and as the Army marched, another of the King's Bombards of Iron, called the Red Gun, was overthrown in a lane, and there left; which the *French* underſtanding, went with a great power to fetch it away, as they had done the other; but the Lord *Berners*, Captain of the *Engliſh* Pioneers, prevented them; and though ſet upon by the *French* to the number of nine or ten thouſand, yet by the valour of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with the bold adventures of Sir *William Tyler*, and Sir *John Sharp*, they recovered it, and brought it ſafe to the Camp. On the fourth of *Auguſt* King *Henry* came before the City of *Terwin*, where he ſtrongly fortified himſelf with Ordnance, and other warlike defences. In which mean time, the Captain of *Bulloign*, knowing that many of the Garriſon of *Callice* were gone with the King, thought to take advantage of their abſence, and do ſome great exploit upon *Callice*; and thereupon with a thouſand men, came to *Newnham* Bridge, and killing the Watchmen, took it; but afterward ſome of his Company going to fetch Booties, and coming ſo near the Walls of *Callice*, that they were deſcried; about ſixſcore Coopers and other Artificers iſſued forth, and driving them back, recovered again *Newnham* Bridge, and took divers of them priſoners; eſpecially when the Gate of *Callice*, called *Bulloigne* Gate, was opened, and that *Colepeper* the under-Marſhal, with two hundred Archers iſſued forth, and joyned with them. The *French* priſoners were brought to *Callice*, and there ſold in open Market: amongſt others, a Cooper of the Town of *Callice*, bought a Priſoner that dwelt in *Bulloigne*, and had of the Priſoner for his ranſom, a hundred Crowns; when the money was paid, the *French* man prayed the Cooper to ſee him ſafe delivered, and to conduct him out of danger; the Cooper was content, and went himſelf alone with the *French* man, till he came beyond the Cawſey, and there would have departed; but the *French* man perceiving that the Cooper was aged, and that no reſcue was nigh, by force took the Cooper priſoner, and carried him to *Bulloigne*, making him pay two hundred Crowns, before he was delivered.

An Army of King Henry's ſix ſeveral before Terwin.

The King comes thither himſelf, and has his Army marſhalled.

The number of the *French* Army.

Callice defended by Coopers and other Artificers.

A fooliſh Souldier well ſerved.

Whilſt King *Henry* lay thus at the ſiege of *Terwin*, on the eleventh of *Auguſt* the Emperour *Maximilian* was come to *Ayre*; which King *Henry* underſtanding, went and met him between *Ayre* and the Camp, where with great complements they ſaluted each other; but their complements were broken off by the extream foul weather which happened that day: the morrow after, the Emperor *Maximilian* came from *Ayre* to the King's Camp, wearing a Croſs of Saint *George*, as the King's Souldier; and receiving wages of him for ſervice, an hundred Crowns a day: An honour never done to any King of *England* before; and yet was no diſparagement to the Emperor; for he was royally received, and lodged in a Tent of Cloth of Gold; that as no Emperor before had ever been Souldier to a King; ſo no Souldier before was ever lodged in ſuch a Tent. At this time the City of *Terwin*, being in ſome diſtreſs for want of Victuals; the *French* King appointed all his Horſemen to the number of eight thouſand,

The Emperor Maximilian takes pay of King Henry as his ſouldier.

sand, to see victuals by any means convoyed into it; the charge of which Convoy was committed to Mounsieur *De Priennes*: but King *Henry*, by advice of the Emperor *Maximilian*, had made Bridges to pass his men over the River, to the other side of the Town, where was easiest access; in such sort, that when the *French* Convoy came with their Victuals, and thought to have entred the Town, they found the *English* Army there ready to resist them; whereupon a fierce Battel was fought between them: but in conclusion the *French* were put to flight, and fled so fast, that from thence it was called the Battel of Spurs, for that they used more their Spurs in running away, than their Launces in fighting. In this Battel, the Duke of *Longueyle*, the Lord of *Clerement*, Captain *Bayard*, and others, to the number of twelve-score were taken prisoners, and all brought to the King's presence; with six Standards that were likewise taken. After the Battel, the King made Sir *John Peebye* Banneret, and *John Carre* Knight, who had both of them done great service in this Encounter. King *Henry* having obtained this Victory against the *French* Horsemen, and hindered the Town of *Terwin* from relief of Victuals, and withal plying his Battery more fiercely than before; made the Townsmen soon fall to desire composition, and upon condition, that the Souldiers may depart with Horse and Armour, they yielded up the Town into the King's hands. This was done on the eighteenth of *August*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* entred the Town the same night, and set up the Banner of Saint *George* in the highest place of it, in sign of Victory, and swore all the Townsmen to be true Subjects to the King of *England*. The four and twentieth of *August*, the King himself entred the Town, and dined in the Bishop's Palace, where it was resolved, that the Walls and Fortifications of *Terwin* should be rased, and the Town burnt all but the Cathedral Church and the Palace; all the Ordnance was sent to *Ayre*, to be kept there to the King's use.

The English defeat the French in a Battel called the Battel of Spurs.

Terwin is delivered up to King Henry.

After this it was concluded, that the King should lay siege to the City of *Tourney*; whereupon he set forward in three Battels; the Earl of *Shrewsbury* led the Vanguard; the King and the Emperor the Battel; and the Lord Chamberlain the Rereward. In this order the King's Army marched forwards towards *Tourney*; by the way, he went and visited the young Prince of *Castile*, and the Lady *Margaret*, Governess of the Prince, in the Town of *Lisle*, where with all Magnificence, or rather indeed Reverence, he was entertained; and after he had stayed there three days, he took his leave, and being gone a mile and somewhat more out of the Town, he asked where his Camp lay, and no man there could tell the way, and guide they had none; the night was so dark and misty; by chance at last they met with a Victualler coming from the Camp, who was their guide, and conducted them to it. By which we may see, to what distress a great Prince might be brought by a little oversight.

King Henry lays siege to Tourney.

On the one and twentieth day of *September*, the King removed his Camp towards *Tourney*, and being come within three miles of the Town, he sent *Garter* King of Arms to summon the Town; but they, though they had but few men of War amongst them, yet stood upon their Guard; whereupon the King beset it on all sides, and made such fierce batteries upon it, that though it were written on the Gates of the Town, graven in stone, *Jamais ne se perdu ton Pucelage*; thou hast never lost thy Maidenhead; yet now they were glad to lose it: and in conclusion they sent a Trumpet to require a Parley, and then sued for mercy and yielded it up, and paid ten thousand pounds sterling besides for redemption of their liberties: and then Master *Thomas Woolsey*, the King's Almoner, calling before him all the Citizens young and old, swore them to the King of *England*; the number of whom was fourscore thousand. This done, the King entred into *Tourney*, and calling into his presence *Edward Guilford*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *John Danse*, *William Tyler*, *John Sharp*, *William Hussey*, *John Savage*, *Christopher Garnish*, and some other valiant Gentlemen; he gave to them the Order of Knighthood. And then remembring the great entertainment the Prince of *Castile* and the Lady *Margaret* had given him at *Lisle*, he would not be behind them in such Courtesie; and thereupon invited them solemnly to his City of *Tourney*, whom at their coming he brought into the Town in great triumph: during their abode in *Tourney*, amongst other complements of entertainment, there was had a Justs, where the King and the Lord *Lisle* answered all comers: after the Justs, was a sumptuous Banquet; after the Banquet, the Ladies danced, and then came in the King, and eleven other in a Mask, all richly apparelled with Bonnets of Gold: and when they had passed the time at their pleasures, the Garments of the Maskers were cast off amongst the Ladies, take them that could. This was King *Henry*'s disposition, that he could not forbear Revelling in the midst of his Arms; and Ladies must be entertained as well as Souldiers. And here *Maximilian* the Emperor finding the *French* Forces to be but weak, perswades King *Henry* to proceed on and pursue his Victories: but he being young and of a quiet disposition, and considering with himself that he had not entred the War for any cause of his own, but to revenge the injuries done to the Pope: and thinking by this already done the *French* sufficiently lesson'd to acknowledge their error, and the rather, for that Winter was now drawing on; he resolved to put this end to the War: and so taking his leave of the Emperor; and leaving Sir *Edward Poynings* Governour of *Tourney*, he returned to *Callice*; and from thence into *England*, and then rode in Post to the Queen at *Richmond*.

Tourney is delivered up to King Henry.

King Henry makes a solemn Justs in Tourney.

Whilst King *Henry* was thus busied in his War with *France*, the King of *Scots*, though his Brother-in-law, yet instigated by the *French* King, and taking advantage of King *Henry*'s absence, assembled his people to invade *England*; but before his whole power could come together, the Lord *Humes* his Chamberlain with seven or eight thousand men entred the Borders; but as he was returning with a great booty of

The King of Scots invades the English borders, but is repelled.

Cattel, in a field over-grown with Broom, called *Mil-field*, he was encountred by Sir *Edward Bulmer*, having with him not above a thousand men; who lying in that field in Ambush, broke out upon him, and put him to flight, with the slaughter of five or six hundred of his company, and four hundred taken Prisoners; the Lord *Humes* himself escaped by flight, but his Banner was taken: and this by the *Scots* was called, *The ill Rode*. In the mean time the whole power of *Scotland* was assembled, no fewer than one hundred thousand men; though *Buchanan* in favour of his Countrey, saith, not the fifth part of that number: and with these King *James* approaching the borders, and coming to *Norham*-Castle, laid siege unto it; which for want of powder, was soon delivered up unto him. But by this time the Earl of *Surrey*, Lieutenant of the North-parts, had assembled an Army of six and twenty thousand men; to whom also soon after his Son the Lord Admiral, with one thousand expert Souldiers, came and joyned: and now having many great Lords and Knights in his Army, he appointed to every one their station; and then was informed, that King *James* being removed six miles from *Norham*, lay embattelling upon a great Mountain called *Floddon*, where it was impossible to come near him but with great disadvantage; for at the foot of the Hill, on the left hand, was a great Marish-ground full of reeds and water, on the right hand was a River called *Till*, so swift and deep, that it was not passable, on the backside were such craggy Rocks and thick Woods, that there was no assailing him on that part; the fore-part of his Camp he had fenced with his great Ordinance. Being in such a hold, the Earl of *Surrey* found there was no possibility of a battel, unless he could draw him from the Hill: whereupon he called a Council, by which it was determined to send *Ringe-Crost* Pursuivant at Arms, with a Trumpet to the King of *Scots*, to let him know that he was ready on Friday following to give him Battel, if he would abide it: whereunto the King of *Scots* by his Pursuivant *Ilay* made answer, that at the day prefixed he should find him ready for Battel as he desired; that he would willingly have come to such a Match if he had been at *Edenburgh*; but though he made this answer, yet he would not leave the strong hold he was in, but kept himself still upon the Hill; at last, *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, having viewed the Countrey round about, declared to his Father, that if he would fetch but a small compass, and come with his Army on the back of his Enemies, he should enforce the *Scottish* King to come down out of his strength, or else stop him from receiving of Victuals or any other thing out of *Scotland*. This counsel of the Lord *Howard*, his Father followed; and King *James* perceiving what their meaning was, thought it stood not with his honour to be fore-stalled out of his own Realm; and thereupon immediately raised his Camp, and got to another Hill, but not so steep as the other: which the Earl of *Surrey* perceiving, he determined to mount it, and to fight with the *Scots*, before they should have leisure to fortifie their Camp: and herewith making a short speech for encouragement of his Souldiers, he divided his Army into Battels; the Vantguard was led by the Lord *Howard*, to whom was joyned as a wing, Sir *Edward Howard*; the middle-ward was led by the Earl himself; and the Rere-ward was led by Sir *Edward Stanley*; the Lord *Dacres* with a number of Horse-men, was set apart by himself, to succour where need should be; the Ordnance was placed in the Front, and in other places, as was thought most convenient: and in this order they march forward towards the *Scots*. On the other side King *James* reckoning upon the benefit of the Hill, thought the *English* half mad, to venture a Battel upon such disadvantage; and thereupon making a speech to encourage his Souldiers, who were of themselves so forward, that they needed no encouraging, he divided the Battels in this manner: the main Battel he led himself, to which he appointed two Wings; the right led by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford*, and *Montross*; the left by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, together with the Lord *Humes* L. Chamberlain: and so confident they were of Victory, that the King first, and after all the Lords and meaner men, put away their Horses, as thinking they should not need them; which confidence was afterward their undoing: for when the Battel being joyned, Sir *Edward Howard* in getting up the Hill, was so assaulted by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, that he was left almost alone, and in manifest peril to be slain; in comes the Lord *Dacres* with his Horse-men, and trod under foot the *Scottish* Battel of Speers on foot, which he could not have done, if they had kept their Horses. And this part of the *Scottish* Army being led by the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montross*, they were both of them slain, and the whole Battel put to flight. In another part also Sir *Edward Stanley* did the like upon the Battel led by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, putting it to flight with the slaughter also of these two Earls. King *James* notwithstanding, maintained the fight still with great resolution, till Sir *Adam Forman* his Standard-bearer was beaten down; and then not fainting, though despairing of success, he rushed into the thickest of his enemies, amongst whom he was beaten down and slain; and to make his death the more honourable, there died with him three Bishops (whereof one was *Alexander* Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, the King's base Son) two Abbots, twelve Earls, and seventeen Lords, of Knights and Gentlemen very many, in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken prisoners (as *Paulus Jovius* saith) amongst whom was Sir *William Scot* Chancellour to the said King, and Sir *George Forman* his Serjeant-Porter; the Lord *Humes* and the Earl of *Huntley* got horses and escaped. Neither was the Battel without blood to the *English*; for there were slain at least a thousand, and (that which in a Defeat was strange) many also taken prisoners; for many in pursuing the *Scots*, went rashly so far, that they knew not which way to return; and by Bands of *Scots* that had not fought that day, were set upon and taken. When the field was done, the Lord General called to him certain

The Battel called *Flodden-field*.

How the *English* Army was marshalled.

How the *Scottish* Army was marshalled.

The King of *Scots* slain.

Lords

Lords and Gentlemen, and made them Knights, as Sir *Edward Howard* his son, the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *William Percy*, Sir *Edward George*, and others. This Battel was fought on Friday the ninth of *Sept.* in the year 1513. called by some *Bramston*, by some *Floddon* field. King *James* here slain was the same that had married the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the Seventh, and Sister to the present King *Henry*; and might have enjoyed many happy days, if he had kept himself firm to his alliance; but being carried away with the inveterate spleen between the two Nations, and propension to *France*, he ended his life, though honourably, yet miserably under many wounds. It is a very memorable, but scarce credible thing, which (from the mouth of a very credible person who saw it) *George Buchanan* relates concerning this King; that intending to make a War with *England*, a certain old man of venerable aspect, and clad in a long blue Garment, came unto him, and leaning familiarly upon the Chair where the King sate, said, I am sent to thee O King, to give thee warning, that thou proceed not in the War thou art about; for if thou do, it will be thy ruin: and having so said, he pressed through the company, and vanished out of sight; for by no inquiry it could be known what became of him. But the King was too resolute to be frighted with Phantasms, and no warning could divert his Destiny, which had not been Destiny if it could have been diverted. The day after the Battel, his Body, though disfigured with wounds, was known by the Lord *Dacres* and others to be his, and thereupon bowelled, embalmed, and wrapped in lead, was brought to the Monastery of *Sheen in Surrey*, and there interred; but at the dissolution of that House was taken up and thrown into a waste room amongst timber and stone; which *John Stow* saith, he so saw, and farther relateth, that the servants of *Lancelot Young*, Glasier to Queen *Elizabeth*, being at *Sheen*, in new Glasing the Windows, either upon a foolish pleasure, or desire of the Lead, cut the head from the rest; but smelling the sweet perfumes of the Balms, gave it to their Master; who opening the lead, found therein the head of a man, retaining favour, though the moisture were clean dried up, whose hair both of head and beard was red: which afterward he caused to be buried at St. *Michael*'s Church in *Wood-street*, where he dwelled. But notwithstanding this relation of *Stow*, *John Lesley* Bishop of *Ross* affirmeth, that it was held for certain, the Body thus found, was the Body of the Lord *Bonchard* slain in that Battel; *Buchanan* saith, of *Alexander Elfinston*, who in countenance and stature was like the King; and that King *James* was seen alive the same night at *Kelso*, whence he passed to *Jerusalem*, and there spent the rest of his days in holy contemplation: but howsoever it was, he was never seen any more in *Scotland*.

The slain that had married the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh.

A Vision that appeared to King *James*, deterring him from the Battel.

King *Henry* being now returned from *Tourney* into *England*, and finding the great services done in his absence against the *Scots*; on the day of the Purification of our Lady, at *Lambeth* he created the Earl of *Surrey* Duke of *Norfolk*, with an augmentation of the Arms of *Scotland*; Sir *Charles Brandon* Viscount *Lisle*, he created Duke of *Suffolk*; the Lord *Howard* high Admiral, he made Earl of *Surrey*; Sir *Charles Somerset* Lord *Herbert* his chief Chamberlain Earl of *Worcester*; and shortly after Sir *Edward Stanley* he made Lord *Monteagle*; and in *March* following, Master *Thomas Woolsey* his Almoner, was made Bishop of *Lincoln*. Here before we go further, it will be fit to say something of this man, that he be not a rub afterward in the way of the Story: He was born at *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*, the Son of a Butcher, sent to *Oxford* by reason of his pregnancy of wit, so soon, that taking there the first degree of Art, he was called the Boy-Batchelour; proceeding in learning, he was made Fellow of *Magdalen*-Colledge in *Oxford*, and afterward Schoolmaster of the School there, at which time the Marquess *Dorset* committed three of his Sons to be instructed by him; and having a Benefice fallen in his gift, sent for him one Christmas, and bestowed it upon him; whereof *Woolsey* going to take possession, at his being there, for what misdemeanour is not delivered, he was by Sir *Amyas Paulet* set by the heels, which afterwards he remembred to Sir *James* his no small trouble, for he made him attend his pleasure five or six years; all which time he lay in the *Middle-Temple*, where he re-edified the Gate-house next the street very sumptuously, setting the Cardinal's Arms upon it, to appease him. After this disgrace he went over-Sea, where he fell in acquaintance with Sir *John Naphant* Treasurer of *Calice*, and by him was preferred to be King *Henry* the Seventh's Chaplain: and now being by this means in the King's eye, he so diligently carried himself, that he soon got into the King's heart. One time it happened, the King had occasion to send a Messenger to the Emperor *Maximilian*, about a business that required haste; for which employment no man was thought more fit than *Woolsey*; whereupon, when the King called him, gave him his Errand, and bade him make all speed he could: *Woolsey* departed from the King at *Richmond* about noon, and by the next morning was got to *Dover*, and from thence by noon that day was come to *Calice*, and by night was with the Emperor; to whom declaring his Message; and having a present dispatch, he rode that night back to *Calice*, and the night following came to the Court at *Richmond*. The next morning he presented himself before the King, who blamed him for not being yet gone, the matter requiring haste; to whom *Woolsey* answered, that he had been with the Emperor, and had dispatched the business, and for proof shewed the Emperor's lines: the King wondered much at his speed, but then asked him if he met not with his Pursuivant, whom he sent after to advertise him of a special matter he had forgotten: whereto *Woolsey* answered, May it please your Grace, I met him yesterday upon the way, but that business I had dispatched before, taking the boldness so to do without commission, as knowing it to be of special consequence; for which boldness I humbly intreat your Graces Pardon. The King not only pardoned him, but bestowed presently upon him the Deanery of *Lincoln*, and soon after made

Dukes and Earls created.

Thomas Woolsey his parentage, education, and rising.

made him his Almoner. In this ſtate King *Henry* th: Eight found him, with whom alſo he grew into ſuch favour, that he made him of his Council; and having won *Tourney*, made him Biſhop of that City; and returning into *England*, the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* falling void by the death of Doctor *Smith*, made him Biſhop of that Diocels. And thus far the Story hath now brought him; but ſoon after he was raiſed higher; for Doctor *Bambridge* Archbiſhop of *York* dying, he was tranſlated from *Lincoln* to that See: and that he might not be inferior to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he procured of the Pope to be made Cardinal, and Legat *a Latere*; and after by the King was made Lord Chancellor of *England*: and being come to his height of Dignity, he ſo carried himſelf in Expences of Houſhold, in number of Retinue, and in all circumſtances of State, that no Subject before or ſince hath in any degree come near him: and if we may ſay it, he was the firſt debaucher of King *Henry*; for to the end he might have the managing of all matters himſelf, he perſwaded the King that he ſhould not need trouble himſelf with frequenting the Council-Table as he did, but take his pleaſure, and leave thoſe things to his Council, whereof himſelf would always give him true information. This was plauſible Counſel, and no marvel if it were embraced of a young King, coming from the mouth of ſo great a Prelate.

The fields about *Iſlington*, *Hogſdon*, and *Shoreditch* laid open.

In this fifth year of the King, the Citizens of *London* finding themſelves grieved with the Incloſures of the common fields about *Iſlington*, *Hogſdon*, and *Shoreditch*, and other places adjoyning, went one morning, and threw down all the Hedges, and filled up all the Ditches; whereat though the King's Council were at firſt offended, yet the Mayor and City ſhewed them ſuch reaſons, that they reſted ſatisfied, and the Fields were never ſince hedged.

The Pope gives King *Henry* the Title of *Chriſtianiſſimo*.

On the nineteenth of *May* this year, Pope *Julius* the Second ſent to King *Henry* a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword; and being angry with the King of *France*, tranſferred, by Authority of the *Lateran* Council, the Title of *Chriſtianiſſimo* from him upon King *Henry*, which with great ſolemnity was publiſhed the Sunday following, in the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*; but this Solemnity muſt not paſs without Revelling, Maſques, and Juſts; wherein the King and the Duke of *Suffolk* were Defendants againſt all comers; who having the Duke of *Longueville*, and the Lord of *Clermont* to be ſpectators, ſpread the fame of their Chivalry into Foreign Nations.

And now the great love that had been long between King *Henry* and the *Flemings*, began to abate upon this occaſion; King *Henry* the Seventh had concluded a match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*: but, by reaſon of her young years, and for want of aſſurance of Joynture, the match was deferred during his time; but now King *Henry* the Eight ſeeing his Siſter of convenient years, began to call upon it, and ſignifie ſo much to the Council of *Flanders*; but they, whether having other ends, or out of *Spaniſh* delays, put him off with excuſes, and at laſt ſent him word plainly, they could do nothing in it that year. The King of *France* had ſoon intelligence how much King *Henry* diſtaſted theſe *Spaniſh* dealings, and meant to make ſome good uſe of it, for the ends he began to propoſe to himſelf; which were to get the Lady *Mary* for himſelf, and thereby procure Peace with *England*, being now old, and weary of the War. And for this purpoſe he got the new Pope *Leo* the Tenth to be his Mediator, and both of them ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Henry*, the Pope to perſwade him to have Peace with *France*, the *French* King to treat about a Marriage with the Lady *Mary*: upon whoſe Ambaſſages, King *Henry* partly to ſatisfie the Pope, and partly to advance his Siſter, did not unwillingly hearken to the motions; but while this was in working, *Prior John* (who knew nothing of theſe intentions) began again to play his pranks; and coming with his Gallies on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, burnt *Brightemſteed*, and took away the Goods he found in the Village: whereupon the Lord Admiral ſent Sir *John Wallop* to Sea, with divers Ships, and eight hundred men, who for one Village that *Prior John* burnt in *England*, burnt one and twenty Villages and Towns in *France*, to the great honour of himſelf, and his Countrey.

A Peace is concluded with *France*, and the King of *France* marries the Lady *Mary*, King *Henry*'s younger Siſter.

And now King *Henry* by advice of his Council, and ſpecially of *Woolſey* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, concluded both the Peace with *France*, and the Marriage of his Siſter the Lady *Mary*, with the *French* King; but yet it ſtuck a while upon ſome differences, King *Henry* demanding *Bulloign*, and the King of *France*, *Tourney*: in concluſion theſe demands were waved, and the principal conditions were; firſt concerning the Ladies Joynture; that ſhe ſhould have two and thirty thouſand Crowns of yearly revenues if ſhe ſurvived the King; and then concerning this Peace, that the *French* King ſhould pay yearly to King *Henry*, for five years, one hundred thouſand Crowns, and the Peace to continue between them during their lives, and a year after, and bound reciprocally to aſſiſt each other with Ten thouſand foot, if the War were by Land; with ſix thouſand, if by Sea. All things thus concluded, the Lady *Mary* was brought to *Dover* by King *Henry* and his Queen: and on the ſecond of *October* taking ſhipping, was conducted by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *De la Ware*, the Lord *Berners*, the Lord *Monteagle*, Sir *Maurice Berkeley*, Sir *John Pechye*, Sir *William Sands*, Sir *Thomas Bulleyne*, Sir *John Carre*, and many other Knights and Ladies; but being not paſt half way over the Sea, their Ships by tempeſt were diſperſed, and the Lady with ſome jeopardy landed at *Bullen*, where Sir *Chriſtopher Garniſh* was fain to ſtand in the water, and take her in his arms, and ſo ſet her on ſhore; and there the Duke of *Vendoſme*, with a Cardinal, and many other great States received her. From *Bullen* the eighth of *October* ſhe came to *Abbeyſle*, where the Dauphin received her: on the morrow being Saint *Dennis* day, ſhe came to Saint *Dennis*, where the marriage between the King of *France* and her was ſolemnized (though ſome write it had been ſolemnized before at *Abbeyſle*.) The fifth of *November* ſhe was Crowned Queen of *France*, at which time the Dauphin held the

1515.

She is Crowned Queen of *France*.

Crown

Crown over her head, as being too massie for her to wear; and the day following she was received into *Paris* in most magnificent manner. In honour of whose marriage and Coronation, the *Dauphin* proclaimed a solemn Justs to be proclaimed, which should be kept in *Paris* the seventh of *November*. Upon report of this Proclamation in *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and his four Brothers, the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Giles Capel*, *Thomas Cheiney*, and others, obtained leave of the King to be at the Challenge, where they all behaved themselves with great valour, but specially the Duke of *Suffolk*, whose glory the Dauphin so much envied, that he got a *Dutch* man, the tallest and strongest man in all the Court of *France*, secretly as another person to encounter him, with a purpose to have the Duke foiled; but indeed it turned to his greater honour: for he foiled the *Dutch* man in such sort, that when they came to the Barriers, the Duke by main strength took him about the neck, and so pommeled him about the head, that he made the Blood issue out at his nose: many other Princes and Lords did bravely; and after three days the Justs ended.

A Justs proclaimed in *Paris* by the *Dauphin*.

Where *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* won great honour.

King *Henry* was not long behind to solemnize it in *England* also; for at *Greenwich* the Christmass following, on New-years night, and Twelfth-night, he presented such strange and magnificent devices, as had seldom been seen; and the third of *February* following, he held a solemn Justs, where he and the Marquess *Dorset* answered all comers, at which time the King brake three and twenty Spears, and threw to the ground one that encountred him, both man and horse.

At this time preparation was making for King *Henry* in person to go to *Callice*, there to meet with the *French* King and Queen, but death hindered the design; for before the next Spring, the first of *January* the *French* King died at the City of *Paris*, fourscore and two days after his marriage; teaching others by his example, what it is for an old man to marry a young Lady. King *Henry* hearing of the *French* King's death, sent the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Richard Wingefield*, and Doctor *West*, to bring over the Queen Dowager, according to the Covenants of the Marriage. Whereupon the Queen was delivered to the Duke by Indenture, who obtaining her good will to be her Husband, (which was no hard matter, that had been her first Love) wrote to the King her Brother for his consent; whereat the King seemed to stick a while, but at last consented; so as he brought her into *England* unmarried, and then married at his return; but the Duke for more surety married her secretly in *Paris*, and after having received her Dower, Apparel, and Jewels, came with her to *Callice*, and there openly married her with great solemnity. At their coming into *England*, King *Henry* to shew his contentment with the marriage, in the company of the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Essex*, all richly apparelled, held a new kind of Justs, and running courses on Horseback in manner Volant, as fast as one could follow another, to the great delight of the beholders.

The King of *France* 82 days after his marriage dies.

An. Reg. 7. 1516.

The Duke of *Suffolk* sent to fetch over the Queen Dowager of *France*, marries her.

A new kind of Justs used by King *Henry*.

This year the King being at his Manour of *Oking*; *Woolsey* Archbishop of *York* came and shewed him Letters that he was elected Cardinal; for which Dignity he disabled himself, till the King willed him to take it upon him, and from thenceforth called him Lord Cardinal, but his Hat and Bull were not yet come: after which Doctor *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellour of *England*, finding *Woolsey*, being now Cardinal, to meddle more in his office of Chancellourship, than he could well suffer, resigned up the Seal, which the King presently gave to *Woolsey*. About this time, Cardinal *Campejus* was sent by Pope *Leo* to King *Henry*, to sollicite him to a War against the *Turk*, with whom Cardinal *Woolsey* was joyned in Commission; who hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow-Cardinal, sent store of red Cloth to *Callice* to make them fit followers of so great a Lord: and when *Campejus* was landed at *Dover*, Cardinal *Woolsey* caused the Gentry of *Kent* to wait upon him to *Blackheath*; where he was met and received by the Duke of *Norfolk* and many Prelates; and there in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, shifted himself into his Cardinal Robes. Eight Mules he had laden with necessaries; but *Woolsey* not thinking them enough for his honour, sent him twelve more. But now see the shame of pride; for in *Cheapside* his Mules by some mischance overthrew their Carriages and Coffers on the ground, whose lids flying open, shewed the world what treasure it was they carried, old Breeches, Boots, and broken Shooes, broken meat, Marrow-bones, and Crusts of Bread; exposing him to the laughter of all the people: yet the Cardinal went jogging on afore with his Crosses, guilt Axe and Mace, unto *Paul's* Church; and by the way had an Oration made him by Sir *Thomas More*, in the name of the City; and then waited on with many Bishops, was conducted to *Bath* place, where he was lodged: for his own particular, he got well by the Journey, for the King gave him the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*: but the errand he came about, which was to have aid by money for a War against the *Turk*, he could not obtain, for it was well known to be but a device to get money, without any intention of what was pretended.

Woolsey is made a Cardinal and Lord Chancellour.

In his seventh year, King *Henry* kept his Christmass at his Manour of *Eltham*, where on Twelfth-night, according to his custom, was a stately mask of Knights and Ladies, with solemn Dancing, and a most magnificent Banquet.

An. Reg. 7.

An. Reg. 8. 1517.

It was now the eighth year of King *Henry's* Reign, when the new League between him and the *French* King was proclaimed in the City of *London*: and this year *Margaret* Queen of *Scots*, eldest Sister to King *Henry*, having before married *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*; by reason of dissension amongst the Lords of *Scotland*, was glad with her Husband to fly into *England*, and to seek succour at her Brother's hands; who assigned to her the Castle of *Harbottle* in *Northumberland* to reside in; where she was delivered of a Daughter named *Margaret*. From thence the King sent for her and her Husband to come to his Court, and thereupon

Margaret Queen of *Scots*, King *Henry's* Sister, comes into *England*.

upon the third of *May*, Queen *Margaret* riding on a white Palfrey (which the Queen of *England* had sent her) behind Sir *Thomas Parre*, came through *London* to *Baynard*'s Caſtle, and from thence went to *Greenwich*: but her Husband the Earl of *Angus*, was ſecretly before departed into *Scotland*; which when King *Henry* heard, he only ſaid it was done like a *Scot*. And now in honour of his Siſter's coming, King *Henry* the nine and twentieth of *May*, appointed two ſolemn days of Juſts; where the King, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Nicholas Carew* Eſquire, took upon them to anſwer all comers; amongſt others, the King and Sir *William Kinſton* ran together, which Sir *William*, though a ſtrong and valourous Knight, yet the King overthrew him to the ground: all the reſt was performed with no leſs valour than magnificence. This year died the King of *Aragon*, Father to the Queen of *England*; for whom was kept a ſolemn Obſequy in the Cathedral Church of *Paul*'s; and Queen *Margaret*, after ſhe had been a year in *England*, returned into *Scotland*.

Twelve hundred Carpenters and Maſons ſent to build a Caſtle at *Tourney*.

In this year were ſent twelve hundred Carpenters and Maſons, with three hundred Labourers, to the City of *Tourney* in *France*, to build a Caſtle there, to keep the City in awe. And now the Cardinal being weary of hearing ſo many Cauſes himſelf, as were daily brought before him; ordained by the King's Commiſſion (after the pattern of *Moſes*) divers under-Courts to hear Complaints of Suitors: whereof one was kept in *Whitehall*, another before the King's Almoner, Doctor *Stokeſly*, a third in the Lord Treaſurer's lodging near the Star-Chamber, and the fourth at the Rolls in the afternoon: theſe Courts for a time were much frequented; but at laſt the people perceiving that much delay was uſed in them, and that ſentence given by them bound no man by Law, they thereupon grew weary of them, and reſorted to the common Law. By occaſion of this Government of the Cardinal, who under colour of Juſtice, did what he pleaſed: many great men withdrew themſelves from the Court, as firſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Winchester*, who went and lived in their Dioceſſes; then the Duke of *Norfolk*, and at length the Duke of *Suffolk*, being run deep into the King's debt, by reaſon of his many employments into *France*, and his great Houſe-keeping ſince his marriage with the King's Siſter, hoping the King would have forgiven it, and would no doubt have done it, but that the Cardinal oppoſed it, to the end the Duke ſhould be the more at his command.

Cardinal *Wolſey* erects divers new Courts.

In *October* this year, *Matthew* Biſhop of *Sion*, commonly called the Cardinal of the *Swizzers*, came into *England* from the Emperour *Maximilian*; by whoſe ſolliciting, and Cardinal *Woolſey*'s perſwaſion, the King lent the Emperor a great ſum of money; for *Woolſey* being angry with the King of *France* for detaining the Revenues of his Biſhoprick of *Tourney*, perſwaded King *Henry*, that the beſt way to abate the *French* King's power, was to furniſh the Emperor with money, the better to maintain War againſt him: and what *Woolſey* ſaid, was in thoſe days to King *Henry* an Oracle.

This year the King kept his Chriſtmaſs at his Manour of *Greenwich*, where on Twelfth-night according to his cuſtom, rare devices with great magnificence were preſented; after which time the King exerciſed himſelf much in Hawking, which was like to have proved no good ſport to him; for one time following his Hawk, and leaping over a Ditch with a Pole, the Pole brake, ſo that if one *Edmund Mody* a footman had not leapt into the water, and lift up his head which was faſt in the clay, he had been drowned.

King *Henry* in great danger by a fall in Hawking.

In this year alſo there happened in the City of *London*, an Inſurrection againſt ſtrangers, ſpecially of Artificers, complaining that ſtrangers were permitted to reſort hither with their Wares, and to exerciſe handy-craſts, to the great hinderance and impoveriſhing the King's own Subjects; and not only ſo, but that they were born out in many great Inſolencies and wrongs they offered to the *Engliſh*, as one time it happened, a Carpenter in *London*, called *Williamſon*, had bought two Pigeons in *Cheapſide*, and was about to pay for them, when a *French* man took them out of his hand, ſaying, They were no meat for a Carpenter: Well (ſaid *Williamſon*) I have bought them, and I will have them; Nay (ſaid the *French* man) I will have them for my Lord Ambaſſador; hereupon they grew to words, and complaint was made to the *French* Ambaſſador, who ſo aggravated the matter to the Mayor, that the Carpenter was ſent to priſon, and when Sir *John Baker* ſued to the Ambaſſador for him, he anſwered, By the Body of God, the *Engliſh* Knave was worthy to loſe his life for denying any thing to a *French* man; and other anſwer he could have none. Many like and worſe inſolencies were offered by ſtrangers, which one *John Lincoln* a Broker drew into a Bill, and prevailed with Doctor *Beale*, Preacher on Eaſter Tueſday at the *Spittle*, to read it openly in the Pulpit, which ſo ſtirred up many, that ſtrangers could hardly paſs the ſtreets, but were ſtrucken, and ſometimes beaten down. At laſt, one evening many Prentices, and others aſſembling, rifled ſome ſtrangers houſes, and much miſchief was like to be done: but by the care of the Mayor and Aldermen, and by the induſtry of *Robert Brook* Recorder, and Sir *Thomas More* that had been under-Sheriff of *London*, they were gotten to be quiet, and many of the diſturbers were ſent to priſon, whereof *Lincoln* and twelve other were hanged, four hundred more in their ſhirts, bound in ropes, and halters about their necks, (and thereupon called the black Waggon) were brought to *Weſtminſter*, where the King himſelf ſate that day; and when the Cardinal had charged them with the greatneſs of their offence; they all cryed, Mercy, Mercy: and then the King by the mouth of the Cardinal, pardoned them all; which clemency purchaſed the King no ſmall love amongſt the people.

An Inſurrection in *London* againſt ſtrangers; eſpecially Artificers.

How puniſhed.

In his ninth year, in *June*, King *Henry* had many Ambaſſadors at his Court; for whoſe entertainment he prepared a coſtly Juſts; himſelf and twelve more againſt the Duke of *Suffolk* and other twelve. The King had on his head a Ladies ſleeve full of Diamonds, and perhaps

An. Reg. 9. 1518.

perhaps ſomething elſe of the Ladies in his heart, which made him perform his courſes with the applauſe of all beholders. This year, by reaſon of a ſweating ſickneſs *Michaelmas* Term was adjourned; and the year following, *Trinity* Term was held one day at *Oxford*, and then adjourned again to *Weſtminſter*.

About this time Cardinal *Woolſey* obtained of Pope *Leo* authority to diſpenſe with all offences againſt the Spiritual Laws; by virtue whereof he ſet up a Court, and called it, *The Court of the Legat*, in the which he proved Teſtaments, and heard Cauſes; to the great hindrance of all the Biſhops of the Realm; and to the debauching of Prieſts and Religious perſons, who relying upon his greatneſs, took ſuch a liberty of licentiouſneſs to themſelves, that none were more diſorderly than thoſe that were in Orders: and ſuppoſing perhaps, they might lawfully commit ſuch ſins themſelves, as they forgave to others. And indeed the Cardinal's carriage exceeded all bounds of moderation; for when he ſaid Maſs, he made Dukes and Earls to ſerve him of Wine, with a ſay taken, and to hold the Baſon at the Lavatory: and when the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, writing a Letter to him, ſubſcribed, Your Brother *William* of *Canterbury*, he took it in great dudgeon to be termed his Brother.

Cardinal *Woolſey* makes Dukes and Earls to ſerve him of Wine, and to hold the Baſon at the Lavatory.

An. Reg. 10. 1519. A Treaty between the Kings of *France* and *England* to have *Tourney* delivered back, and upon what conditions.

It was now the tenth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when the King of *France*, longing much to have *Tourney* reſtored to him, by great gifts and greater promiſes won the Cardinal *Woolſey*, to move the King in it; who upon his perſwaſions, was contented to be treated withall about it: to which the King of *France* ſent the Lord *Bonquet* High Admiral of *France*, and the Biſhop of *Paris*, who in their attendance, having above fourſcore Gentlemen, and with their ſervants and all, above twelve hundred, arrived in *England*, and on Munday the ſeven and twentieth of *September*, were met at *Blackheath* by the Earl of *Surrey*, High Admiral of *England*, attended likewiſe with above five hundred Gentlemen and others, who conducted them to *London*, where they were lodged at Merchant-Taylors Hall: The laſt of *September*, the Ambaſſadors went to the King at *Greenwich*, where after long communication, an agreement was at laſt concluded under pretence of a Marriage to be had between the Dauphin of *France* and the Lady *Mary* Daughter to the King of *England*; that in name of her Marriage money, *Tourney* ſhould be delivered to the *French* King, he paying to the King of *England*, for the Caſtle he had made in that City, ſix hundred thouſand Crowns in twelve years, but fifty thouſand Crowns yearly: and if the Marriage ſhould chance not to take effect, then that *Tourney* ſhould be again reſtored to the King of *England*; for performance of which Articles, Hoſtages ſhould be delivered: namely, Mounſieur *de Memorancie*, Mounſieur *de Monpeſac*, Mounſieur *de May*, and Mounſieur *Morret*; and moreover, the *French* King ſhould pay to the Cardinal of *England* a thouſand Marks yearly, in recompence of his Revenues, received before of his Biſhoprick of *Tourney*: All things thus concluded, the Cardinal made to the Ambaſſadors a ſolemn Banquet, and after preſented them with a ſtately Mummery. The eighth of *October*, the King feaſted them at *Greenwich*, and at night preſented a ſtately Maſk of Knights and Ladies, with rare devices and great magnificence: The next day, Sir *Thomas Exmew* Mayor of *London* feaſted them at Goldſmiths-Hall, and then delivering their four Hoſtages, they took their leave. At whoſe departure the King gave to the Admiral of *France*, a garniſh of gilt Veſſel, a pair of covered Baſons gilt, twelve great gilt Bowls, four pair of great gilt Pots, a ſtanding Cup of Gold, garniſhed with great Pearls; and to ſome other he gave Plate, to ſome other Chains of Gold, to ſome rich Apparel: to the great commendation of his liberality. Shortly after their departure, the Earl of *Worceſter*, Lord Chamberlain, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord of St. *Johns*, Sir *Nicholas Vaux*, Sir *John Peeby*, and Sir *Thomas Bulen*, as Ambaſſadors from the King of *England*, accompanied with Knights, Gentlemen, and others, to the number of above four hundred, paſſed over to *Callice*, and from thence went to *Paris*; where, after Royal entertainment by the King, with divers Maſks and ſtately ſhews, they took their leaves and rode to *Tourney* to ſee the City delivered to the *French* men, on the eighth of *February*, to the great grief of the *Engliſh* Garriſon. After the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were returned, King *Henry* to chear up the four *French* Hoſtages left here for performance of Covenants, on the ſeventh of *May*, preſented a ſolemn and ſtately Maſk, wherein himſelf, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and *French* Queen were Actors: and on the eighth of *March* following, was a ſolemn Juſts holden, and with great magnificence performed.

An. Reg. 11. 1520. The Emperor *Maximilian* dieth, *Charles* King of *Caſtile* is elected in his place, called *Charles* the Fifth.

In the eleventh year of King *Henry*'s Reign died the Emperor *Maximilian*, for whom the King cauſed a ſolemn Obſequy to be kept in *Pauls* Church. After whoſe death the *French* King and the King of *Spain* endeavoured by ſundry plots each of them to get the Empire; but in concluſion, *Charles* King of *Caſtile* (afterwards called *Charles* the Fifth) was elected Emperor; for joy whereof a ſolemn Maſs was ſung at *Pauls*, the ſeventh of *July*, at which were preſent the Cardinal *Campejus*, the Cardinal of *York*, the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, with the Ambaſſadors of *Spain*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Scotland*: And this year the King kept Saint *George*'s Feaſt at *Windſor*, with great ſolemnity.

Young Gentlemen after the *French* faſhion, being over-familiar with the King are baniſhed the Court.

At this time divers young Gentlemen that had been in *France*, after the manner of that Countrey, carried themſelves ſo familiarly with the King, that the Lords of his Council thought it a diſparagement to him; and thereupon with his leave firſt obtained, they baniſhed them the Court: and in their places brought in more ſtayed and graver men: namely Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *William Kingſton*.

In the Summer of this year, the Queen, lying at her Mannor of *Havering* in *Eſſex*, deſired the King to bring thither the four Hoſtages of *France*, to whom ſhe made a Royal Banquet, and in *September* following, the King lying at his Mannor of *New-hall* in *Eſſex*, otherwiſe called

Beaulieu, where he had newly built a ſtately Manſion, invited the Queen and the *French* Hoſtages thither, where after a ſumptuous Banquet, he preſented them with an extraordinary Maſk; for the Maskers were the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, the Lord *Aburgavenny*, Sir *Richard Wingefield*, Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *William Kingſton*, the youngeſt of whom was fifty years old at leaſt, that the Ladies might ſee what force they had to make age young again.

A Maſk of all Lords.

At this time the *French* King was very deſirous to ſee the King of *England*, with whom he had entred into ſuch a League of Alliance, and to that end made means to the Cardinal, that there might be an enterview between them at ſome convenient place: to which the Cardinal, not ſo much to ſatisfie the *French* King, as to ſhew his own greatneſs in *France*, eaſily condeſcended; and thereupon perſwaded King *Henry*, how neceſſary it was, that ſuch an enterview ſhould be: and then were ſent to *Guyſnes*, under the rule of Sir *Edward Belknappe*, ſome ſay three thouſand, but *Godwin* ſaith eleven hundred; whereof three hundred Maſons, ſix hundred Carpenters, two hundred Painters, Glaſiers, and other Artificers, who ſpent two months erecting the Building builded on the Plain before the Caſtle of *Guyſnes*, a moſt ſtately Palace of Timber, curiouſly garniſhed without and within: whither both the Kings in *June* next following, agreeing to come, and to anſwer all comers at the Tilt, Tournies, and Barriers; whereof Proclamation was made in the Court of *England* by *Orleance* King of Arms of *France*, and in the Court of *France* by *Clarentius* King of Arms of *England*: whilſt theſe things were preparing on *Candleman*-Even, as the King and Queen were come from Even-ſong at their Manour of *Greenwich*; ſuddenly there blew a Trumpet, and then entred into the Queens Chamber four Gentlemen, who brought with them a Waggon, in which ſate a Lady richly apparelled; which Lady acquainted the King, that the four Gentlemen, there preſent, were come for the Love of their Ladies, to anſwer all comers at the Tilts on a day by the King to be appointed; which day was thereupon appointed on *Shrove-Tueſday* next enſuing, where they all behaved themſelves with great valour, to the great delight of the King and Queen.

An enterview agreed upon between the two Kings of *France* and *England*.

By this time King *Henry* was ready for his Journey into *France*, and ſo removing from his Mannor of *Greenwich*, on Friday the five and twentieth of *May*, he with his Queen arrived at *Canterbury*, where he meant to keep his Whitſuntide. At which time the Emperor *Charles*, returning out of *Spain*, arrived on the Coaſt of *Kent*, where by the Vice-Admiral of *England*, Sir *William Fitz-williams*, he was conducted to land, and there met and received by the Lord Cardinal in great ſtate. After which the King himſelf rode to *Dover*, to welcom him; and on Whitſunday early in the morning conducted him to *Canterbury*, where they ſpent all the Whitſuntide in great joy and ſolace. The chief cauſe that moved the Emperor at this time to come on land, was to have diſſwaded the King from any enterview with the *French* King, but when he ſaw him ſo forward in that journey, he then only endeavoured to perſwade him, that he ſhould put no truſt in the *French* King's words, and with great gifts and promiſes, prevailed with the Cardinal to join with him in this perſwaſion. The laſt of *May* the Emperor took his leave, and the ſame day the King made ſail from *Dover* and landed at *Calice*, together with the Queen and many Lords and Ladies. The fourth of *June* the King and Queen removed from *Calice*, to his Princely Lodging beſide the Town of *Guyſnes*, the moſt Royal Building that ever was ſeen; likewiſe *Francis* the *French* King had his lodging prepared cloſe to the Town of *Ard*, in a ſtrange but moſt magnificent faſhion. Both Kings had given power and authority to the Cardinal to affirm and confirm, bind or unbind, whatſoever ſhould be in difference between them; no leſs an honour to the Cardinal than a confidence in the Kings. On Thurſday the ſeventh of *June*, the Kings met in the Vale of *Andren* ſo magnificently attired, both themſelves and all their followers, that from thence it was called the Camp of Cloth of Gold. Here they ſpent that day in loving complements, and at night departed, the one to *Guyſnes*, the other to *Ard*. On Saturday the ninth of *June*, were ſet up in a place within the *Engliſh* pale two Trees of honour, with ſtately rooms and ſtages for the Queens, and thither the two Kings came, moſt Royally accompanied; where in moſt magnificent manner they performed acts of valour, both on foot and horſeback; and after them all the great Lords both of *France* and *England* did the like: this ſolemnity of Juſts and Maſks was continued to the four and twentieth day of *June*; at which time the Kings and Queens took leave of each other: the *French* King and Queen removed to *Ard*, the King and Queen of *England* to *Calice*, where he remained till the tenth of *July*, and then riding toward *Graveling*, was by the way met by the Emperor, and by him conducted thither, and there in moſt Royal manner entertained; whereof when the *French* King heard, he began from that day forward to have King *Henry* in a kind of Jealouſie, as though to love him and the Emperor both were inconſiſtent, and could not ſtand together. On Wedneſday the eleventh of *July*, the Emperor, and his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, came with the King of *England* to the Town of *Callice*, and there continued with Feaſting, Dancing, and Masking, till the fourteenth of *July*. In which time, all the Articles of the League of *Tripartito*, between the Emperor and the Kings of *England* and *France* were reviewed; to which the King of *France* had ſo fully condeſcended, that he had ſent Mounſieur *de Roche* to the Emperor with Letters of credence; that in the word of a Prince he would inviolably obſerve and keep them all: all which notwithſtanding, he diſpenſed with his Conſcience afterward, in breaking them all. On Saturday *July* 14. the Emperor took his leave and went to *Graveling*; the King with his Queen returned into *England*.

The Emperor *Charles* comes into *England*.

The two Kings meet in ſo magnificent a manner, that the place was called the Camp of Cloth of Gold.

The King of *France* is jealous of King *Henry*'s kindneſs to the Emperor

Articles of League between the Emperor and the two Kings of *England* and *France* broken by the King of *France*.

It was now the twelfth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when being returned from *Callice*, he kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Greenwich* with great magnificence;

nificence ; and on Twelfth-day he and the Earl of *Devonshire* maintained a solemn Justs against all comers.

The Cardinal had long born a grudg against the Duke of *Buckingham*, for speaking certain words in his disgrace, and now hath made his way for revenge. It is said that the Duke once holding the Bason to the King ; the Cardinal when the King had done, presently dipped his hands in the same water ; which the Duke disdaining, shed the water in his Shooes ; with which the Cardinal incensed, threatned him that he would sit upon his skirts. The Duke, to shew that the King might take notice of the Cardinal's malice, came the next day to Court richly apparelled, but without skirts to his Doublet. The King demanding, what he meant by that strange fashion ? he answered readily, that it was done by way of prevention, for now the Cardinal should not sit upon his skirts. But this Jest did the Duke no good, for the Earl of *Surrey* Lord Admiral, who had married the Duke's Daughter, the Cardinal had caused to be sent Deputy into *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Duke's special friend, he had caused upon certain suggested crimes to be imprisoned ; so as the Duke having his friends sequestred from him, he lay now open to accusations, and accusations shall not be wanting ; for the Duke having some time before put from him in displeasure one *Charles Knevet*, that had been his Surveyor, and inward with him ; him the Cardinal gets to him, to see what he could get out of him against the Duke. And whether it was out of desire of revenge, or out of hope of reward, or that the matter was so indeed, this *Knevet* confessed to the Cardinal, that this Duke had once fully determined to make away the King ; being brought into a hope to be King himself by a vain Prophesie, which one *Nicholas Hopkins* (a Monk of an House of the *Charter* Order, besides *Bristow*, called *Henton*) sometimes his Confessor, had opened to him ; and as for the Cardinal, that he had often heard the Duke swear, he would punish him soundly for his manifold mis-doings. And now had the Cardinal matter enough for Accusation, which he so aggravated to the King, that the King bade him do with him according to Law. Hereupon the Duke is apprehended, and brought to the *Tower* by Sir *Henry Morney* Captain of the Guard, the fifteenth of *April*, and shortly after in *Guildhall* before Sir *John Brugge*, then Lord Mayor, was indicted of divers points of high Treason ; the substance whereof was, That in the second year of the King's Reign, and at divers times before and after, he had imagined and compassed the King's death at *London* and at *Thornbery* in *Glocestershire* ; and that in the sixth year of the King's Reign, he went in person to the Priory of *Henton*, and there had conference with the foresaid *Nicholas Hopkins*, who told him he should be King ; and that he had often said to the Lord *Aburgavenny*, who had married his Daughter, that if King *Henry* died without issue, he would look to have the Crown himself. Upon these points he was arraigned in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, sitting then as High Steward of *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, the Earls of *Worcester*, *Devonshire*, *Essex*, *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Oxford* and *Darby* ; the Lord of St. *Johns de la Ware*, *Fitz-water*, *Willoughby*, *Brook*, *Cobham*, *Herbert*, and *Morley*. The Duke pleaded for himself till he sweat again, but all booted not ; for by these Peers he was found guilty and condemned, and so on Friday the seventeenth of *May*, was led by *John Keyme*, and *John Skevington* Sheriffs of *London* to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded. The *Augustine* Friers took his body and head, and buried them. This *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham* was the last Hereditary High-Constable of *England*, (the greatest place in the Kingdom) whose power extended to restrain some actions of the King. He was also Earl of *Hereford*, *Stafford*, and *Northampton* : He married *Eleanor* the Daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and had Issue *Henry* Lord *Stafford* (Father to *Henry* Lord *Stafford* late living) and three Daughters, *Elizabeth* married to *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, *Katharine* married to *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmorland*, and *Mary* married to *George Nevil* Lord of *Aburgavenny*.

The Cardinal had long born a spleen against the Duke of Buckingham, and now finds means to work his will.

The Duke of Buckingham is beheaded. His Honours and Issue.

In this mean while, a new War was begun between the Emperor and the King of *France* ; for composing whereof, the Cardinal of *York* was sent attended with the Earls of *Worcester*, Lord Chamberlain, the Lord of Saint *Johns*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Primate of *Armagh*, Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Sir *John Pechy*, Sir *John Hussey*, Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Henry Guilford*, and many other Knights, Gentlemen, and Doctors. On the twelfth of *July* he arrived at *Callice*, whither came to him the Chancellour of *France*, and the Count *de Palice* attended with four hundred Horse, as Ambassadours from the *French* King ; and from the Emperor the like, with Commissions to treat and conclude of Peace. There were also Ambassadors from the Pope, whom the Cardinal moved to have the Pope to be a party also in their League, but they wanting Commission, Letters were presently sent to *Rome* about it, and in the time till answer might be had, the Cardinal went to *Bruges*, to speak with the Emperor, with whom having stayed thirteen days, after most Royal Entertainment, he returned back to *Callice* ; and then fell presently to the Treaty of Peace with the *French* Commissioners, but was colder in the matter than he was before, as having had his edge taken off by some dealings with the Emperor, so as nothing was concluded ; but that the Fishermen of both the Princes might freely Fish on the Seas without disturbance, till the end of *February* following ; whereof he sent advertisement to both the Princes ; to the Emperor by the Lord of Saint *Johns*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen* ; to the *French* King by the Earl of *Worcester*, and the Bishop of *Ely*. During all which time of the Cardinal's stay in *Callice*, all Writs and Patents were there by him sealed, and no Sheriff could be chosen for lack of his presence, having the Great Seal there with him, and full power in things, as if the King had been there in person. Before he returned, he made a

The Cardinal is sent to make a Peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*, but deals not fair in it.

The Cardinal carries the Great seal over with him, and the inconveniencies by it

new League with the Emperor, and intimated to the *French* King, that he doubted the King of *England* would not hereafter be so much his friend, as heretofore he had been; whereat, though the King of *France* were much offended, yet he signified by his Letters (perhaps dissemblingly) that he would continue the King of *England*'s Friend as much as ever: only he inveighed against the Cardinal, as a man of no truth, and withdrew many Pensions which he had before given to some *English*. Presently upon this, was *Tourney* besieged by the Lord *Hugh de Moncada* a *Spaniard*; and though the *French* King sent great Forces to succour it, yet it was rendred up to the Emperor, the last of *November*, in the thirteenth year of King *Henry*'s Reign.

The Cardinal seeks to be Pope, but too late.

This year Pope *Leo* died the first of *December*, suspected to be poysoned by *Barnaby Malespina* his Chamberlain, whose Office was always to give him drink. After whose death, Doctor *Pace* was sent to *Rome*, to make friends in the behalf of the Cardinal of *York*, who was brought into a hope through the King's favour to be elected Pope: but that hope was soon quailed; for before Doctor *Pace* could get to *Rome*, *Adrian* the sixth was chosen Pope. This Doctor *Pace* was a very Learned and Religious man, yet through crosses in his employment fell mad, and died; in whose place of employment succeeded Doctor *Steven Gardiner*.

Doctor Pace the Cardinal's Agent, falls mad and dieth.

An. Reg. 13. 1522.

On the second of *February*, King *Henry* being then at *Greenwich*, received a Bull from the Pope, whereby he had the Title given him to be Defender of the Christian Faith, for him and his Successors for ever; which Title was ascribed to him for writing a Book against *Luther*, as it was given out; but thought to be written by Sir *Thomas More*, or by *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*: of which Book (saith *Hollingshead*) I will only say thus much, that King *Henry* in his Book, is reported to rage against the Devil and Antichrist, to cast out his foam against *Luther*, to raze out the Name of the Pope, and yet to allow his Law. Which Book *Luther* answered with as little respect to the King, as the King had done to him.

King *Henry* for writing a Book against *Luther*, hath the Title given him to be Defender of the Faith.

In this mean time, many displeasures grew between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, specially two: one, that *French* men seized upon *English* Ships as they passed: for remedy whereof, one *Christopher Coe*, an expert Sea-man, was sent with six Ships to safeguard the Merchants. Another, that the Duke of *Albany* was returned into *Scotland*, contrary to that which was covenanted by the League; which though the King of *France* denied to be done with his privity, yet King *Henry* knew the Duke of *Albany* had Commission from the *French* King to return, which did the more exasperate him; and hereupon were Musters made in *England*, and a note taken of what substance all men were.

This year died the Lord *Brook*, Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight of the Garter, Sir *John Pechy*, and Sir *Edward Pelkyngge*, all valiant Captains, suspected to have been poysoned at a Banquet made at *Ard*, when the two Kings met last.

At this time *Owen Dowglass* Bishop of *Dunkell* fled out of *Scotland* into *England*, because the Duke of *Albany*, being come thither, had taken upon him the whole Government of the King and Kingdom; whereupon *Clarenteaux* the Herauld was sent into *Scotland*, to command the Duke of *Albany* to avoid that Realm; which he refusing, the Herauld was commanded to defie him. Thereupon the *French* King seized all *English* mens goods in *Bourdeaux*, and imprisoned their persons; and retained not only the money to be paid for the restitution of *Tourney*, but also withheld the *French* Queens Dower: whereof, when King *Henry* understood, he called the *French* Ambassador residing in *England*, to give account thereof; who though he gave the best reasons he could to excuse it, yet was commanded to keep his house; and the *French* Hostages remaining here, for the money to be paid for the delivery of *Tourney*, were restrained of their liberty, and committed to the custody of the Lord of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Sir *Andrew Windsor*, and Sir *Thomas Nevile*; each of them to keep one; and withall, all *French* men in *London* were committed to prison, and put to their Fines; and all *Scotch* men much more. There were then also sent to Sea under the conduct of Sir *William Fitz-williams* Vice-Admiral, eight and twenty great Ships, and seven more towards *Scotland*; who set fire on many *Scottish* Ships in the Haven, and at length took many prisoners and returned.

Upon differences between the Kings of *England* and *France*, the *French* Ambassador is commanded to keep his house.

King *Henry* hearing, that the Emperor would come to *Callice*, so to pass into *England*, as he went into *Spain*; appointed the Lord Marquess *Dorset*, to go to *Calice*, there to receive him, and the Cardinal to receive him at *Dover*. The Cardinal taking his journey thither on the tenth of *May*, rode through *London*, accompanied with two Earls, six and thirty Knights, and an hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishops, ten Abbots, thirty Chaplains, all in Velvet and Sattin; and Yeomen seven hundred. The five and twentieth of *May* being Sunday, the Marquess *Dorset* with the Bishop of *Chichester*, the Lord *de la Ware*, and divers others, at the water of *Graveling*, received the Emperor, and with all honour brought him to *Callice*, where he was received with Procession, by the Lord *Berners*, Lieutenant of the Town. On *Munday* he took Shipping at *Callice*, and landed at *Dover*; where the Cardinal with three hundred Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen received him, and in great state brought him to the Castle, where he was lodged. On Wednesday being *Ascension*-Even, the King came to *Dover*, and there with great joy and gladness the Emperor and he met. On Friday in the afternoon they departed from *Dover*, and came that night to *Canterbury*, and from thence next day to *Greenwich*; where the Queen received her Nephew with all the joy that might be. Here to honour the Emperor's presence, Royal Justs and Turneys were appointed; where the King, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and ten Aids, kept the place against the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and other ten Aids, on their part. On Friday the fixth of *June*, the Emperor and the King with all their Companies went to *London*, where the City

The Emperor comes into *England*, and with what state he is received.

City received them with Pageants, and other as rare devices, as at a Coronation, and the Emperor was lodged at the *Black-fryers*, and all his Lords in the new Palace of *Bridewell*. On Whitsunday the King and the Emperor rode to the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, where the Cardinal sung Mass, and had his Traverse and his Cup-board. Before Mass, two Barons gave him water, and after the Gospel, two Earls, and at the last Lavatory two Dukes, which pride the *Spaniards* much disdained. After many Feastings in other places, at last they rode to *Windsor*, where they stayed a whole week; and there, on *Corpus Christi* day, the Emperor wore the Mantle of the Garter, and sate in his own Stall. On the same day both the Princes received the Sacrament, and took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them. On the morrow after, they came to *Winchester*; before whose coming thither there was come to *Hampton*, the Earl of *Surrey* Admiral of *England*, with all the King's Navy, and with him the Lord *Fitz-water*, the Baron *Curson*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, *Francis Brian*, Sir *William Barentine*, Sir *Adrian Foskew*, Sir *Edward Donne*, Sir *Edward Chamberlain*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Anthony Poyns*, Sir *Henry Sherbourn*, and the Vice-Admiral, Sir *William Fitz-williams*, Sir *Edmund Bray*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Sir *William Pirton*, *John Cornwallis*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Edward Ichingham*, Sir *William Sidney*, *Anthony Brown*, *Giles Hussey*, *Thomas More*, *John Russel*, *Edward Bray*, *Henry Owen*, *George Cobham*, *Thomas Oldhall*, *Thomas Lovel*, *Robert Ichingham*, *Anthony Knevet*, Sir *John Tremaile*, Sir *William Skevington* Master of the Ordnance, and *John Fabian* Serjeant at Arms, by whom chiefly a design was moved, though now noised only that it was but to scour the Seas for the safe conducting of the Emperor. For the Earl of *Surrey*, having wafted the Emperor over to the Coast of *Biskay*, upon his return made to the Coast of *Britain*; and there landing seven thousand of his men, marched to the Town of *Morleys*, and by assault took it: having won this Town, the Earl called to him certain Gentlemen and made them Knights; as Sir *Francis Brian*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Thomas Moor*, Sir *Giles Hussey*, Sir *John Russel*, Sir *John Rainsford*, Sir *George Cobham*, Sir *John Cornwallis*, Sir *Edward Ridgley*, and some others; and after the Earl had lain a while on the Coast of *Britain*, he was commanded home by the King's Letters: who thereupon brought back his whole Fleet to a place called the *Cow*, under the Isle of *Wight*, and then went on land, leaving divers of his Ships under the Governance of the Vice-Admiral Sir *William Fitz-williams*.

The Earl of *Surrey* Admiral, surpriseth *Morleys* in *France*

In this mean time divers exploits were atchieved between them of the Garrison in the Marches of *Callice*, and the *French* men of *Bulloign*, where the *French* commonly had the worst: but being of no great moment, may well be passed over without relating. Likewise at the same time the Lord *Ross*, and the Lord *Dacres* of the North, appointed to keep the Borders against *Scotland*, burnt the Town of *Kelso*, and fourscore Villages, and overthrew eighteen Towers of stone, with all their Bulwarks.

King *Henry* intending now to go seriously on with his Wars in *France*, levied an Army, which under the conduct of the Earl of *Surrey*, he sent over to *Callice*; whither the Earl being come, he divided his Army into three Battels; the first was led by Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-water*, the middleward by himself and his Brother the Lord *Edmund Howard*, the Rereward by Sir *William Sands*, and Sir *Richard Winkefield*, both of them Knights of the Garter: and Sir *Edmund Guilford* was Captain of the Horsemen. In this Order the Earl entred the *French* ground the second of *September*, and took his Journey towards *Hedring*. By the way there came to him a great power of *Burgognians*, sent by the Lady *Margaret*, according to the Articles of the League. All the Towns, Villages, and Castles in the Countrey, through which they passed, they burnt and sacked; as the Town and Castle of *Selloys*, the Town of *Brunbrigge*, *Senkirk*, *Botington*, and *Manstier*, with divers others. On the 16 of *September*, they came before the Castle of *Hedring*, and laid siege unto it; but the Castle being well fortified, and the Earl having not battering Ordnance, which by reason of the foul weather, he could not bring with him, after eleven days he raised his siege; and passing from thence to *Dorlens*, burnt the Town, and rased the Castle, as also the Town of *Dortier*, and then the year being far spent, came back to *Callice* the sixteenth of *October*.

The Earl of *Surrey* wins many Towns in *France*.

At this time the Duke of *Albany* being established Governour of *Scotland*, raised an Army of fourscore thousand men, with which he approached the Borders, but made no Invasion, as thinking perhaps that the only report of his great Army would fright the *English*; but yet this stayed not the Lord Marquess *Dorset*, Warden of the East and middle Marches, to enter into *Tividale*, and so forward ten Miles into *Galloway*, burning all Towns and Villages on every side as he passed. All that night he tarried within the *Scottish* ground, and the next day being Good-Friday, withdrew back into *England*, with a Head of four thousand Cattel; having burned *Grimseley*, *Mowhouse*, *Donford*, *Myles*, *Ackforth*, *Crowling*, and many other Towns and Villages.

In King *Henry*'s fourteenth year, on the fifteenth of *April* began a Parliament, which was holden at the *Blackfryers*, whither the King came, and there sat down in his Royal Seat; at his feet on the right side sate the Cardinal of *York*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and at the Rail behind stood Doctor *Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, who making an Oration, told there the causes of calling this Parliament; which were (as he said) for remedying of mischiefs by the Common Law, as Recoveries, Foreign Vouchers, and corrupt Trials; and for making new Laws for the good of the Commonwealth, whereof notwithstanding, no one word was spoken all the time of the Parliament, nor any other thing done, but a Subsidy granted; but howsoever, being commanded to chuse their Speaker, they chose Sir *Thomas More*, who at first disabling himself, at last made two Petitions

An. Reg. 14. 1523.

A Parliament holden at *Blackfryers*.

The Speaker makes two Petitions to the King.

ons to the King; one for himself, that if he should be sent by the Commons to the King on a Message, and mistake their intent, he might then with the King's pleasure resort again to the Commons, to know their meaning. The other, for the House of Commons, that if in communication and reasoning, any man should speak more largely than of duty he ought to do, yet all such offences should be pardoned, and that to be entred of Record. Which Petitions were granted, and then the Parliament began; where at first a Subsidy was demanded, but as there was much ado in the House of Commons about it, so there was no less amongst the Clergy in the Convocation House; for *Richard* Bishop of *Winchester* and *John* Bishop of *Rochester* were much against it, but most of all, one *Rowland Philips*, Vicar of *Croydon*, and a Canon of *Pauls*; but the Cardinal taking him aside, dealt so with him, that he took him off, so as he came no more to the House; and then the Bell-weather (as one saith) giving over his hold, the rest soon yielded; and so was granted the half of all their spiritual yearly Revenues, to be paid in five years following. The Clergy being thus brought on, on the nine and twentieth of *April*, the Cardinal came into the House of Commons, to work them also; and there, shewing the great charges the King was necessarily to be at in his present Wars, demanded the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, to be raised of the fifth part of every man's Goods and Lands, which was four shillings of every pound. This demand was enforced the day after by the Speaker Sir *Thomas More*; but the Burgesses were ill against it, shewing that it was not possible to have it gathered in money; for that men of Lands had not the fifth part thereof in Coyn. And further alledged, that there be not many Parishes in *England*, one with another, able to spare a hundred Marks, except Cities and Towns; and seeing there were not above thirteen thousand Parishes in the Kingdom, (at this day there are but 9285) how could such a sum be raised? Hereupon certain of the House were sent to move the Cardinal, to be a means to the King to accept of a lesser sum; but the Cardinal answered, he would rather have his tongue plucked out of his mouth with a pair of Pincers, than make to the King any such motion. Whereupon the Cardinal came again into the House, and desired that he might reason with them that were against the demand; to which it was answered, that the Order of that House was to hear, and not to reason, except amongst themselves. When the Cardinal was gone, the Commons, after long debating the matter, at last agreed of two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upward, and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings twelve pence, and under forty shillings of every head of sixteen years and upwards, four pence, to be paid in two years: when this was told to the Cardinal, he was much offended; so that to please him, the Gentlemen of fifty pound Land and upward, by the motion of Sir *John Hussey*, a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, were charged with twelve pence more in the pound, to be paid in three years.

A Subsidy with much ado granted.

How many Parishes in the Kingdom.

The Cardinal makes a false report to the House of Commons.

The Cardinal to move them to it, bore them in hand, that the Lords had agreed to four shillings of the pound; which was untrue, for the Lords had granted nothing, but stayed to see what the Commons would do; whereof when the King heard, he reproved the Cardinal for it; saying withal, that ere it were long, he would look to things himself, without any Substitute. Which speech of the King's, though it danted the Cardinal for a while, yet he soon recovered his spirits, and was as peremptory afterward as he had been before. After this the Parliament was Prorogued till the tenth of *June*; during which Prorogation, the Common people said to the Burgesses. We hear say, you will grant four shillings of the pound, we advise you not to do so, that you may go home; with many like threatnings. At this time, the Cardinal, by his power Legantine, dissolved his Convocation at *Pauls*, convoked by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, calling him and all the Clergy to the Convocation at *Westminster*: which was never seen before in *England*, saith *Hall*. The one and thirtieth of *July*, the Parliament was adjourned to *Westminster*; and there continuing till the thirteenth of *August*, was that day at nine of the clock at night dissolved.

The Parliament dissolved at nine a Clock at night.

About this time the Bishop of *Durham* died, and the King gave that Bishoprick to the Cardinal; who resigned the Bishoprick of *Bath* to Doctor *John Clerk*, Master of the Rolls; and Sir *Henry Marney*, that was Vice-Chamberlain, was made Lord Privy Seal, and shortly after was created Lord *Marney*: Also during this Parliament, Sir *Arthur Plantagenet*, Bastard-Son to King *Edward* the Fourth, at *Bridewel*, was created Vicount *Lisle*, in the right of his Wife, who was Wife before to *Edmund Dudley* beheaded.

Sir *Henry Marney* created Lord *Marney*.

Sir *Arthur Plantagenet* base Son of King *Edward* the Fourth is created Vicount *Lisle*.

The fifteenth of *June*, in the fifteenth year of the King's Reign, *Christian* King of *Denmark* with his Queen, driven out of his own Country, came into *England*, and was lodged at *Bath*-Place; who, after he had been feasted by the King, and by the City of *London*, and received great gifts of both, returned again into *Flanders*, where he remained as a banished man: some years after, King *Henry* sent Doctor *Henry Standish*, Bishop of St. *Asaph*, and Sir *John Baker* Knight, into *Denmark*, to perswade the people to receive him again into his Kingdom; but they could not prevail, he was so much hated for his cruelty.

An. Reg. 15. 1524.

The Earl of *Kildare* doth good service in *Ireland*.

About this time the Earl of *Kildare*, having recovered again the favour of the Cardinal, was sent Deputy into *Ireland*, as he had been before, where he reduced the wild *Irish* to indifferent conformity. All this while had *England* Wars both with the *French* and with the *Scots*. In *Scotland* the Marquess of *Dorset* threw down the Castles of *Wederborne*, of *Nesgate*, of *Blackater*, of *Mackwalls*, and burnt to the number of seven and thirty Villages, yet never came to skirmish. In *France* the Lord *Sands*, Treasurer of *Callice*, with twelve hundred men went before *Bulloigne*, where he skirmished with the Enemy; and after taking divers Churches and Castles in the Enemies Countrey, returned back to *Callice*, with the loss

The Marquess *Dorset* in *Scotland*.

The Lord *Sands* in *France*.

loſs only of a dozen men. King *Henry* being advertiſed that the Duke of *Albany* was providing of Forces in *France*, with which to return into *Scotland*, ſent forth his Vice-Admiral Sir *William Fitz-williams*, with divers great Ships to intercept him; but when he could not meet with him, he then landed in the Haven of *Treport*; where with ſeven hundred men, he beat ſix thouſand *French* that fought to impeach his landing, took their Bulwarks and much Ordnance in them, burned the Suburbs of the Town of *Treport*, and all in five hours, and then returned.

Sir William Fitz-williams with 700 beat ſix thouſand French.

All this while King *Henry* had play'd with the *French*, but now he ſeems to be in earneſt, and therefore ſends over the Duke of *Suffolk* with an Army, the four and twentieth of *Auguſt*; attended with the Lord *Montacute* and his Brother Sir *Arthur Pool*, the Lord *Herbert*, Son to the Earl of *Worceſter*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Marney*, the Lord *Sands*, the Lord *Barkley*, the Lord *Powis*, and the Baron *Curſon*, Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, Sir *John Vere*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *William Kingſtone*, Sir *Richard Weſton*, Sir *Andrew Windſore*, Sir *Robert Winkefield*, Sir *Anthony Winkefield*, Sir *Edward Guilford*, Sir *Edward Greville*, Sir *Edward Chamberlain*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *Everard Digby*, Sir *Adrian Forkew*, Sir *Richard Cornwal*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *William Sidney*, Sir *Henry Owen*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen. In the whole Army were ſix hundred Demi-launces, two hundred Archers on Horſeback, three thouſand Archers on foot, and five thouſand Bill-men. Alſo ſeventeen hundred taken out of the Garriſons of *Hammes*, *Guiſnes*, and *Callice*, in all ten thouſand and five hundred, beſides two thouſand ſix hundred Labourers and Pioneers. With this Army the Duke of *Suffolk* took the field, his Vantguard was led by the Lord *Sands*; the Captain of the right Wing was Sir *William Kingſton*, and of the left Sir *Everard Digby*: the Captain of all the Horſemen was Sir *Edward Guilford*, Marſhal of *Callice*; the Duke himſelf led the Battel, and Sir *Richard Winkefield* the Rereward. The Duke's enterpriſe was the winning of *Bell* Caſtle, which the Lord *Sands* and the Lord *Ferrers* aſſaulted, and had it yielded to them, and then Sir *William Skevington* was placed Captain in it. At this time the Duke of *Bourbon*, high Conſtable of *France*, began to have his mind alienated from the King of *France*, and to draw him the more on, the Duke of *Suffolk* ſent Sir *John Ruſſel* (afterward created Duke of *Bedford*) to him, who paſſing in diſguiſed Apparel, ſo prevailed with him, that he profeſſed to take part with the Emperor, and the King of *England*, who having ten thouſand *Almains* in his pay, it was thought fit (for encouragement of the *Engliſh*) to proclaim in the Army the acceſs of ſo powerful an aſſiſtant: And thereupon the Duke of *Suffolk* removed to *Ard*, and ſo forward into *Picardy*. At *Cordes* between *Terwin* and St. *Omers*, there came to him the Lord of *Iſſlſtein*, and with him of *Spaniards*, *Almains*, and others, three thouſand footmen, and five hundred Horſe. With theſe Forces, the Duke marching on, took firſt the rich Town of *Anchor*, then the Caſtle of *Bourgnard*, and then by aſſault the Town of *Bray*, though two thouſand good men of War were in it: After this, the Towns of *Cappe* and *Roy*, *Libome* and *Davenker*. And then came before the Town of *Mount-Dedier*, in which were a thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; yet upon Sir *William Skevington*'s Batteries, was yielded to him. From hence he removed to *Roy*, where he reſted a while with his whole Army: and there on *Allcolland*-day, in the chief Church of *Roy*, made Knights, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Powis*, *Oliver Manners*, *Arthur Pool*, *Richard Sands*, *Robert Jernyngham*, *Robert Salabury*, *Edward Beningfield*, *Richard Corbet*, *Thomas Wentworth*, *William Storton*, *Walter Mantel*, *George Warram*, and *Edward Seymor* (that was after Duke of *Somerſet*.) The day after, the Army removed to a place called *Neele*, from thence to *Veane*, and then to *Beauford*, where the Duke made *John Dudley*, and *Robert Utreight* Knights, and from thence on the eighth of *November*, to a place called *Mount Saint Martin*; here the *Welſhmen* began to murmur, that they might not return home, the Winter being ſo far ſpent; but there was to the number of a thouſand perſons, under the leading of Sir *John Wallop*, who having no wages but what they could get by booties, and were therefore called Adventurers, and by ſome Kreekers, and theſe had more deſire to ſtay, than the *Welſhmen* had to be gone; for the great gains they made by the ſpoils of ſo many Towns that were taken. The thirteenth of *November* the Duke removed to a place within two miles of *Boghan* Caſtle, defended by great Mariſhes, that lay before it; but the Froſt being at that time ſo great, that many loſt their Fingers and Toes with cold, and ſome died; Sir *Edward Guilford* acquainted the Duke, that he thought the Mariſhes were hard enough frozen to bear great Ordnance; whereupon the Duke bid him venture it then and go on, which he reſolutely did, and had the Caſtle preſently delivered up to him. In this mean time, the King hearing in what ſtate the Army ſtood, had prepared ſix thouſand men to be ſent to the Duke for a relief, under the leading of the Lord *Montjoy*; but before they could be put in order to paſs the Sea, the Duke, partly by extremity of the weather, and partly by the murmuring of the Souldiers, was conſtrained to break up his Army, and return to *Callice*.

The Duke of Suffolk's ſent with an Army into France.

How marſhalled.

He wins ma. ny Towns.

A great Froſt.

In this mean time, the *Scots* knowing that the ſtrength of *England* was gone into *France*, took boldneſs to invade the Marches; but then the Earl of *Surrey*, Treaſurer and High Admiral of *England*, with ſix thouſand men, being ſent againſt them, took divers of their Caſtles and Holds; and at *Tedworth* skirmiſhing with a great Garriſon of *Scots*, overthrew them, and took and burned both the Town and Caſtle. And now the *French* King finding that the *Scots* did not work any great trouble to the *Engliſh*, whereby to keep them from moleſting of *France*, and thinking it to be for want of the Duke of *Albany*'s preſence, whom they accounted their Governour, he therefore prepared a Navy of Ships to tranſport him into *Scotland*; but when the Duke of *Albany* heard,

heard, that Sir *William Fitz-williams* was sent with a great Fleet to stop his passage, he brought his Ships into the Haven of *Brest*, and gave it out that he would not go into *Scotland* that year; which being told to the King of *England*, he commanded that his Ships also should be laid up in Havens till the next Spring. And now see the cunning of the *Scot*; for when he saw the King's Ships discharged, he then boldly took Shipping himself, and sailed into *Scotland*, whither being come he presently levied a great Army, and approached the *English* Borders; but when he heard the Earl of *Surrey* was coming against him with a mighty power, he then sent a Herald to him, promising of his Honour, to give him Battel; and if he took him prisoner, to give him good quarter. To whom the Earl answered, that he would not fail to abide his Battel; but if he took him prisoner, the quarter he would give him, should be to cut off his head, and send it for a present to his Master the King of *England*. At this time the Earl of *Surrey* being at *Alnewick*, came the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, the Lords *Clifford*, *Dacres*, *Lumley*, *Ogle*, and *Darcy*, with many Knights, Gentlemen, and other Souldiers, to the number of forty thousand: and from the Court came the Master of the Horse, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Edward Baynton*, and others. The last of *October*, the Duke of *Albany* sent two or three thousand men over the water to besiege the Castle of *Wark*; who by battery of their Ordnance won the outermost Ward, called the *Barnekins*; and continuing their battery, won the second Ward, but then Sir *William Lisle*, that was Captain of the Castle, issuing forth with those few he had left, drove the *French* men from the place, and slew of them to the number of three hundred; a memorable service, and for which the Earl of *Surrey* afterwards gave him great thanks. The Earl would gladly have followed his Enemies into their own Borders, but that his Commission was only to defend *England*, and not to invade *Scotland*. Shortly after, the Queen of *Scots*, Mother to the King, sent to her Brother the King of *England*, for an abstinence from War, till a further communication might be had; which being granted, the *English* Army brake up, and the Earl of *Surrey* returned to the Court.

A policy of the Duke of *Albany*.

The Earl of *Surrey* his service against the *Scots*.

And now for a while we must be content to hear of petty Occurrences, because greater did not happen; which if it make us like the Story the worse, it may make us like the times the better; seeing they are ever the best times that afford least matter to be talked of: but this time will last but a while; for shortly we shall come to hear Occurrences, that have been matter of talk to this day, whereof the like have never scarce been seen, and will hardly be believed, when they are heard; a Marriage dissolved after twenty years consummation; Houses built in Piety, under pretence of Piety demolished; a King made a Captive; a Pope held a Prisoner; Queens taken out of love, put to death out of loathing; and the Church it self shaken, that it hath stood in distraction ever since.

At this time the Emperor *Charles* sent to the King of *England* two Mules trapped in Crimson Velvet, richly embroidered; also eleven goodly Jennets trapped with Russet Velvet, richly wrought; four Spears, and two Javelins of strange Timber, and work richly garnished; and five Brace of Grey-hounds. To the Queen he sent two Mules richly trapped, and high Chairs after the *Spanish* fashion: which Presents were thankfully received both of the King and Queen.

Presents sent to the King and Queen by the Emperor.

At this time in the month of *October* the Cardinal sent out Commissions, that every man, being worth forty pounds, should pay the whole Subsidy before granted, out of hand; which he called an Anticipation: which fine new word, he thought, would make them pay their money the more willingly; but they loved their money better than any words he could devise.

The Cardinal requires the subsidy to be paid by Anticipation.

In this year the King sent the Lord *Morley*, Sir *William Hussey* Knight, and Doctor *Lee* his Almoner, to *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Austria*, with the Order of the Garter; which he received in the Town of *Noremberg*, to his great contentment.

In this year, through Books of Prognostications, foreshewing much hurt to come by waters and floods, many persons with-drew themselves to high grounds, for fear of drowning; specially one *Bolton*, Prior of Saint *Bartholomews* in *Smithfield*, builded him an House upon *Harrow* on the Hill, and thither went and made provision for two months. These great waters should have fallen in *February*, but no such thing happening, the Astronomers excused themselves, by saying, that in the computation they had miscounted in their number an hundred years.

A great Inundation threatned by Prognostication, but mistaken.

In this mean time, many enterprises were attempted, between the *English* men of *Callice* and *Guysnes*, and the *French* men of *Bulloign* and the Frontiers of *Picardy*; and still Sir *William Fitz-williams* Captain of *Guysnes*, Sir *Robert Jerningham*, Captain of *Newnham* Bridge, Sir *John Wallope*, and Sir *John Gage*, were the men that did the *French* most hurt.

This year, the first of *September*, was Doctor *Thomas Hannibal* Master of the Rolls received into *London*, by Earls, Bishops, and divers Lords and Gentlemen, as Ambassador from Pope *Clement*; who brought with him a Rose of Gold for a Present to the King: and on the day of the Nativity of our Lady, after a solemn Mass sung by the Cardinal of *York*, the said Present was delivered to the King, which was a Tree forged of fine Gold, and with Branches, Leaves, and Flowers resembling Roses.

A Present sent to the King from the Pope.

About the beginning of Winter, the Adventurers called *Kreckers* being not above two hundred, and of them five and twenty Horsemen, made an attempt to fetch some booty from a Village not far from *Muttrell*; whereof the Earl of *Dammartin* having notice, he set upon them with a far greater number, and slew most of them; and this was the end of the *Kreckers*, as brave men as ever served any Prince.

The Adventurers called *Kreckers*, all destroyed.

In *December* this year, there came to *London* divers Ambassadors out of *Scotland*, about a Peace to be had; and a marriage to be concluded, between the King of *Scots*, and the

the Lady *Mary* Daughter to the King of *England*.

At this time the Lord *Leonard Gray*, and the Lord *John Gray*, Brothers to the Lord Marquess *Dorset*, Sir *George Cobham*, Son to the Lord *Cobham*, *William Cary*, Sir *John Dudley*, *Thomas Wyat*, *Francis Points*, *Francis Sidney*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, *Oliver Manners*, *Percival Hart*, *Sebastian Newdigate*, and *Thomas Calen*, Esquires of the King's Houshold, made a challenge of Arms against the Feast of Christmass, which was proclaimed by *Windsor* the Herald, and performed at the time appointed, very nobly, as Tilts, Turneys, Barriers, and the assault of a Castle erected for that purpose, in the Tilt-yard at *Greenwich*, where the King held his Christmass that year with great state and magnificence.

1525. About this time, *John Jokin* Steward of the Houshold to the *French* King's Mother, came into *England*, and was received in secret manner, into the house of one Doctor *Lark*, a Prebendary of Saint *Stephens*; who oftentimes talked with the Cardinal about a Peace to be concluded between the two Kings of *England* and *France*: of whose often Meetings, Monsieur *de Prate* the Emperour's Ambassadour grew very jealous. The four and twentieth of *January*, Monsieur *Brynion*, President of *Roan*, came to *London* as Ambassador from the *French* King, and was lodged with the said *John Jokin*; which small things should not be related, but that they were preparatives to great matters afterward.

On Sunday the fifth of *March*, were received into *London* Monsieur *de Bever*, Lord of *Campher*, Admiral of *Flanders*; Monsieur *John de la Coose* President of *Malines*, and Master *John de la Gache*, as Ambassadours from the Lady *Margaret*, in the Name of the Emperor, who required three things: First, They demanded the Lady *Mary*, the King's only Daughter, to be presently delivered, and she to be named Empress, and as Governess take possession of all the *Low-Countreys*. Secondly, That all such sums of money as the King should give with her in Marriage, should be paid incontinently. Thirdly, That the King of *England* should pass the Sea in person, and make War in *France* the next Summer. The first two Demands were not agreed to for certain causes. And as to the third, the King said he would take time to advise. On Thursday the ninth of *March*, a Gentleman came in Post from the Lady *Margaret*, with Letters signifying, That whereas the King of *France* had lien long at the siege of *Pavia*, he had now been forced to raise his siege, and was himself taken prisoner by the Imperialists; for joy whereof, Bonfires and great Triumph was made in *London*, and on the twentieth of *March*, being Sunday, the King himself came to *Pauls*, and there heard a solemn Mass. But for all this shew of joy, it was thought, if the King of *France* had not now been taken prisoner, that the King of *England* would have joyned in amity with him, as being angry with the *Flemings* for Inhanting his Coyn in *Flanders*, which caused much money to be conveyed out of *England* thither. The King of *France* being taken prisoner, was after some time conveyed into *Spain*, and at last brought to *Madrid*, where he fell so sick, that the Physicians had little hope of his life, unless the Emperour would be pleased speedily to visit him; Upon whose visitation he recovered his health, though not presently his strength. In which time many propositions were made for his delivery, but the Emperor would accept of none, without restitution of the Dutchy of *Burgoigne*. At last, the *French* King weary of Imprisonment, and longing for liberty, was content to agree to any Conditions; the chief whereof were, That the *French* King by a certain day should be set at liberty, and within six weeks after should resign to the Emperour the Dutchy of *Burgoigne*, with all Members pertaining to it; and at the same instant should put into the Emperour's hands the Dauphin of *France*, and with him either the Duke of *Orleance* his second Son, or else twelve principal Lords of *France*, whom the Emperour should name; and that there should be between them a League, and perpetual Confederation for defence of their Estates. Of whose attonement when King *Henry* heard, as before he had expressed gladness that he was taken prisoner, so now he sent Sir *Thomas Cheiney* to him, to express his joy for being set at liberty; so sudden is the interchange of love and hate amongst great Princes. The *French* King being thus delivered, the Emperour married the Lady *Isabel*, Daughter to *Emmanuel* King of *Portugal*, and had with her in Dower Eleven hundred thousand Duckets; though three years before, being at *Windsor*, he had covenanted to take to Wife the Lady *Mary* King *Henry*'s Daughter.

The King of *France* is taken prisoner.

Upon delivery of the Dutchy of *Burgoigne* to the Emperor, he is set at liberty.

At this time Cardinal *Woolsey* obtained License of the King to erect a Colledge at *Oxford*, and another at *Ipswich*; and towards the charge of them got leave also to suppress certain small Monasteries, to the number of forty; and after got a Confirmation of the Pope, that he might employ the Goods and Lands belonging to those Houses, to the maintenance of those two Colledges: a pernicious President, and that which made the King a way afterward to make a general suppression of all Religious Houses: though indeed there be great difference between converting of Monasteries into Colledges, and utter subverting them.

The Cardinal suppresseth forty Monasteries, towards the erecting of two Colledges.

In *March* King *Henry* sent *Cuthert Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Winkefield* Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, into *Spain*, to confer with the Emperour about matters of great importance, and particularly about War to be made in *France*; and yet were these two Princes at this time in League: but he that shall observe the carriage of these two Princes towards one another, and how convertible their Leagues were into War, and their War into Peace, shall find it a strange Riddle of *Ragion di stato*, and their Leagues to have been but meer Complements, where the scale was turned with the least grain of a Circumstance; and though they were bound by Oath, yet that Oath made the Leagues but little the firmer, seeing the League might be broken, and yet the Oath kept: for while one gave the occasion, and the other took it, though they were both Accessaries, yet neither was Principal; and where there

is not a principal, the Oath remains inviolate. And upon those hinges did the friendship of these Princes turn, as at this time the Emperor, though not long before he had parted with the King of *England* in the greatest kindness that could be, yet gave not the *English* Ambassadors so kind entertainment now, as he had formerly done: but for what cause was not apparent unless upon some sinister report made to him, by Mounsieur *de Prate*; who having been his Leiger with the King of *England*, was without taking leave of the King departed, and come to the Emperor before the *English* Ambassadors came.

The Cardinal seeks to raise money by a Commission: which the people oppose, and the King disclaims.

But howsoever King *Henry* being determined to make War in *France* himself in person, his Council fell into consideration how the charge of the War should be maintained; which care the Cardinal takes upon him; and thereupon appoints Commissioners in all Shires, to sit and draw the people to pay the sixth part of every man's substance, in Plate or Money: but the people opposed it, alledging, that it was against the Law of the Realm, for any man to be charged with such payments, unless by Parliament: and as the Cardinal continued to press it, so the people continued to deny it; and when some for denying it were committed to prison, the Commons in many Countries made great Assemblies for their defence: the report whereof at last came to the King, who thereupon came to *Westminster* and protested openly, that it was done without his knowledge, and that it was never his meaning, to ask any thing of his Subjects but according to Law; and therefore desired to know by whose Authority it was done. Here the Cardinal excused himself and said, that it was the opinion of all the Judges, and of all his Council, that he might lawfully demand any sum, so it were done by Commission, and thereupon it was done. But the King liked not to take advantage of a distinction to draw money from his Subjects; and thereupon gave warning for doing any such thing hereafter: and signified so much by his Letters into all the Shires of *England*: giving also a general Pardon to all that had offered to rise upon it; which though he did of his own free grace, yet the Cardinal to win a good opinion in the Commons gave out, that it was by his means the King granted the Pardon.

An. Reg. 17. 1525.

King *Henry*'s seventeenth year, was honoured with advancing of many in honour; for on the eighteenth of *June* at his Palace of *Bridewell*, the King's Son (which he had by *Elizabeth Blunt* Daughter to Sir *John Blunt* Knight) called *Henry Fitz-Roy*, was created first Earl of *Nottingham*, and after on the same day, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, *Henry Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire* was created Marquess of *Exeter*, the Lord *Brandon* Son to the Duke of *Suffolk* and the *French* Queen (a Child of two years old) was created Earl of *Lincoln*, Sir *Thomas Manners*, Lord *Ross* was created Earl of *Rutland*, Sir *Henry Clifford* was created Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-water* was created Vicount *Fitz-water*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen* Treasurer of the King's Houshold was created Vicount *Rochford*.

Dukes and Earls created.

At this time the *French* King's Mother, as then Regent of *France*, procured by her Ambassadors, at first a Truce, and afterward a Peace with *England*, which was proclaimed in *London*, the eighth of *September*. By the Covenants of which Peace, the King of *England* should receive at certain days twenty hundred thousand Crowns, which in sterling money amounted to the sum of four hundred thousand pound; whereof fifty was to be paid in hand. Sir *William Fitz-williams*, and Doctor *Taylour*, was sent to the Lady Regent, to take her corporal Oath, and likewise King *Henry* the four and twentieth of *April*, at *Greenwich*, in presence of the Ambassadors of *France*, *Rome*, and *Venice*, took his corporal Oath, to observe the Peace between him, and his loving Brother the *French* King, during his life, and one year after.

A Peace between *England* and *France*, for which a great sum of money paid to King *Henry*.

In this Winter was a great mortality in *London*, so as the Term was adjourned, and the King kept his Christmass at *Eltham*, with a small number, and was therefore called the still Christmass.

The still Christmass by reason of the sickness.

At which time, the Cardinal coming to the Court, took order for altering the state of the King's House: many Officers and other servants were discharged, and put to their pensions, in which number were fourscore and four Yeomen of the Guard: who before having had twelve pence the day with check, were now allowed but six pence the day without check, and commanded to go into their Countries.

On *Shrove-Tuesday* this year, a solemn Justs was held at *Greenwich*, the King and eleven other on the one part, the Marquess of *Exeter*, and eleven other of the other part.

An. Reg. 19. 1528.

In his nineteenth year, King *Henry* kept a solemn Christmass at *Greenwich*, with Revels, Masks, Disguisings, and Banquets, and the thirtieth of *December* and third of *January* were solemn Justs holden, when at night the King and fifteen other with him, came to *Bridewell*, and there putting on masking Apparel, took his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinal's place, where were at supper many Lords and Ladies, who danced with the Maskers, and after the Dancing was made a great Banquet. This Christmass was a Play at *Grayes-Inne*, made by one Master *Roe* a Serjeant at Law; the effect whereof was, that Lord *Governance* was ruled by Dissipation and Negligence, by whose evil order Lady *Publick Weal* was put from Governance. This the Cardinal took to be meant by him, and thereupon sent the said Master *Roe* to the Fleet, though the Play were made long before the Cardinal had any authority: by which we may see how inseparable a companion suspition is to a guilty conscience.

The King visits the Cardinal in a Mask.

The fourteenth of *January* came to the Court *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, a Grandee of *Spain*, as Ambassador from the Emperor to the King, with a large Commission, to make King *Henry* Judge; how just the conditions were, which the Emperor required of the King of *France*: and about this negotiation tarried two years in *England*: so desirous the Emperor was to continue good correspondence with the King of *England*.

King *Henry* made arbitrator between the Emperor and the King of *France*.

On *Shrove-Tuesday* the King and the Marquess of *Exeter* with others, in most sumptuous attire

attire came to the Tilt, and ran so many courses, till two hundred fourscore and six Spears were broken; and then disarming themselves, went into the Queens Chamber, where a sumptuous Banquet was provided. But this Banquet was one of the last of the Queens preparing: for hitherto there had been no exception taken to the lawfulness of her marriage, but now came over Ambassadours from the King of *France*, requiring to have the King's Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, to be given in marriage to the Duke of *Orleance*, second Son to their Master the *French* King; wherein they that were the suitors for it, were the hinderers of it: for amongst them was the President of *Paris*, who made a doubt whether the marriage between King *Henry* and the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain*, having been his Brother's Wife, were lawful or no. But howsoever the *French* Ambassadours at *Greenwich* on Sunday the fifth of *May*, in the Name of their Master the *French* King, took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them during their lives. And shortly after were sent Sir *Thomas Bulen*, Vicount *Rochford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Knight, as Ambassadours to the King of *France*, to take his Oath in person for performance of the League.

The first exception taken to the lawfulness of the King's marriage.

But enough of small Occurences; and indeed there will be Occurences now more worthy to be related, but more lamentable to be heard: for now the Duke of *Bourbon* General of the Emperour's Army in *Italy*, was slain by a shot from the Walls of *Rome*, as he was passing by; upon whose death the Army entred and sacked the City, made the Pope flie to the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, and there cooped him up; abused the Cardinals, and put them to grievous ransomes, spared neither Sacred Places, nor Religious Persons, but committed all manner of barbarous and inhumane Cruelty. These Insolencies of the Emperour's Army committed against the Pope; together with the hard Conditions the Emperour had imposed upon the King of *France* for setting him at liberty; and the Emperour's breach of promise in not marrying the Lady *Mary* King *Henry*'s Daughter, were the apparent causes of King *Henry*'s breaking League with the Emperour *Charles*: But a more enforcing, though concealed cause, perhaps, was the growing greatness of the Emperour, by his acquests in *Italy* and other places; enough to breed a jealousie in all neighbouring-Princes; and indeed, King *Henry* had some cause to think the Emperour's spirits were grown higher with his Victories; seeing where before he was wont always to write Letters to King *Henry* with his own hand, and subscribe them, Your Son and faithful Friend; now after his Victories in *Italy*, he caused his Secretaries to write them, subscribing only *Charles*. And yet a more pressing cause, though not avowed, might be the Cardinals spleen against the Emperour, for denying him the Bishoprick of *Toledo* in *Spain*. But whichsoever of these was the predominant cause, all of them together made a cause sufficient for King *Henry* to fall off from amity with the Emperour; and his falling off from the Emperour, cause sufficient to fall in with

Rome sacked by the Imperialists, and the Pope and Cardinals coopt up as prisoners.

Causes of King *Henry*'s breaking League with the Emperour.

the King of *France*: and thereupon the two Kings send their several Heraulds to the Emperour; King *Henry*, *Clarentius*; the *French* King, his Herauld *Guyen*, to expostulate their grievances with the Emperour; and he refusing to return a satisfactory Answer, to defie him as their Enemy. The Emperour heard the Heraulds with great temper, and answered *Clarentius* very mildly; That he knew his Masters grievance was grounded upon mis-information; wherein he would shortly rectifie him by his Letters, as desiring nothing more than to continue his Friend; but *Guyen* he answered roughly, bidding him tell his Master, that he had broken his Faith in not performing the Covenants agreed upon for his liberty; and with these answers dismissed them: only *Guyen* not thinking it fit to deliver his Answer, being in such terms, by word of mouth, obtained to have it sent in writing. The Heralds being returned home, and delivering the Answers, the King of *France* was so incensed to be charged with breach of Faith, that soon after he sent another defiance to the Emperour, telling him in plain terms, That he lyed in his throat; and thereupon challenged him to the Combat, requiring him to appoint the field, and himself would the Weapons. The Emperour accepted the Challenge; but other Occurrences intervening, hindred the performance.

The King of *France* gives the Emperour the lye, and challengeth him to a Combat.

In this mean time, the Cardinal was appointed to go Ambassadour to the King of *France*, carrying with him Twelve-score thousand pounds, to be employed by the *French* King, and other the Confederates, in a War against the Emperour, who the eleventh of *July* took shipping at *Dover*, and landed that day at *Callice*; with whom was *Cuthbert Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Sands* Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Henry Guilford*, Sir *Thomas More*, with other Knights and Gentlemen, in all to the number of Twelve hundred Horse. At *Amyens* he was received by the *French* King himself, and by his Mother, and by all the chief Peers of *France*; By whom it was agreed, That Articles of Accord should be offered to the Emperour; which if refused, then the *French* King should marry the Lady *Mary*, King *Henry*'s Daughter, and they both to be Enemies to the Emperour. These things concluded, the Cardinal returned; and on the last of *September* came to the King at *Richmond*. In *October* following, there came Ambassadours from the *French* King, to take King *Henry*'s Oath for observing the League with the King of *France*: and on *Sunday* the tenth of *November*, King *Henry* at *Greenwich* received the Order of Saint *Michael* by the hands of the Lord *Annas de Memorancie*, great Master of the King's Household, and Monsieur *Humeries*: as likewise the same day at *Paris* the *French* King received the Order of the Garter by the hands of the Lord *Lisle*, Doctor *Taylor* Master of the Rolls, Sir *Nicholas Carew* Master of the King's Horse, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothsly* Knight, otherwise called Garter King of Arms, who were sent thither with the whole Habit, Collar, and other Habiliments of the Order.

The Cardinal goeth into *France* with a train of 1200 Horse.

Upon King *Henry*'s defiance of the Emperour in the *French* King's quarrel, *Engliſh* Merchants their Ships and Goods were attached in *Spain* and in the *Low-Countreys*, as likewiſe all *Spaniſh* and *Flemiſh* Merchants were attached here; which being very detrimental to both Nations, at laſt, by mediation of *Hugo de Mendoza*, the Emperour's Ambaſſadour Legier, a reconcilement was made, and free traffick between the Nations was revived.

1529

King *Henry* begins to be troubled in mind about his marriage.

In his twentieth year, on the two and twentieth of *February*, Sir *Piers Butler* of *Ireland* was created Earl of *Oſſory*. And now King *Henry* began to be troubled in mind about his marriage with Queen *Katharine*; but whether his trouble of mind grew for ſcruple of Conſcience, or from deſire of change, was by many men doubted; ſome thought he had ſet his affection upon the Lady *Ann Bullen*, whom afterward he married; and to make way for that marriage, moved this Scruple, that he might be divorced: but this is not likely; for he married not the ſaid Lady till above three years after this doubt had been moved; and three years was a long time to have affection be delayed, which commonly is impatient of delay: If King *Henry*'s own proteſtation may be taken, it was very ſcruple of Conſcience that troubled his mind: But then by what means this ſcruple came firſt into his head, is another doubt; ſome thought it was firſt moved by his Confeſſor Doctor *Longland*, telling him, that the Marriage with the Relict of his Brother could not be lawful: but neither is this likely; for Doctor *Longland* was not like to tell him ſo, who knew the Marriage had been made by diſpenſation from the Pope, an Authority in that time beyond exception: ſome thought it was a plot of *Woolſey*'s, thereby to make variance between King *Henry* and the Emperour, with whom he was at variance himſelf, and for ſpleen to the Nephew, be revenged upon the Aunt; but neither is this likely, or elſe the Cardinal was much deceived in his plot; for though the Emperour laboured *Milan* and ſome other Univerſities, to forbear giving Sentence againſt the Marriage, yet he continued amity with King *Henry* as much afterward as before. If we will believe the King himſelf, it was the Preſident of *Paris*, coming Ambaſſador from the King of *France*, that firſt moved it, upon a Propoſition of Marriage between the Lady *Mary*, King *Henry*'s Daughter, and the Duke of *Orleance*, ſecond Son to the *French* King: but by what means ſoever this ſcruple had beginning, King *Henry*'s deſire was now it ſhould have an ending; and that the matter might be debated with indifferency, he allowed the Queen to make choice of what Council ſhe thought beſt; who thereupon choſe *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Nicholas Weſt* Biſhop of *Ely*, Doctors of the Law; *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Henry Standiſh* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, Doctors of Divinity, with many other: In the mean time he ſent to all the Univerſities in *Italy* and *France*, to have their opinions, but ſpecially to the Court of *Rome*, deſiring the Pope to ſend his Legate to hear the Cauſe, who thereupon ſent Cardinal *Campejus*, and joined Cardinal *Woolſey* in Commiſſion with him. The place appointed for the Cardinals to ſit and to hear the Cauſe, was at the *Black-friers*; where in the great Hall preparation was made of Seats, and all things neceſſary for ſuch a Seſſion. Among other Officers of the Court, *Stephen Gardiner* (afterward Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) ſate as chief Scribe. The Court being ſet, the Judges commanded ſilence whilſt their Commiſſion was read; which done, the Scribes commanded the Crier to call the King by the name of K. *Henry* of *England*, come into the Court; who anſwered, Here: Then called he the Queen, by the name of *Katharine* Q. of *England*, come into the Court. The Queen, though preſent, yet anſwered not; but riſing from her ſeat, went to the place where the King ſate, and kneeling down, ſaid in effect; Sir, I humbly deſire you to take pity upon me, for I am a poor Woman and a ſtranger, and I have here no indifferent Council, where all are your Subjects; and leſs aſſurance of friendſhip, when they all depend upon your favour: I have been your Wife theſe twenty years, and have born you divers Children; if you can charge me with diſhoneſty or undutifulneſs, I am content to depart from you to my ſhame; but if you cannot, I then deſire you to do me juſtice, and to ſpare me until I may know what counſel my friends in *Spain* will give me; but if you will not, then your pleaſure be fulfilled. And having ſo ſaid, ſhe roſe up; and making a low courteſie, departed. The King being advertiſed, that ſhe was going out of the Houſe, commanded the Crier to call her again; who thereupon called her, ſaying, *Katharine* Queen of *England*, come into the Court: Which her Gentlemen-Uſher, Maſter *Griffith*, hearing, told her, Madam, you are called. Well (ſaid ſhe) it makes no matter, I will not tarry, go your way. And thus ſhe departed, and never after would appear in any Court, but appealed from the Cardinals to the Pope himſelf. The Queen being gone, the King ſaid, I confeſs ſhe hath been to me the moſt dutiful and loving Wife that ever Prince had; and if it were not for this ſcruple of my Conſcience, I would not leave her for any Woman living; and having now referred the Judgment of the Cauſe to theſe Commiſſioners, I ſhould be moſt glad they could find the Marriage between us to be in ſuch ſort lawful, that with obedience to the Law of God we might continue together: for I take God to witneſs, there is nothing I more deſire. This ſaid, the King roſe, and the Court was adjourned to another day: for notwithſtanding the Queen's Appeal (from which ſhe would by no means be drawn) the Cardinals continued their Seſſion weekly, and heard all of both ſides. The point that was chiefly ſtood on, was, Whether Prince *Arthur* had ever had carnal knowledge of her, or no: The Kings Council alledged, he had, and proved it; firſt, by Prince *Arthur*'s ſpeech the next morning after his Marriage, That he had been that night in the midſt of *Spain*: And then by the words of the laſt Diſpenſation, *Vel forſan cognitam*: The Queen's Advocates alledged the contrary; appealing to the King's own Conſcience, whom the Queen charged that he knew to be a Virgin when he married her (though to ſay the

The Queen is allowed her Council to debate the lawfulneſs of her marriage. The Pope ſends his Legate to hear the Cauſe.

King *Henry* is cited to the Court, and appears. The Queen is cited, and appears; but making her proteſtation, departs, and appeals to the Pope.

King *Henry* juſtifieth his Queen's dutifulneſs.

The chief point of difference was, whether Prince *Arthur* had ever carnal knowledge of her.

the truth, it were ſtrange Prince *Arthur* and ſhe having lien five months together, and he no leſs than almoſt 16 years old.) But whilſt arguments were thus argued on both ſides, and no certainty could appear, the King ſent the two Cardinals to the Queen, lying then in *Bridewell*, to perſwade her, ſhe ſhould ſubmit her ſelf to the King's pleaſure, and not to ſtand ſo peremptorily to her Appeal. The Cardinals coming to her, found her at work amongſt her Maids, with her skain of white thread about her neck: who having heard their Meſſage, anſwered, That in all other things ſhe would willingly ſubmit her ſelf to the King's will, but in this, which concerned her honeſty, and the legitimateneſs of her Children, ſhe durſt not, but would rely upon the wiſdom and piety of both their Fathers, who (ſhe knew) would never have aſſented to the marriage, if there had been the leaſt ſcruple of unlawfulneſs in it; and other anſwer ſhe would not give. Upon their return to the King, when he perceived ſhe could not be removed from her opinion; he commanded the Court to go on; ſo that at laſt it came to judgment, which every man expected ſhould be the next day. At which day the King came thither (but in ſo ſecret a manner, that he might hear, and not be ſeen) where the King's Council at the Bar calling for Judgment, Cardinal *Campejus*, as being chief Commiſſioner, ſtood up and ſaid; I find the caſe very doubtful, and the party defendant ſtanding to her Appeal; I will therefore give no Judgment till I have conferred with the Pope; and therefore I adjourn the Court for this time, according to the Order of the Court of *Rome*, which hears no Cauſes judicially from the laſt of *July* till the fourth of *October*; at which protraction of time, King *Henry* was not a little angry; and the Duke of *Suffolk* being preſent, in a great rage ſaid, It was never merry in *England* ſince we had Cardinals amongſt us. Soon after this, the Cardinal took his leave of the King, and returned to *Rome*. He was indeed commanded ſo to do by the Pope, who would elſe moſt willingly have gratified King *Henry*, that had beſtowed upon him the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*. Whilſt theſe things were enacted, Cardinal *Woolſey* had an inkling of the King's affection to *Anne Bullen*, Daughter of the Vicount *Rochford*; and that the Divorce once paſſed, he meant to marry her; which Match, becauſe for many reaſons he miſliked, one perhaps, becauſe ſhe was a *Lutheran*; he ſent privily to the Pope, that by no means he ſhould give ſentence for the Divorce, till he had framed the King's mind another way: for his deſire was, that the King ſhould marry the Dutcheſs of *Alanſon*, the *French* King's Siſter. This packing of *Woolſey* was not ſo cloſely carried, but that it ſoon came to the King's knowledge; and the King finding him a rub in his way, whom he expected to have expedited his proceeding, began to think it neceſſary to remove him, and to take him off from that greatneſs which had made him ſo preſuming; and indeed he made ſhort work with him: for ſoon after, he ſent the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* to him for the Seal, which yet he would not deliver to them, till they brought him a Warrant under the King's own hand. When the Seal was brought to the King, he delivered it to Sir *Thomas More*, Speaker then of the Parliament (the firſt Layman that bore that Office in any memory) and in his room was choſen Speaker *Thomas Audeley* Attorney of the Dutchy. *Woolſey* now removed from his Chancellorſhip, was in the Parliament then holden, charged with points of Treaſon: but that charge was ſo clearly taken off by his ſervant *Thomas Cromwel*, who was then of the Houſe, that the Cardinal was acquitted, to the great commendation of *Cromwel*, both for abilities in himſelf, and faithfulneſs to his Maſter.

The Queen continues in her Appeal.

Cardinal *Campejus* adjourns the Court.

Woolſey ſeeks to croſs the King about his marrying the Lady *Anne Bullen*, and why.

Woolſey hath the Great Seal taken from him; and is charged with Treaſon, but acquitted.

After this, the King being informed, that all thoſe things which the Cardinal had done by his power Legantine, were within the caſe of Præmunire; he cauſed his Attorney *Chriſtopher Hales* to ſue out a Præmunire againſt him; and thereupon the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were ſent unto him, to let him know, the King's pleaſure was, he ſhould go to *Aſher*, a Houſe near to *Hampton-Court*, belonging to his Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and there to reſide: whereupon the Cardinal, having firſt delivered up all his Moveables to the King's uſe (the greateſt ſtore, and richeſt, that was ever known of any Subject,) went preſently to *Putney* by water and from thence rode to *Aſher*, where he and his Family continued three or four weeks, without either Bed, Sheets, Table-clothes, or Diſhes to eat their Meat in, or Money wherewith to buy any, but what he was forced to borrow of the Biſhop of *Carlile*. After this, his matter for the Præmuire being called upon in the King's Bench, his two Attorneys confeſſed the Action, and thereupon had Judgment to forfeit all his Lands and Goods, and to be out of the King's Protection; but the King of his clemency ſent him a ſufficient Protection, and left him the Biſhopricks of *York* and *Wincheſter*, with Plate and Stuff convenient for his Dignity. His Biſhoprick of *Durheſme* was given to Doctor *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *London*; his Abbey of Saint *Albans* to the Prior of *Norwich*; and the Biſhoprick of *London* to Doctor *Stokeſley*, Ambaſſador then beyond the Seas.

Woolſey is ſid a Præmunire; and is confined to *Aſher*.

In this mean while, *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, Aunt to the Emperour, and the Lady *Loyſa* Dutcheſs of *Angoleſme*, Mother to the *French* King, met at *Cambray* to treat of a Peace between the Emperour, the Pope, and the King's of *England* and *France*, where were preſent Doctor *Tunſtal* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Thomas More* then Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, Commiſſioners for the King of *England*; after long debating, through the diligence of the ſaid Ladies, a Peace was concluded; and was therefore called, The Womans Peace; and was indeed as fickle as Women, for it was ſoon broken, and neither of the Princes truſted the other e're the more for it.

King *Henry* before this time had been wholly ruled by the Cardinal and by the Clergy; but now, growing ſenſible of that error, he called his High Court of Parliament, in which the Commons complained ſharply of their grievances againſt the Clergy, eſpecially in ſix things.

The Commons in Parliament complain againſt the Clergy, and wherein.

The firſt, for that they exacted unreaſonable ſums of money, as due Fees, for the probate of mens laſt Wills and Teſtaments; inſomuch, that Sir Henry Guilford

Guilford, *Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the King's Houſe, declared openly, that he and others being Executors to Sir* William Compton, *payed for the Probate of his Will to the Cardinal and the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *a thouſand Mark.*

The ſecond, The extream exaction which ſpiritual men uſed in taking of Corps or Mortuaries.

The third, That Spiritual men became Farmers of great Granges and Farms, to the prejudice of Husbandmen and Graziers.

The fourth, becauſe many Abbots, Priors, and other ſpiritual men, kept Inn houſes, and bought and ſold Wool, Cloth, and other Wares, as temporal Merchants.

The fifth, Becauſe ſuch Clergy-men as had the beſt Livings, would take the uttermoſt of their right, and yet live in the Court, or in Noble-mens or in Biſhops houſes, where they ſpent nothing.

The ſixth, Becauſe divers ignorant men amongſt them held ten or twelve Benefices to themſelves ſeverally, and yet lived not upon any one of them, but kept great Scholars at ſmall penſion.

Theſe things before this time might not be touched, becauſe the Biſhops were Chancellours, and had all the rule about the King; but now the King looking better into the matter, gave way to theſe complaints: whereupon the Burgeſſes drew up their Bills; one of the Probate of Teſtaments; another for Mortuaries; and the third for Non-reſidence, Pluralities, and taking of Farms by ſpiritual men. The Bill of Mortuaries paſſed firſt the Houſe of Commons, and was ſent up to the Lords: When two days after, was ſent up the Bill of Probate of Teſtaments, at which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and all the Biſhops, much frowned, but ſpecially *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who roſe up and ſaid, My Lords, you ſee what Bills come daily from the Commons Houſe, and all is to the deſtruction of the Church: For God's ſake, conſider what a Realm *Behemia* was; and when the Church went down, then fell the Glory of that Kingdom: Now with our Commons is nothing but *down with the Church*; and all this, me ſeemeth, is for lack of Faith only. When theſe words were reported to the Houſe of Commons, they took the matter very hainouſly; and thereupon ſent their Speaker *Thomas Audeley*, with thirty of the Houſe to the King, complaining what a diſhonour to the King and the whole Realm it was to ſay, That they which were elected for the wiſeſt men of all Shires, ſhould be charged to lack Faith, which was all one as to ſay, they were infidels and no Chriſtians; ſo as what Acts or Laws ſoever they made, ſhould be taken as Laws made by Paynims and Heathens, and not worthy to be kept by Chriſtian men. And therefore humbly beſought His Majeſty to call the ſaid Biſhop of *Rocheſter* before him, to give an account of the words he had ſpoken. Whereupon within few days after, the King ſent for the Biſhop, and acquainted him with the Commons complaint againſt him; who excuſed himſelf, by ſaying he meant the doings of the *Behemians* was for lack of Faith, and not the doings of the Houſe of Commons: Of which excuſe, the King ſent word to the Houſe by Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Treaſurer of his Houſhold; but it pleaſed the Commons nothing at all. After divers meetings between the Lords and the Commons about the Bills of Probate of Teſtaments and Mortuaries, the Temporality laid to the Spirituality their own Laws and Conſtitutions; and the Spirituality defended them by Preſcription and Uſage: To whom a Gentleman of *Grays-Inn* made this anſwer, The uſage hath ever been of Thieves to rob on *Shooters-hill*; is it therefore lawful? Whilſt theſe Bills were in debate, an Act was paſſed, which releaſed to the King all ſuch ſums of Money as he had borrowed at the Loan, in the fifteenth year of his Reign: Which Bill at firſt was much oppoſed; but the moſt part of the Houſe being the King's Servants, it was at laſt aſſented to: Which once known in the Countrey abroad, made much murmuring, and the Parliament to be ill ſpoken of; for every man counted it a ſure debt, ſo as ſome made their Wills of the money, and ſome turned it over in ſatisfaction to their Creditors. To qualifie which grievance, the King granted a general Pardon for all offences (certain excepted) and was a means alſo to have the three Bills paſſed; one for a Probate of Teſtaments, another for Mortuaries, and the third againſt plurality of Benefices, Non-reſidence, buying and taking of Farms by ſpiritual perſons, though this laſt with ſome qualifying.

An inconſiderate ſpeech of *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

And how he excuſes it.

Preſcription not enough to make a thing lawful.

During this Parliament, the King created Vicount *Rochford*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*; the Vicount *Fitz-water*, Earl of *Eſſex*; and the Lord *Haſtings*, Earl of *Huntington*.

Earls created.

By this time the Lords of the Upper Houſe had drawn certain Articles againſt the Cardinal, and ſent them down to the Houſe of Commons, the chief whereof were theſe.

Firſt, That without the Kings aſſent he hath procured himſelf to be made a Legate, by reaſon whereof he took away the right of all Biſhops and ſpiritual perſons.

Articles drawn by the Parliament againſt the Cardinal.

Secondly, That in all his Writings which he wrote to Rome, *or to any Forreign Prince, he wrote* Ego & Rex meus, *I and my King; ſo preferring himſelf before the King.*

Thirdly, That without the King's aſſent, he carried the Great Seal of England *with him into* Flanders.

Fourthly, That having the French *Pox, he preſumed to come and breath upon the King.*

Fifthly, That he cauſed the Cardinals Hat to be put upon the King's Coin.

Sixthly, That he would not ſuffer the King's Clerk of the Market to ſit at Saint Albans.

Seventhly, That he had ſent infinite ſtore of Treaſure to Rome *for purchaſing of his Dignity.*

Theſe Articles were read in the Houſe, and if not otherwiſe proved, yet confeſſed afterward under the Cardinal's own hand, which added to the former Præmunite; all his Lands and Goods were ſeized on to the King's uſe.

This Parliament being ended, the King removed to *Greenwich*, and there kept his Chriſtmaſs with his Queen *Katharine*, in great ſtate: for though this matter of making void the marriage between them, was hotly purſued by the King; yet abſtaining only from her Bed, he con-

converſed with her ſtill, and they kept Court together, in as loving manner as they had done before. And now King *Henry* underſtanding that the Pope and the Emperor were to meet at *Bologna*, he ſent Ambaſſadors thither, the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Doctor *Stokeſley* Elect of *London*, and Doctor *Lee*, to declare both to the Pope and to the Emperor, the opinions of divers learned men in the matter of his Marriage; who all agree that it was againſt the Law of God; and thereupon requiring the Pope to do him Juſtice, and ſhewing to the Emperor, that the King moved this matter for diſcharge of his Conſcience only, and to no other end. To which the Pope anſwered, That when he came to *Rome*, he would hear the matter diſputed, and do the King right. The Emperor anſwered, That he would in no caſe be againſt the Law of God, and if this Marriage were judged ſuch by the Court of *Rome*, he would reſt contented: with theſe Anſwers the Ambaſſadors returned.

An. Reg. 12. 1531.

The Iſland of *Malta* given by the Emperor to the Maſter of Saint *Johns* of *Jeruſalem.*

It was now the two and twentieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when the Emperor gave to the Maſter of St. *Johns* of *Jeruſalem* the Iſland of *Malta*, in ſupplying of the Iſland of *Rhodes*, which the *Turk* ſometime before had won from that Order.

In this year the New Teſtament having been Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, by *Tindal*, *Joy*, and others, was forbidden to be read; and many for reading it, were ſharply puniſhed by command of the Biſhops, and Sir *Thomas More* then Lord Chancellor; but none was more violent in the matter than the Biſhop of *London*, who cauſed all the Books to be brought into *Pauls* Church-yard, and there burned.

King *Henry* having heard by good information, that when *Campejus* was ſent Legate into *England*, he had brought with him a Bull of Divorce; but was afterward upon change of the Pope's mind, commanded to burn it; ſaw plainly by this, that the Pope had no meaning of proceeding really in the matter, but to keep it afoot for his own ends; neither to diſpleaſe the Emperor by granting it, nor King *Henry* by not granting it, but promiſing expedition to keep him in expectance; yet uſing delays to keep him in dependance: and therefore reſolved now to take ſuch a courſe, that he ſhould not need to care whether the Pope granted it or no; and thereupon cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed, That no perſon of what eſtate or condition ſoever, ſhould purchaſe, or attempt to purchaſe from the Court of *Rome*, any thing prejudicial to the Juriſdiction or Prerogative of this his Realm, upon pain of impriſonment, and other puniſhments at his Grace's pleaſure: and ſhortly after an Act was made, That Biſhops ſhould pay no more Annats, or money for Bulls to the Pope; for as much as it was proved, there had been paid for Bulls of Biſhops, ſince the fourth year of King *Henry* the Seventh, an hundred and threeſcore thouſand pounds, beſides what had been paid for Pardons and other Diſpenſations. Another Act was alſo then made, That no perſon ſhould appeal for any Cauſe out of this Realm to the Court of *Rome*, but from the Commiſſary to the Biſhop, and from the Biſhop to the Archbiſhop, and from the Archbiſhop to the King, and all Cauſes of the King to be tryed in the upper Houſe of the Convocation.

An Act made that no more Annats ſhould be paid to *Rome.*

Nor no Appeals to the Pope.

At this time the Cardinal lying ſtill at *Aſher*, and his Adverſaries doubting leſt lying ſo near the King, he might one time or other get acceſs to the King's preſence, and come again into favour; they uſed means to have him ſent further off, and thereupon the King appointed him to go to his Dioceſs of *York*, and not to come Southward without ſpecial Licenſe; whereupon in Lent he made great preparation for his Journey, and having in his Train to the number of an hundred and threeſcore perſons, by eaſie Journeys came to *Peterborow*, and there kept his Eaſter; the week after he went to *Stamford*, then to *Newark*, and ſo to *Southwell*, where he continued moſt part of all that Summer: and then rode to *Scroby*, where he ſtayed till *Michaelmas*, and then came to *Cawood*-Caſtle, within ſeven miles of *York*, where he kept a plentiful houſe for all comers; and repaired the Caſtle, being greatly in decay, having above three hundred Artificers in daily wages. At laſt, he determined to be inſtalled at *York*, the next Monday after *Allhallow-day*; againſt which time great preparation was made, and the Cardinal ſent to the King, to lend him the Miter and Pall, which he uſed to wear at any great Solemnity. At which preſumption the King marvelled not a little; ſaying to thoſe that were about him, What a thing is this that pride ſhould thus reign in a man that is quite under-foot? but before the day of Inſtalment came, he was arreſted in this manner; Sir *Walter Walſh* one of the King's Privy-Chamber was ſent down to the Earl of *Northumberland*, with whom he was joyned in Commiſſion to arreſt the Cardinal; whereupon they go together to *Cawood*, where the Cardinal lay: and being entred into the houſe, it was told the Cardinal, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was come, and in the Hall; Then (quoth the Cardinal) I am ſorry we have dined, for I doubt our Officers are not provided of any good cheer. With that he went and brought the Earl up, welcoming him in a complemental manner, as if they had come but only to viſit him; but being come into the Chamber, the Earl with a ſoft voice, laying his hand upon the Cardinal's arm, ſaid, My Lord, I arreſt you of high Treaſon: The Cardinal ſomewhat aſtonied; asked to ſee his Commiſſion; which the Earl denying to ſhew; Then (ſaith the Cardinal) I will not obey your arreſt: At that inſtant Maſter *Walſh* came in, and kneeled down to the Cardinal; who asked him, if he were joyned in Commiſſion with the Earl; who anſwered, He was: Well then, ſaid the Cardinal, I trow you are one of the King's Privy-Chamber, your name is *Walſh*: I am content to yield to you, but not to my Lord of *Northumberland*, unleſs I ſee his Commiſſion: the meaneſt of the King's Privy-Chamber is ſufficient to arreſt the greateſt Peer of the Realm, by the King's Commandment, without any Commiſſion. Then the Earl took the Cardinal's Keys from him, and put him in cuſtody of his Gentlemen: ſome few days after he was conveyed from *Cawood* to *Pomfret*, and after to *Sheffield* Park, where he had kind entertainment, and ſtaid with the Earl

The Cardinal is commanded to his Dioceſs of *York.*

He prepares to be inſtalled, and ſends to the King for his rich Miter and Pall.

He is arreſted by Sir *Walter Walſh* one of the King's Privy Chamber.

of

of *Shrewsbury* and his Lady eighteen days, till at last sitting one day at dinner, his colour was observed to change; and being asked how he did? Not well (saith he) I have something suddenly at my stomach as cold as a Whetstone, which I know is wind; I desire to have something from the Apothecary to break wind: which was brought; and the Earl seeing the same taken, he took it, and thereupon broke wind indeed; but whether it were he took it in too great a quantity, or that there was some foul play used, he fell soon after into such a loosness, that the night following he had above fifty stools: yet the next day he rode to *Nottingham*, and the day after to *Leicester*-Abbey; being so sick by the way, that he was ready to fall off his Mule: Coming to the Abbey Gates, the Abbot with all the Covent met him; to whom he said, Father Abbot, I am come hither to lay my bones among you; and then was led up into his Chamber, and went to bed; where growing sicker and sicker, the next morning Master *Kingston* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who had been sent to bring him up, coming to him, and asking him how he did? I do but tarry (said he) the pleasure of God, to render up my poor Soul into his hands: for this is my case, I have a Flux with a continual Fever; the nature whereof is, that if there be no amendment within eight days, either excoriation of the Entrails will ensue, or Frenzy, or else present death; and the best of them is death; and (as I suppose) this is the eighth day. Sir (said Master *Kingston*) you are afraid of that you have no cause; for I assure you, the King commanded me to say unto you, that you should be of good cheer, for that he beareth you as much good will as ever he did: No, no, (Master *Kingston*) said the Cardinal, I see how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs: But it is a just reward for my study to do him service, not regarding the service of God to do him pleasure: And having so said, his speech failed, and incontinent the clock struck eight, and then he gave up the ghost; which made some about him remember, how he had said before, that at eight of the clock they should lose their Master. Being dead, he was buried in the Abbey of *Leicester*. This man held at once the Bishoprick of *York*, *Winchester*, and *Durham*, the Dignities of Lord Cardinal Legat and Chancellour of *England*, the Abbey of Saint *Albans*, divers Priories, and sundry great Benefices in *Commendam*: he had also in his hands, as it were in Farm, the Bishoprick of *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*; which having been given by *Henry* the Seventh to strangers that lived out of the Realm, they suffered *Woolsey* to enjoy them, receiving of him a Pension only. The Retinue of this Prelate is scarce credible, a thousand persons daily in his household, of whom many Knights and some Lords; all which Greatness, as it came by the King's favour, so by the withdrawing of his favour it was overthrown: So true is that saying of *Solomon*, *The King's favour is as dew upon the grass; but his wrath is as the roaring of a Lion, and as a messenger of death.* After this, the King removed from *Hampton-Court* to *Greenwich*, where with his Queen *Katharine* he kept a solemn Christmas, and on the Twelfth-night he sate in state in the Hall, where were divers Interludes, costly Masks, and a sumptuous Banquet. After Christmas he came to his Mannor of *Westminster*, which before was called *York-Place*; for the Cardinal had made a Feoffment of it to the King, which the Chapter of *York* confirmed; and then it was no more called *York-Place*, but the King's *Mannor of Westminster*, now *White-Hall*.

1 e falls sick.

And dies.

His many Honours, and great Retinue.

White-Hall given by the Cardinal to the King.

About this time was a Call of Eleven Serjeants at Law; namely, *Thomas Audeley*, *Walter Luke*, *John Bawdewine*, *John Hynde*, *Christopher Jenny*, *John Densel*, *Edward Mervyne*, *Edmund Knightly*, *Roger Chomley*, *Edward Montague*, and *Robert York*; who kept their Feast at *Ely-house* five days together; where on the last day the King and Queen dined: which *John Densel* of *Densel* in the County of *Cornwal*, was of *Lincolns-Inn*, and died the third day of *January*, *Anno Christi* 1535, and lieth buried within the Church of St. *Giles* in the Fields, in *Middlesex*; leaving by *Mary* his Widow, the Daughter of Sir—— *Lucas* in *Warwickshire*, Knight, two Daughters and Co-heirs, *Anne* the eldest, married unto Sir *William Hollis* of *Haughton*, in the County of *Nottingham*, Knight, Grandfather unto *John Hollis*, Knight, Earl of *Clare*, &c. deceased, and *Alice* the other Daughter married unto Master —— *Restkimer*.

At this time the whole Clergy of *England* was charged by the King's learned Council, to be in a præmunire, for supporting and maintaining the Cardinal's Legantine power: and were thereupon called by Process into the Kings Bench to answer; but before their day of Appearance came, they in their Convocation concluded an humble submission in writing, and offered the King an hundred thousand pound to have their Pardon by Parliament; which offer, after some labour, was accepted, and their Pardon promised. In which submission the Clergy called the King Supreme Head of the Church. This Pardon was signed with the King's hand, and sent to the Lords, who assented to it; and then sent to the Lower House: but here, divers of the House excepted against the Pardon, unless themselves also might be included in it; who (they said) having had something to do with the Cardinal, might be brought into the same case as the Clergy were. Hereupon their Speaker *Thomas Audeley*, with a convenient number of the House, was sent to the King about it: To whom the King made answer, That he was their Soveraign Lord, and would not be compelled to shew his Mercy; and seeing they went about to restrain him of his liberty, he would grant a Pardon to the Clergy, which he might do by his Great Seal without them; and for their Pardon, he would be advised before he granted it. With this Answer the Speaker and Commons returned, much grieved and discontented; and some said that *Thomas Cromwel*, who was newly come into the King's favour, had disclosed the secrets of the House, which made the King give this unpleasing answer. But soon after the King, of his own accord, caused their Pardon also to be drawn, and signed it; which easily passed both Houses, with great commendation

The King first called the Supreme Head of the Church.

The King's wisdom in granting his Pardon.

dation of the Kings judgment, to deny it at first, when it was demanded as a right, and to grant it afterward, when it was received as of grace.

In this Parliament-time, on the 30 of *March*, Sir *Tho. More* Lord Chancellour, with twelve of the Lords, came into the Lower House, acquainting them, that though in the matter of the Kings Divorce, he might sufficiently rest upon the judgment of learned men in his own Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, yet to avoid all suspicion of partiality, he had sent into *France*, *Italy*, the Popes Dominions, and the *Venetians*, to have their opinions; and then causing them to be read, Sir *Bryan Tuke* took out of a Box certain Writings sealed, which were the determination of the Universities of *Orleans*, of *Paris*, of *Anjou*, of *Burges*, of *Bolonia*, of *Padua*, and of *Tholouse*: all which were peremptory in these two Points; That the Brother, by the Law of God, might not marry the Relict of his Brother; and then being against the Law of God, that it is not in the power of the Pope to dispense with it: and now (said they) you may know, that the King hath not sought this Divorce for his pleasure, but for the discharge of his Conscience: and this said, they departed. The King himself, when he heard of these determinations, was so far from rejoycing at it, that he rather mourned, as for the loss of so good a wife; yet conversed with her as he had done before, in nothing altered but abstaining from her bed. But being willing the Queen should know these determinations, in Whitsun-week after, he sent divers Lords to acquaint her with them, requiring her thereupon to recall her Appeal, and to refer the matter to eight indifferent Lords; which she utterly refused, using her usual answer, That she was his lawful Wife, and would abide the Determination of the Court of *Rome*, but of no other. After Whitsuntide the King and Queen removed to *Windsor*, and there continued till the 14 of *July*, on which day the King removed to *Woodstock*, and left the Queen at *Windsor*, where she remained a while, and after removed to *Easthamsted*, whither the King sent to her divers Lords, first to perswade her to be conformable to the Law of God; which if they could not do, then to let her know, that his pleasure was, she should be at either of these three places, his Manour of *Oking*, or of *Easthamsted*, or the Monastery of *Bisham*, and there to continue without further molesting him with her suits.

The Pope cannot dispense against the Law of God.

Notwithstanding the determinations of Universities, yet the Queen stands still to her Appeal.

The Queen is confined.

And now *Cranmer* is to play his part. It chanced, that Dr. *Stephens*, Dr. *Fox*, and he met at *Waltham* one day at Dinner; where falling into discourse about the case then in agitation, of the Kings Marriage with Queen *Katharine*, the other Doctors thought the Marriage might be proved unlawfull by the Civil Law: but (said *Cranmer*) it may better be proved by the Law of God, and it is no hard matter to do it. Which words of his being made known to the King, *Cranmer* is sent for, and commanded to set his Reasons down in writing: which having done, and shewed them to the King, he was asked whether he would stand to that which he had written; who answered, he would, even before the Pope himself, if his Majesty pleased: Marry (said the King) and to the Pope you shall go; and thereupon sent him to the Court of *Rome*, and with him *Tho. Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire*, Dr. *Stokesley* Elect of *London*, Dr. *Lee* the Kings Almoner, and others: who coming to *Bolonia* where the Pope was, had a day of Audience appointed, but was hindred by a ridiculous accident; for the Pope holding out his foot for them to kiss his Toe, as the manner is, a Dog of the Earls by chance in the room, ran and caught the Popes foot in his mouth, and made it for that time unfit to kiss. After this, when *Cranmer* had made his Proposition, he was told it should be answered when the Pope came to *Rome*: so the Ambassadours were dismissed, and *Cranmer* went to the Emperours Court, where in private Conference he satisfied *Cornelius Agrippa*, the most learned at that time about the Emperour, and brought him to be of his opinion. *Cranmer* returning home, and giving the King this satisfaction, the Kings Marriage with Queen *Katharine* was soon after dissolved by Parliament; and the Bishop of *Canterbury*, accompanied with Dr. *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bishops of *Bath* and *Lincoln*, and other learned men, rode to *Dunstable* where Queen *Katharine* then lay; where being cited to appear, and making default fifteen days together, for lack of appearance, she was divorced from the King, and the Marriage declared to be void and of none effect; and from thenceforth it was decreed, she should no more be called Queen, but Princess Dowager: after which time, the King never saw her more.

Cranmer is sent to *Rome* to prove the Kings marriage unawfull.

The Queen is by Parliament divorced.

At this time, being the four and twentieth year of King *Henry*'s reign, Sir *Thomas More*, after long suit, delivered up the great Seal, which was then delivered to *Tho. Audeley* Speaker of the Parliament, which Parliament, begun at the *Black-fryers*, was adjourned to *Westminster*, and there at nine a clock at night dissolved, and was therefore called the Black Parliament. This *Tho. Audeley* was first made Lord Keeper, and shortly after Chancellour; in whose room of Speaker, *Humphrey Wingfield* of *Grays-Inne* was chosen. On the first of *September* this year, the King being at *Windsor*, created *Anne Bullen* Marchioness of *Pembroke*, giving her a 1000 pounds land a year: and then being desirous to talk with the King of *France* in person, on the 10 of *October*, taking the said Lady with him, & divers Lords, as the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Marquess of *Dorset*, and *Exeter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Surrey*, *Essex*, *Derby Rutland*, *Sussex* and *Huntington*, with divers Vicounts, Barons, and Knights, he sailed over to *Callice*; and on the 20 of *October* met with the King of *France* at *Bulloign*, with whom he stayed four days: in which time, to do him honour, the King of *France* honoured the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* with the Order of Saint *Michael*: and then both Kings went to *Callice*, where the *French* King stayed certain days; in which time to do the King of *France* honor, King *Henry* honored two of his great Lords with the Order of the Garter: and then after great magnificence in revelling and feasting, on the 20 of *October* the *French* King departed from *Callice*, and King *Henry* returned into *England*; where on the 14 of *November* following, he married secretly the Lady *Anne Bullen*, which marriage was not openly known till Easter after, when it was perceived

Sir *Thomas More* delivers up the great Seal, and *Thomas Audeley* Speaker of the Parliament is made Lord Chancellour.

The Lady *Anne Bullen* is created Marchioness of *Pembroke*.

King *Henry* with the King of *France* at *Callice*.

He marries the Lady *Anne Bullen*.

Cranmer is made Archbishop of *Canterbury.*

she was with child; at which time *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* died: *Thomas Cranmer* was elected Archbishop in his room.

The Order of Knighthood imposed upon all men of forty pound lands. *Cromwell* is taken into the Kings Service. Queen *Anne Bullen* is Crowned.

After that the King perceived his new Wife to be with child, he caused all Officers necessary to be appointed to her; and so on Easter-eve she went to her Closet openly as Queen, and then the King appointed her Coronation to be kept on Whitsunday following, and Writings were sent to all Sheriffs, to certifie the names of men of forty pounds to receive the Order of Knighthood, or else to make fine: the Assessment of which fine was appointed to *Thomas Cromwell*, Master of the Jewel-house, and of the Kings Council; a man newly come into the Kings Favour, by whose industry great sums of money were by such fines gathered. In the beginning of *May*, the King caused Proclamation to be made, that all men who claimed to do any service at the Coronation, by way of tenure, grant, or prescription, should put in their claim three weeks after Easter in the Star-Chamber, before *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, for that time high Steward of *England*, the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners. Two days before the Coronation were made Knights of the *Bath*, the Earl of *Dorset*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Monteagle*, the Lord *Vaux*, Sir *John Mordant*, Sir *Henry Parker*, Sir *William Windsor*, Sir *Francis Weston*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *John Hurlston*, Sir *Thomas Poynings*, Sir *Henry Savil*, Sir *George Fitzwilliams* Sir *John Tindal*, and Sir *Thomas Jeremy*. On Whitsunday the Coronation was kept in as great state and pomp for all circumstances as ever any was, and the day after a solemn Justs were holden.

In *May* this year Pope *Clement* sent a Messenger to King *Henry*, requiring him personally to appear at the general Council, which he had appointed to be kept the year following: but when his Commission was shewed, there was neither time nor place specified for keeping of this said Council; and so with an uncertain answer to an uncertain demand, the Messenger departed.

Anno Reg. 25. 1534.

The Queen is delivered of a Daughter named *Elizabeth.*

It was now the five and twentieth year of the Kings Reign, when on Midsummer-day, *Mary* the *French* Queen, and then wife to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, died, and was buried at St. *Edmundsbury*; and on the seventh of *September* following, between three and four a clock in the afternoon, the Queen was delivered of a Daughter that was named *Elizabeth*: the Godfather at the Christning was the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the Godmothers the old Dutchess of *Norfolk*, and the old Marchioness of *Dorset* widow; and at the Confirmation the Lady Marchioness of *Exeter*: the Christning was performed with exceeding great state, and great gifts were given by the Gossips.

The judgment of God upon an unhallowed Oath.

This year one *Pavier* the Town-Clerk of *London* hanged himself, whom *Hollinshead* saith, he heard once swear a great Oath, that if he thought the King would set forth the Scripture in *English*, rather than he would live to see that day, he would cut his own throat: which I therefore relate, that the judgment of God may be seen upon such unhallowed Oaths.

The Holy Maid of *Kent* her Imposture discovered, and she hanged.

A little before this time one *Elizabeth Barton*, named the Holy Maid of *Kent*, came to be discovered; whose abettors were *Richard Master* a Priest, Parson of *Aldington* in *Kent*, *Ed. Bocking* D. of Divinity, a Monk of *Canterbury*, *Rich. Deering* a Monk, *Edw. Thwyats* Gent. *Henry Gold* Parson of *Aldermary*, *Hugh Rich* a Fryar Observant, *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Geld*, Gentlemen. This Maid had learned to counterfeit falling into Trances; in which she would deliver many strange things, and amongst others, said, that by Revelation from God and his Saints, she was informed, that if King *Henry* proceeded to the Divorce, and married another, he should not be King of *England* one month after. And here we may see how credulous oftentimes great Scholars are in believing Impostures, when *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* were thought to give credit to this Counterfeit: so that we need not wonder at St. *Austin*, who though he gave credit to many lying miracles, yet they were such as had more probability in them than this, which consisted in nothing but making of faces, as upon Examination of the Maid and her Abettors was confessed; and thereupon she and most of them were condemned, drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged.

In this mean time the *Scots* had been troublesom, and made inroads upon the Borders; till at last, Commissioners being sent to treat of agreement, a Peace was concluded, to continue both the Kings lives; which on the twentieth of *May* this year was openly Proclaimed.

About this time, at the suit of the Lady *Katharine* Dowager, a Bull was sent from the Pope, which cursed both the King and the Realm; which Bull was set up in the Town of *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, the Messenger not daring to come nearer: and because it was known that the Lady Dowager had procured this Curse to be sent, the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to her, lying then at *Bugden* besides *Huntington*, to discharge a great part of her household-servants; yet leaving her a convenient number like a Princess.

1535.

It was now the six and twentieth year of King *Henry*'s reign, when in a Parliament holden, an Act was made for establishing the succession in the Crown upon the Lady *Elizabeth*; to which, first all the Lords, Knights, and Burgesses were sworn; and after Commissioners were sent into all parts of the Realm, to take the oath of all men and women to the said Act. Another Act was also made, which authorized the King to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and the Popes Authority to be utterly abolished. But Doctor *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, Sir *Thomas More* Knight, and Doctor *Wilson* Parson of Saint *Thomas Apostles* in *London*, expressly denied at *Lambeth*, before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to take the Oaths; of whom Doctor *Wilson* recanted, but the other two, persisting in their opinion, were both of them beheaded. Of these two, Bishop *Fisher* was much lamented, as reputed a man both of great learning and good life. The Pope had elected him Cardinal, and his Hat was come as far as *Callice*, but before it could come into *England* his head was off. Sir *Thomas More* was both learned and very wise, but so given to a vein of merry jesting and merry scoffing, that he could not refrain it at the very time of his death; as when he was carried to the

The Popes Authority in *England* abolished by Parliament. *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* and Sir *Thomas More* beheaded: and why.

the Tower, being demanded his upper Garment, (meaning his Gown) You shall have it, said he, and gave them his Cap; saying, it was the uppermost Garment he had: also, when being upon the Scaffold, the Hangman kneeled down and asked him forgiveness; I forgive thee, (said he) but I promise thee, thou wilt never have credit by cutting off my head, my neck is so short: and when he was to lay his head down upon the Block, having a great gray beard, he stroked it out, and said to the Hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard over the Block, lest you should cut it; for though you have Warrant to cut off my head, you have none to cut my beard. But his Devotion was no jesting matter, for he used to wear a Shirt of hair next his skin for a perpetual Penance; and oftentimes in the Church he would put on a Surplice, and help the Priest to say Mass; which he forbore not to do, even when he was Lord Chancellour of *England*, as one time the Duke of *Norfolk* coming to the Church found him doing it. Two memorable things are recorded of him: One, which shews his great integrity, and the small reckoning he made of riches, that having passed through so many great Employments, and born so many great Offices, yet in all his time he never purchased above One hundred pounds land a year, nor left any great stock of Money behind him, when he died. The other, which shews his filial piety, that being Lord Chancellour of *England*, at the same time that his Father was a Judge of the *Kings Bench*, he would always at his going to *Westminster*, go first to the *Kings Bench*, and ask his Father blessing, before he went to sit in the Chancery.

Sir *Thomas More* given to jesting at his execution.

The ninth of *July* this year the Lord *Dacres* of the North was arraigned at *Westminster* of high Treason, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, as high Steward of *England*; his Indictment being read, he so answered every part and matter therein contained, that by his Peers he was found Not guilty; a rare thing to stop a current that ran with such violence. The one and twentieth of *September*, Doctor *Taylour* Master of the Rolls was discharged of that Office: and the nineteenth of *October* following *Thomas Cromwell* was sworn in his place.

The Lord *Dacres* arraigned of high Treason.

Cromwell is made Master of the Rolls.

This year the King of the *Scots* was installed Knight of the Garter, by his Deputy the Lord *Erskin*; and *Stephen Gardiner*, who after the Cardinals death, was made Bishop of *Winchester*, was sent Ambassadour Leiger into *France*, where he remained three years. Also in *January* of this year, *Katharine* Princess Dowager fell into her last Sickness; to whom the King sent the Emperours Ambassadour Leiger, desiring her to be of good comfort: but she finding her death to approach, caused only one of her Gentlewomen to write a Letter to the King; commending to him her Daughter and his, and beseeching him to be a good Father to her: and then desiring him further, to have some consideration of her Servants, on the eighth of *January*, at *Kimbolton*, she departed this life, and was buried at *Peterborough*. A Woman of so vertuous a life, and of so great obsequiousness to her Husband, that from her onely merit is grown a reputation to all *Spanish* wives.

Queen *Katharine* Dowager dies at *Kimbolton*.

Also the nine and twentieth of *January* this year, Queen *Anne* was delivered of a Child before her time, which was born dead.

Queen *Anne* is delivered of a Child before time, and born dead.

And now King *Henry* began to fall into those great Disorders, which have been the blemish of his life, and have made him to be blotted out of the Catalogue of our best Princes. For first in *October* this year, he sent Doctor *Lee* and others to visit the Abbeys, Priories, and Nunneries in *England*, who set at liberty all those Religious persons that would forsake their habit, and all that were under the age of four and twenty years; and in *December* following a Survey was taken of all Chantries, and the names of such as had the gift of them. After which, in a Parliament holden the fourth of *February*, an Act was made, which gave the King all Religious Houses, with all their Lands and Goods, that were of the value of three hundred Marks a year and under: the number of which Houses was three hundred seventy and six; the value of their Lands yearly, above two and thirty thousand pounds, their moveable goods one hundred thousand, the Religious persons put out of the same houses above ten thousand. This year *William Tindall* was burnt at a Town in *Flanders* between *Brussels* and *Mechlin*, called *Villefort*, for translating into *English* the New Testament, and divers parts of the Old; who having been long imprisoned, was upon the Lord *Cromwell*'s writing for his Deliverance, in all haste brought to the fire and burnt.

All Religious Houses of a certain value given by Parliament to the King.

William Tindall burnt in *Flanders* for translating into *English* the New Testament.

It was now the eight and twentieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when on Monday there were solemn Justs holden at *Greenwich*, from whence the King suddenly departed and came to *Westminster*; whose sudden departure strook great amazement into many, but to the Queen especially, and not without cause: for the next day the Lord *Rochford*, her Brother, and *Henry Norris* were brought to the Tower of *London*, prisoners; whither also the same day at five a clock in the afternoon was brought Queen *Anne* her self by Sir *Thomas Audeley* Lord Chancellour, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Cromwell* Secretary, and Sir *William Kingstone* Lieutenant of the Tower, who at the Tower-gate fell on her knees before the said Lords, beseeching God to help her, as she was innocent of that whereof she was accused. On the fifteenth of *May* she was arraigned in the Tower before the Duke of *Norfolk*, sitting as High Steward of *England*. When her Indictment was read, she made unto it so wise and discreet answers, that she seemed fully to clear her self of all matters laid to her charge: but being tried by her Peers, whereof the Duke of *Suffolk* was chief, she was by them found guilty, and had Judgment pronounced by the Duke of *Norfolk*. Immediately the Lord *Rochford* her Brother was likewise arraigned and condemned: who on the seventeenth of *May*, together with *Henry Norris*, *Mark Smeton*, *William Brierton*, and *Francis Weston*, all of the Kings Privy-Chamber, about matters touching the Queen, were beheaded on the Tower-hill. Queen *Anne* her self on the nineteenth of *May*, on a Scaffold upon the Green within the Tower, was beheaded with the Sword of *Calice* by the

1537.

Queen *Anne* is committed to the Tower.

She is beheaded.

the Hangman of that Town; her body with the head was buried in the Quire of the Chappel there. This Queen *Anne* was the Daughter of *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire*, and of Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*; the Earls Father was the Son of Sir *William Bullen*, whose Wife was *Margaret* the second Daughter and Co-heir of *Thomas Butler* Earl of *Ormond*; and the said Sir *William* was the Son of Sir *Godfrey Bullen*, Lord Mayor of *London*, who lieth buried in Saint *Leonards* Church in the *Jewry*, whose Wife was *Anne* eldest Daughter and Co-heir to *Thomas* Lord *Hoo* and *Hastings*, and his descent was out of the House of the *Bullens* in the County of *Norfolk*: Thus much for her Parentage. For her Religion, she was an earnest Professor, and one of the first Countenancers of the Gospel: in Alms-deeds so liberal, that in nine months space, it is said she distributed among the poor to the value of fifteen thousand pounds. Now for the Crimes for which she died, (Adultery and Incest,) proofs of her guiltiness there are none recorded; of her innocency many. First, her own clearing of all objections at the time of her Arraignment: then *Cromwel*'s writing to the King, after full examination of the matter, that many things have been objected, but none confessed, only some Circumstances had been acknowledged by *Mark Smeton*: (and what was *Mark Smeton*, but a mean fellow, one that, upon promise of life, would say any thing? and having said something, which they took hold of, he was soon after executed, lest he should retract it.) Lastly, they that were accused with her, they all denied it to the death; even *Henry Norris*, whom the King specially favoured, and promised him pardon if he would but confess it. It was a poor proof of Incest with her Brother, that coming one morning into her Chamber before she was up, he leaned down upon her Bed, to say something in her ear; yet this was taken hold of for a proof: and it need be no marvel, if we consider the many Adversaries she had, as being a Protestant, and perhaps in that respect, the King himself not greatly her friend: (for though he had excluded the Pope, yet he continued a Papist still) and then who knows not, that Nature is not more able of an Acorn to make an Oak, than Authority is able of the least surmise to make a certainty? But howsoever it was that her death was contrived, certain it is, that it cast upon King *Henry* a dishonourable Imputation; insomuch that where the Protestant Princes of *Germany* had resolved to chuse him for head of their League, after they heard of this Queens death in such a manner, they utterly refused him as unworthy of the honour: and it is memorable what conceit Queen *Anne* her self had of her Death; for at the time when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, she called one of the Kings Privy-Chamber to her, and said unto him, Commend me to the King, and tell him, he is constant in his course of advancing me; for from a private Gentlewoman, he made me a Marquiss, from a Marquiss a Queen; and now that he had left no higher degree of worldly honour for me, he hath made me a Martyr.

Her Parentage.

Her Religion and Alms-deeds.

Her Innocency.

Immediately after her death, in the week before Whitsuntide, the King married *Jane Seymour*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, who at Whitsuntide was openly shewed as Queen: and on Tuesday in Whitsun-week her Brother Sir *Edmund Seymour* was created Vicount *Beauchamp*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford* was made Lord *Hungerford*.

The King Marries the Lady *Jane Seymour*.

The eighth of *June* the Parliament began; during the which, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, without the Kings assent, had affianced the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, Daughter to the Queen of *Scots*, and Niece to the King: for which he was attainted of Treason, and an Act was made for like Offenders hereafter; and so he died in the Tower, and she long time remained there a Prisoner; yet afterward was set at liberty, and married *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, who by him had *Henry* Father of *James* the first King of *Great Britain*.

In the time of this Parliament, the Bishops and all the Clergy had a solemn Convocation at *Pauls* Church in *London*; where after much disputation and debating of matters, they published a Book of Religion, intituled, Articles devised by the Kings Highness: in which Book are specially mentioned but three Sacraments, namely, Baptism, Eucharist, and Penance; also certain Injunctions were set forth, whereby many of the old Holidays were abrogated, specially those that fell in Harvest-time.

Articles devised by the Kings Highness.

The two and twentieth of *July*, *Henry* Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset* (base Son of King *Henry* by *Elizabeth Blunt*) died at St. *James*, and was buried at *Thetford* in *Norfolk*.

The nine and twentieth of *June* the King held a great Justs and Triumph at *Westminster*, but a disastrous Sea-fight was on the water, where one *Gates* a Gentleman was drowned in his Harness, and by the breaking of a Gun two Mariners were sore maimed. In *July* following, *Thomas Cromwell*, Secretary to the King, and Master of the Rolls, was made Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal: and the nineteenth of *July* the Lord *Fitz-Warren* was created Earl of *Bath*: and the day after, the said *Cromwell* was made Lord *Cromwell*, and on the eighteenth of *July*, Vicar General under the King over the Spirituality; who sate divers times in the Convocation-House, amongst the Bishops, as Head over them. And now was the state of Religion in *England* come to a strange pass, because always in passing, and had no consistence: for at first, the Authority of the Pope was excluded in some cases only, a while after in all; but yet his Doctrine was wholly retained. Afterward his Doctrine came to be impugned, but in some few points only: a while after, in many more; that the Fable of *Proteus* might no longer be a Fable, when the Religion in *England* might be his true Moral. And indeed, it could be no otherwise; the distance between the two Religions being not possible to be passed *per saltum*, but must be done by degrees, which degrees may be observed in the progress of the story. For where at first it was permitted only to read the Bible in *English*, now it came to be permitted to pray in *English*; for now in *September* the Lord *Cromwell* set forth Injunctions, to have the Lords Prayer, the Ave, the Creed, the

Cromwell is made Lord Keeper.

The Lord *Fitz-Warren* is created Earl of *Bath*.

Cromwell is made Lord *Cromwell*: and Vicar General over the Spirituality.

Religion altered in *England* by degrees.

the ten Commandments, and all Articles of the Christian Faith translated into English, and to be taught by all Parsons and Curates to their Parishioners: which Innovation so stirred up the People, that in *Lincolnshire* they assembled to the number of twenty thousand, against whom the King himself went in person, who winning by perswasion their chief Leaders, brought the rest upon pardon to submit themselves: but when he had himself done the work of Mercy, he afterward sent the Duke of *Suffolk*, with Sir *Francis Brian*, and Sir *John Russel*, to do the work of Justice, who caused *Nicholas Melton*, and a Monk naming himself Captain *Cobler*, and thirteen other (Ring-leaders of the Sedition) to be apprehended, and most of them to be executed. But this Commotion was scarce appeased, when presently there arose another in the North-parts, where forty thousand were assembled, giving themselves out for an Holy Pilgrimage, where on one side of their Enfigns, they had Christ hanging on the Cross, on the other side, the Cup and Bread of the Sacrament, as taking Arms only for maintenance of the Faith of Christ, and deliverance of the Holy Church now oppressed: but these were opposed by *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who having rais'd an army without Commission, though to resist the Rebels, yet began to be much troubled, whether in so doing he had not committed Treason, and was never quiet till he had sent to the King for pardon, and Commission to proceed: at which time a rumor being raised amongst his Soldiers, that the Earl so well liked the Rebels Cause, that what shew soever he made, yet when it should come to the tryal, he would not stick to join with them, and take their Parts; to remove this opinion out of their minds, he caused all his Soldiers to come before him, and made his Chaplain give him an Oath; by which he swore in their hearing, to be true to the Crown, and never to be assisting to any Rebels. To his aid were sent the Duke of *Norfolk*, with the Marquess of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Huntington* and *Rutland*; who with a mighty Army approaching the Rebels, beyond *Doncaster*, in the way towards *York*, attempted first to have pacified them without blood-shed; but when no perswasions would serve, it was resolved of both sides to come to Battel: but see here the great goodness of God; for the night before the day appointed for Battel, it happened that a little Brook called *Don*, running between the two Armies, upon a small rain grew to such a height, that it was not passable by either Foot or Horse; so as the Armies having time to consider, and considering perhaps this miracle as sent of God, they came to agreement, and upon pardon disbanded and returned to their houses; but in the mean time they had besieged the Castle of *Scarborough*, where the resolute carriage of Sir *Ralph Evers* is memorable, who held the Castle by only his own Servants and Tenants, and that, when for twenty days together he had no other sustenance but Bread and Water. But all Commotions were not yet appeased; for at this very time there was another great Army assembled out of *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and the North-parts of *Lancashire*, marching Southwards: but by the diligence of the Earl of *Darby*, to whom also the Earl of *Sussex* was sent, they were suppressed, and their chief Leaders, as the Abbots of *Wally*, *Sauly*, and others, apprehended and hanged. But neither is there yet an end of Commotions; for now in *February*, *Nicholas Musgrave*, *Tho. Tilby*, with others to the number of twelve thousand, began a Rebellion, and besieged *Carlile*; but by the power of the City were first beaten back, and then were encountred by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who caused seventy four of them by Martial Law to be hanged on the Walls of *Carlile*. But neither was there yet an end of Commotions; for now in *Setrington*, *Pickering*, *Leigh*, and *Scarborough*, began a new Rebellion, by procurement of *Francis Bigot*; who had a great power, and meant to have taken *Hull*: but by the industry of Sir *Ralph Ellarker*, and the Mayor of the Town, threescore of the Rebels were taken and hanged, and the rest put to flight, and glad to be quiet. But neither yet was there an end of Commotions; for in the latter end of this eight and twentieth year, the Lord *Darcy*, the Lord *Hussey*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *John Bulmer*, and his Wife, Sir *Thomas Piercy* Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempest* Esquire, and others began to conspire, although each of them before had been pardoned by the King: but this, as being but the fag-end of the Commotion, was soon suppressed; the Lord *Darcy* was beheaded on the Tower-hill, the Lord *Hussey* at *Lincoln*, Sir *Robert Constable* was hanged in chains at *Hull*, Sir *John Bulmers* Paramour was burnt in *Smithfield*, and most of the other were executed at *Tyburn*. *Tantæ molis erat*, so great a matter it was, to make the Realm be quiet, in so great innovations of Religion.

An Insurrection in *Lincolnshire* for Innovation of Religion.

The King goes in person, and suppresseth it.

Another Insurrection in the North: for suppressing whereof the Earl of *Shrewsbury* raised an Army; and having done it without Commission, was glad to ask the King pardon.

A miracle of the sudden swelling of the River Don.

Sir *Ralph Evers* his valiant carriage.

Another Insurrection.

And yet another.

And yet another.

This year on Saint *George's* Feast, the Lord *Cromwell* was made Knight of the Garter, and on the twelfth of *October*, which is Saint *Edwards* even, at *Hampton-Court*, the Queen was delivered of a Son, (but with so hard a labour that she was fain to be rip'd.) The child was named *Edward*, whose Godfathers at the Christning were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, his Godmother was his Sister the Lady *Mary*: At his Bishoping, his Godfather was the Duke of *Suffolk*. On the eighteenth of *October* he was made Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*. But the Birth of his Son brought not so much joy to the King, as the Death of his Queen brought him sorrow; for within two days after she died, and was buried at *Windsor*, and so much was the Kings grief for her death, that he continued a Widower two years after.

Queen *Jane* is delivered of a Child, (named *Edward*) but dieth.

It is not unworthy the relating, what a miserable dissolution befel the Family of the *Geraldines*, or *Fitz-Garrets*, (Earls of *Kildare* in *Ireland*) about this time. For *Gerald Fitz-Garret*, who had been ten years Deputy in *Ireland*, upon complaint for some fault, was sent for over into *England*, where not making a satisfying answer, he was committed to the Tower; but before his coming over, had, with the Kings leave, left Deputy there his own Son, a young man of not above twenty years of age, but yet ripe of under-

The miserable dissolution of the Family of the *Geraldines* or *Fits-Garrets* in *Ireland*.

understanding, and fit for the place. This young Lord hearing that his Father was committed Prisoner at the Tower, and soon after, as the rumour increased, that he was put to death; in rage to be revenged, rose up in Arms: and having five Uncles in the Country (men of great estimation) drew them (though some of them unwillingly) to take his part. Amongst other outrages he committed, the Archbishop of *Dublin* was slain in his presence. The Father in the Tower hearing hereof, with very grief died; the Son and his Uncles, upon the Kings sending an Army, were all either taken or submitted; and being sent for over into *England*, those of his Uncles, that against their wills had been drawn into the action, had good hopes of their lives, till entring the Ship of passage, which was called the *Cow*, they then presently despaired, because of a Prophecy, that five Sons of a certain Earl should be carried into *England* in the belly of a *Cow*, and never after return: and indeed it fell out true, for through the malice of their adversaries, (exasperating the King against them, and saying, there would never be quietness in *Ireland*, as long as any of the *Geraldines* were left alive) they were all put to death: one only Son of the Family remained, a youth of thirteen years of age, who though at that time sick of the Small pox, yet made shift to save himself by flight, fled first into *France*, and frighted from thence, afterward into *Flanders*, and driven from thence, at last into *Italy*, where protected by *Reginald Pool*, at that time made Cardinal by Pope *Julius* the third, he was afterward, by his means, restored to his Dignity and his Patrimony.

Edward Seymour Vicount *Beauchamp* is made Earl of *Hartford*. Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Admiral is created Earl of *Southampton*.

This year *Edward Seymour*, Vicount *Beauchamp*, the Queens Brother, was created Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Admiral, was created Earl of *Southampton*, Master *Paulet* was made Vice-Treasurer, Sir *John Russel* was made Controller of the Kings House, and divers Gentlemen were made Knights.

In *February* divers Roods were taken down by the Kings commandment, as the Rood of *Baxeley*, called the Rood of Grace, which was made with vices to move the eyes and lips; also the Rood called St. *Saviour* at *Bermondsey* Abbey in *Southwark*, and divers others. In *May* a Frier Observant, called Frier *Forrest*, who had taken the Oath of Supremacy himself, yet privately perswaded others, that the King was not Supreme head of the Church, was thereupon examined, and for his defence said, that he took the Oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented to it: but this answer served not his turn from being condemned; and on a pair of Gallows prepared for him, in *Smithfield*, he was hanged by the middle & arm-holes, all quick, and under the Gallows was made a fire wherewith he was consumed. A little before his execution, a huge great Image was brought to the Gallows, fetched out of *Wales*, which the *Welsh* men had in great reverence, called *Darvel Gatheran*, of which went a Prophecy, that this Image should set a whole Forest on fire, which was thought to take effect, in setting this Frier *Forrest* on fire, and consuming him to nothing.

Frier *Forrest* hanged by the middle, and withall burnt; by which a Prophecy fulfilled.

All Images put down.

In *September*, by the special motion of the L. *Cromwell*, all the notable Images, unto which were made any special Pilgrimages & offerings, were taken down and burnt; as the Images of *Walsingham*, *Ipswich*, *Worcester*, the Lady of *Wilsdon*, with many other; and forthwith by means of the said *Cromwell*, all the orders of the Friers and Nuns, with their Cloysters and Houses, were suppressed and put down: also the Shrines of counterfeit Saints; amongst others, the Shrine of *Tho. Becket* in the Priory of Christ-Church was taken to the Kings use, and his Bones, Scull, and all which was there found, with a piece broken out by the wound of his head, were all burnt in the same Church by command of the Lord *Cromwell*: and the one and twentieth of *October*, the Church of *Tho. Becket* in *London*, called the Hospital of St. *Thomas* of *Acres*, was suppressed: the sixteenth of *Novem.* the *Black-fryers* in *London* were suppressed, the next day the *White-fryers*, the *Gray-fryers*, and the Monks of the *Charterhouse*, and so all the other immediately after: only three Abbots resisted, the Abbot of *Colchester*, the Abbot of *Reading*, and the Abbot of *Glastenbury*, who therefore were all taken & executed. The four and twentieth of *November* the Bishop of *Rochester* preached at *Pauls-Cross*, and there shewed the blood of *Hales*, affirming it to be no blood, but honey clarified and coloured with Saffron, as it had been evidently proved before the King and Council. The number of Monasteries suppressed, were six hundred forty five, besides fourscore and ten Colledges, one hundred and ten Hospitals, and of Chantries and free Chappels two thousand three hundred seventy four. But now to make amends for the suppressing of so many Monasteries, the King instituted certain new Bishopricks, as at *Westminster*, *Oxford*, *Peterborough*, *Bristow*, *Chester*, and *Gloucester*; and assigned certain Canons and Prebends to each of them.

All Orders of Friers & Nunneries suppressed by *Cromwell*.

The number of Monasteries suppressed.

In lieu of the suppressed Monasteries the King erects six new Bishopricks

The third of *Novem.* *Henry Courtney* Marquess of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Devonshire*, *Henry Pool* Lord *Montacute*, Sir *Nicholas Carew* of *Bedington* Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Kings Horse, and Sir *Edward Nevill* brother to the L. *Abergenny*, were sent to the Tower, being accused by Sir *Geoffry Pool* the Lord *Montacutes* Brother of high Treason: they were indicted for devising to promote and advance one *Reinald Pool* to the Crown, and put down King *Henry*. This *Pool* was a near Kinsman of the Kings (being the Son of the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury*, Daughter and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*) He had been brought up by the King in learning, and made Dean of *Exeter*; but being sent after to learn experience by travel, he grew so great a friend of the Popes, that he became an enemy to King *Henry*, and for his enmity to the King, was by Pope *Julius* the third made Cardinal. For this mans cause the Lords aforesaid being condemned, were all executed; the Lord Marquess, the Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Nevill*, beheaded on the Tower-Hill, the ninth of *January*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, the third of *March*; two Priests condemned with them were hanged at *Tiburn*; Sir *Geoffry Pool*, though condemned also, yet had his pardon.

Divers Lords and Knights executed, and why.

Cardinal *Pool* his Parentage and Education.

About this time one *Nicholson*, *alias Lambert*, being accused for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament, appealed to the King, and the King was content to hear him: whereupon a Throne was set up in the Hall of the Kings Palace

lace at *Weſtminſter*, for the King to ſit: and when the Biſhops had urged their Arguments and could not prevail, then the King took him in hand, hoping perhaps to have the honour of converting an Heretick, when the Biſhops could not do it, and withall promiſed him pardon if he would recant; but all would not do: *Nicholſon* remained obſtinate, the King miſt his Honour, the Delinquent miſt his pardon, and ſhortly after was drawn to *Smithfield*, and there burnt.

About this time King *Henry* being informed that the Pope, by inſtigation of Cardinal *Pool*, had earneſtly moved divers great Princes to invade *England*; he, as a provident Prince, endeavoured as earneſtly to provide for defence; and to that end rode himſelf to the Sea-coaſts to ſee them fortified, and in needful places Bulwarks to be erected. He cauſed his Navy to be rigged, and to be in readineſs at any ſhort warning: He cauſed Muſters to be taken in all Shires, and liſts of all able men in every County, in *London* ſpecially; where Sir *William Forman*, the then Mayor, certified the number of fifteen thouſand, not that there were no more, but that ſo many were ready prepared; and theſe on the eighth of *May*, the King himſelf ſaw Muſtered in St. *James*'s Park; where the Citizens ſtrove in ſuch ſort to exceed each other in bravery of Arms, and forwardneſs of Service, as if the City had been a Camp, and they not men of the Gown, but all profeſt Souldiers; which they performed to their great coſt, but greater commendation.

Anno Reg. 31. 1540.

It was now the one and thirtieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, and the nine and fortieth of his age; when having continued a Widower two years, he began to think of marrying again; and he needed not to be a Suitor for a Wife, for he was ſued unto to take one. The Emperour ſolicited him to marry the Dutcheſs of *Milan*; but to marry her he muſt firſt obtain a Licence from the Pope, and King *Henry* was reſolved rather to have no Wife, than to have any more to do with the Pope. Then the Duke of *Cleve* made ſuit unto him to marry the Lady *Anne* his Siſter, and he was a Proteſtant Prince; and ſo, though differing in Points of Doctrine, yet in the main point of excluding the Pope, both of one mind. Many about the King were forward for this Match, but the Lord *Cromwell* ſpecially: and indeed it concerned him more than any other, that the King ſhould take a Proteſtant Wife, ſeeing his Actions had been ſuch, as none but a Proteſtant-Queen would ever like; and if the Queen ſhould not like them, the King, though done by his leave, would not like them long. Hereupon ſuch means were uſed, that Ambaſſadours came from the Duke of *Cleve* to conclude the Match; and then the 11 of *December* the Lady her ſelf in great ſtate was brought to *Callice*, and then over to *Dover*; and being come to *Rocheſter*, the King ſecretly came to ſee her: afterward ſhe was conducted to *London*, met by the way in ſeveral places, by all the great Lords and Ladies of the Kingdom. The third of *January* ſhe was received into *London* by Sir *William Hollys* Knight, then Lord Mayor, with Orations, Pageants, and all Complements of State, the greateſt that ever had been ſeen. On Twelfth-day the Marriage was ſolemnized: the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* did the Office, the Earl of *Overſtein* a *German* Lord gave her. In *April* following the Lord *Cromwell*, as though he had won the Kings heart for ever by making this Match, was made Earl of *Eſſex*: for in *March* before, *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex*, and the ancienteſt Earl of *England*, had broke his neck, by ſeeking to break a young Horſe, leaving onely one Daughter; and ſhe dying without Iſſue, the Earldom came to the Family of *Devereux*, which yet enjoyed not the honour, till afterward in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, and then made, but not reſtored.

The King inclines to marry again.

And by the commendation of *Cromwell* marries the Lady *Anne* Siſter to the Duke of *Cleve*.

Sir *William Hollys* Knight, Lord Mayor of *London*.

The Lord *Cromwell* is made Earl of *Eſſex*.

How the Earldom of *Eſſex* came to the Family of *Devereux*.

The ninth of *March*, the King created Sir *William Paulet*, Treaſurer of his Houſe, Lord *Saint-John*; Sir *John Ruſſel*, Comptroller, Lord *Ruſſel*; and ſhortly after Sir *William Par* was created Lord *Par*. The eight and twentieth of *April* began a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, in the which *Margaret* Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, *Gertrude* Wife to the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, *Reynold Pool* Cardinal, Brother to the Lord *Montacute*, Sir *Adrian Foskew*, *Thomas Dingley* Knight of Saint *Johns*, and divers others were attainted of high Treaſon; of whom *Foskew* and *Dingley* the tenth of *July* were beheaded, the Counteſs of *Saliſbury* two years after: and in this Parliament the Act of the Six Articles was eſtabliſhed, and Sir *Nicholas Hare* was reſtored to his place of Speaker in the Parliament.

Earls created.

It was now five months after the Kings Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*: and though the King, at the firſt ſight of the Lady, did not like her Perſon; yet, whether as reſpecting the honour of Ladies, he would not diſgrace her at the firſt meeting; or whether he meant to try how time might work him to a better liking; or indeed, that he would not give diſtaſte to the *German* Princes at that time, for ſome ends he had a working, he diſſembled the matter, and all things went on in a ſhew of contentment on all hands. But for all theſe ſhews, the crafty Biſhop of *London*, *Steven Gardiner*, finding how the world went with the Kings affection towards his Queen, and for her ſake with *Cromwell*, to neither of whom he was greatly affected (not to the Queen, as miſliking her Religion; not to *Cromwell*, as envying his greatneſs;) he ſo wrought upon the Kings inclination, what by ſuggeſting, and what by aggravating, that the Lord *Cromwell*, the ninth of *July*, ſitting in the Council-Chamber, was ſuddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower; and the nineteenth of the ſame month was attainted by Parliament, and never came to his Anſwer; by a Law which (as ſome reported) he himſelf had cauſed to be made; and the eight and twentieth of *July* was beheaded on the Tower-hill, for Crimes (as appears in Record) of Hereſie and Treaſon. This Lord *Cromwell* was born at *Putney*, a Village in *Surrey* near the Thames-ſide, Son to a *Smith*, after whoſe deceaſe his Mother was married to a Sheer-man. For the pregnancy of his Wit he was firſt entertained by Cardinal *Wolſey*, and by him imployed in many great Affairs. The Cardinal falling, the King took him into his ſervice; and finding his great Abilities, firſt advanced him for his worth, and then for his pleaſure overthrew him. But the greateſt part of *Stephen Gardiner*'s practice had been done before:

The Lord *Cromwell* is committed to the Tower.

Is beheaded.

His Parentage and education.

fore: for at Midſummer before, the King cauſed the Queen to remove to *Richmond*, as for her health and pleaſure; and in the time of her abſence, on the ſixth of *July*, ſent certain Lords to the Lower Houſe of Parliament, who there declared certain cauſes, for which the Kings marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve* was not to be counted lawful; and ſo carried the matter, that the Convocation clearly determined, the King might marry any other, and ſo might ſhe. Being thus Divorced, it was further Enacted, ſhe ſhould no more be called Queen, but the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*. The fault for which this Divorce was decreed, is not expreſly delivered; ſome ſay a precontract of the ſaid Lady with a Lord of *Germany* was pretended: but it ſeems to have been from ſome womaniſh defect in her body; as ſhe ſpared not to affirm, that ſhe had never been carnally known by the King in all the time of their lying together: and as it is ſaid, when her Ladies one time ſaid unto her, that they looked now every day to hear of her great belly; ſhe ſhould anſwer, they might look long enough, unleſs ſaying, How doeſt thou ſweet heart? Good morrow ſweet heart, and ſuch like words, could make a great belly; for (ſaid ſhe) more than this there never paſſed between the King and me. However it was, ſhe willingly ſubmitted to the Decree, whether out of fear, or perhaps as little liking the King as the King did her; and afterward led a private life here in *England*, well reſpected of the King, and dying ſixteen years after, in the fourth year of Queen *Mary*, was buried at *Weſtminſter*.

The King's marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve* is by Parliament judg'd unlawfull.

About this time *Leonard Gray*, Deputy of *Ireland*, was on the Tower-hill beheaded, for ſuffering his nephew *Gerald Fitz-Garret* to eſcape, who had been declared an enemy unto the State: and then alſo was *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres*, a young man of four and twenty years of age, hanged at *Tyburn*, for killing a mean perſon upon a ſudden affray; alſo the fourth of *Auguſt*, *Thomas Epſon* a Monk of *Weſtminſter*, for denying to take his Oath, to be true to the King, had his Monks Garment plucked from his back, the laſt that was ſeen in ſuch habit in *England* till Queen *Maries* dayes.

Leonard Gray beheaded, and why.

Thomas Fines Lord *Dacres* hanged at *Tyburn*, and why.

1541.

The ſixth of *July*, in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, King *Henry* had been divorced from the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, and now the eighth of *Auguſt* following, the Lady *Katharine Howard*, Niece to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Daughter to the Lord *Edward Howard*, was ſhewed openly as Queen at *Hampton-Court*.

King *Henry* marries the Lady *Katharine Howard*.

On the tenth of *June* the year following, Sir *Edmund Knevet* of *Norfolk*, Knight, was arraigned before the Officers of the Green-cloth, for ſtriking one Maſter *Cleer* of *Norfolk*, within the Tennis-Court of the Kings Houſe; being found guilty, he had judgment to loſe his right hand, and to forfeit all his Lands and Goods: whereupon there was called to do execution, firſt the Serjeant Surgeon, with his Inſtruments pertaining to his Office, then the Serjeant of the Wood-yard, with a mallet, and a block to lay the hand upon, then the Kings Maſter Cook with a knife to cut off the hand, then the Serjeant of the Larder to ſet the knife right on the joint, then the Serjeant Ferrier with ſearing Irons to ſear the veins, then the Serjeant of the Poultrey with a Cock, which Cock ſhould have his head ſmitten off upon the ſame block, and with the ſame knife; then the Yeoman of the Chandry with Sear-cloaths, then the Yeoman of the Scullery, with a pan of fire to heat the Irons, a chafer of water to cool the ends of the Irons, and two forms for all Officers to ſet their ſtuff on; then the Serjeant of the Cellar with Wine, Ale, and Beer, then the Serjeant of the Ewry, with Baſon, Ewre and Towels. All things being thus prepared, Sir *William Pickering* Knight Marſhal was commanded to bring in his priſoner, Sir *Edmund Knevet*, to whom the Chief Juſtice declared his offence, which the ſaid *Knevet* confeſſed, and humbly ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings mercy; only he deſired, that the King would ſpare his right hand, and take his left, becauſe (ſaid he) if my right hand be ſpared, I may live to do the King good ſervice: of whoſe ſubmiſſion, and reaſon of his ſuit, when the King was informed, he granted him to loſe neither of his hands, and pardoned him alſo of his Lands and Goods.

Sir *Edmund Knevet* is adjudged to loſe his right hand, and the ſolemn manner of doing it.

Is pardoned, and why.

The Summer of his three and thirtieth year, King *Henry*, with his Queen *Katharine*, made a progreſs into the North parts, and returning at Alhallontide to *Hampton-Court*, he was there informed of the Queens diſſolute life, firſt before her marriage, with one *Francis Deerham* a Gentleman of *Norfolk*, whom imployed afterward in *Ireland*, ſhe had lately again at *Pomfret* received into her Service; and now ſince her marriage with one *Tho. Colepepper*, of the Kings Privy-Chamber: whereupon the thirteenth of *November*, Sir *Thomas Wriotheſly* Knight, Secretary to the King, was ſent to the Queen at *Hampton-Court*, to charge her with theſe Crimes, and diſcharging her houſhold, to cauſe her to be conveyed to *Sion*, there to remain, till the Kings pleaſure ſhould be further known. The Delinquents being examined, *Deerham* confeſſed, that before the Kings marriage with the Lady *Katharine*, there had been a pre-contract between himſelf and her; but when he once underſtood of the Kings liking towards her, he then waved and concealed it for her preferment. So the firſt of *December* theſe Gentlemen being arraigned at the *Guildhall*, they confeſſed the Indictment, and had Judgment to dye, as in caſes of Treaſon: the tenth of *December*, they were drawn from the tower to *Tyburn*, where *Colepepper* was beheaded, and *Deerham* was hanged and diſmembred: *Colepeppers* body was buried in *Sepulchres* Church in *London*, but both their heads were ſet on *London-bridge*. The two and twentieth of *December*, there were arraigned at the Kings-Bench, the Lord *William Howard* and the Lady *Margaret* his Wife, *Katharine Tilney* and *Alice Wreſtwold* Gentlewomen, *Joan Bulmer* Wife to *Anthony Bulmer* Gentleman, *Anne Howard* Wife to *Henry Howard* Eſquire, and Brother to the Queen, with divers others, who were all condemned for miſpriſion of Treaſon, for concealing the Queens miſdemeanor, and adjudged to forfeit all their lands and goods during life, and to remain in perpetual priſon. The ſixteenth of *Jan.* the Parliament began at *Weſtminſter*, where the Lords and Commons Petitioned the King, that he would not vex himſelf with the Queens offence, and that both ſhe and the Lady *Rochford* might be attainted by Parliament; and

1542.

King *Henry* is informed of the diſſolute life of Queen *Katharine* with *Deerham* and *Colepepper*.

Colepepper is beheaded, and *Deerham* hanged.

Queen *Katharine* is beheaded.

and that to avoid protracting of time, he would give his Royal assent unto it, under the great Seal, without staying for the end of the Parliament. Also that *Deerham* and *Colepepper*, having been attainted before by the Common Law, might be attainted likewise by Parliament. All which was assented to by the King; and after, on the thirtieth of *February*, the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded on the Green within the *Tower*, where they confessed their offences, and died penitently. Yet something to take off the offences of this Queen; it is certainly said, that after her condemnation, she protested to Doctor *White*, Bishop of *Winchester*, her last Confessor, that as for the act for which she was condemned, she took God and his Holy Angels to witness, upon her souls salvation, that she died guiltless.

King *Henry* is proclaimed King of *Ireland*.

Before this, on the three and twentieth of *January*, King *Henry* was proclaimed King of *Ireland*, whereas before this time, the Kings of *England* were only entituled Lords of *Ireland*: and this title was given him both by the Parliament here, and by the Parliament holden in *Ireland*, before Sir *Anthony Sentleger* Knight, the Kings Deputy there.

Arthur Plantagenet Vicount *Lisle* dieth of joy.

About this time *Arthur Plantagenet* Vicount *Lisle*, base Son to King *Edward* the fourth, having been imprison'd upon suspicion of a practice for betraying of *Calice* to the *French*, whilst he was the Kings Lieutenant there, was now found to be innocent of the Fact: and thereupon the King, to make him some reparation for his disgrace, sent him a Ring, and a very gracious message, by Sir *Thomas Wriothsley* his Secretary; whereat the said Vicount took so great joy, that the night following, of that very joy he died: so deadly a thing is any passion, even joy it self, if it be extreme. After his death Sir *John Dudley*, his wives son, was created Vicount *Lisle*. This Sir *John Dudley* was Son to *Edmund Dudley*, beheaded in the first year of this Kings Reign, and was made Vicount *Lisle* in right of his Mother.

Sir *John Dudley*, Son to *Edmund Dudley* beheaded, is made Vicount *Lisle*.

Burgesses of the Parliament and their Servants free from Arrests.

During this Parliament, one *George Ferrers* Gentleman, servant to the King, and Burgess for the Town of *Plymouth* in *Devonshire*, in going to the Parliament-House, was arrested in *London* by a Process out of the Kings Bench, for a Debt wherein he was late afore condemned, as surety for one *Welden*, at the suit of one *White*: which Arrest being signified to Sir *Thomas Moyl* Knight, Speaker then of the Parliament, and to the Knights and Burgesses there; order was taken, that the Serjeant of the Parliament, called *Saint-John*, should be sent to the Counter in *Breadstreet*, (whither the said *Ferrers* was carried) and there demand to have him delivered. But the Officers of the Counter not only refused to deliver him, but gave the Serjeant such language, that they fell at last to an affray; at which time the Sheriffs coming, they also took their Officers part; so as the Serjeant was fain to return without the Prisoner: which being signified to the Speaker and the Burgesses, they took the matter in so ill part, that they would sit no more without their Burgess: and thereupon rising up, repaired to the upper House, where the whole Case was declared by the Speaker, before Sir *Thomas Audeley* Lord Chancellour, and the Lords and Judges there assembled; who judging the contempt to be very great, referred the punishment thereof to the House of Commons it self: whereupon returning to their places again, upon new debate of the Case, they took order that their Serjeant should once more repair to the Sheriffs of *London*, and demand the prisoner, without carrying any Writ or Warrant for the matter. It is true, the Lord Chancellour offered to grant a Writ, but the House of Commons refused it; being of a clear opinion, that all commandments from the neather House were to be executed by their Serjeant without Writ, only by shewing his Mace, which is his Warrant. But before the Serjeants return into *London*, the Sheriffs better advised became more mild, and upon the second demand delivered the Prisoner without any denial: but then the Serjeant had further in charge, to command the Sheriffs and Clarks of the Counter, to appear personally the next morning before the House of Commons: where appearing, they were charged by the Speaker with their contempt, and compelled to make immediate answer, without being admitted to any counsel. Sir *Roger Cholmley* Recorder of *London* offered to speak in the cause, but was not suffered, nor any other but the parties themselves. In conclusion, the Sheriffs and *White* who had caused the Arrest, were commited to the *Tower*; the Officer that did the Arrest, with four other Officers, to *Newgate*; but after two or three days, upon the humble suit of the Mayor, were set at liberty: and because the said *Ferrers*, being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and set at large by priviledge of Parliament, was not by Law to be brought again into execution, and so the Creditor without remedy for his Debt against him as his principal debtor, therefore after long debate, by the space of nine or ten days together, they at last resolved to make an Act of purpose, to revive the execution of the said debt against *Welden* who was principal debtor, and to discharge *Ferrers* that was but surety: wherein notwithstanding the House was divided, and the Act passed but by fourteen voices. The King being advertised of this proceeding, called before him the Lord Chancellour and the Judges, the Speaker and divers of the Lower House, to whom he declared his opinion to this effect: first commending their wisdom, in maintaining the priviledges of their House, (which he would not have to be infringed in any point) he alledged, that he being the head of the Parliament, and attending in his own person upon the business thereof, ought in reason, to have priviledge for himself and all his Servants attending upon him; so as if the said *Ferrers* had been no Burgess, but only his servant, yet in that respect, he was to have the priviledge as well as any other. For I understand (said he) that you, not only for your own persons, but also for your necessary servants, even to your Cooks and Horse-keepers, enjoy the same priviledge; insomuch, as my Lord Chancellour here present hath informed us, that whilst he was Speaker of the Parliament, the Cook of the *Temple* was arrested in *London*, and in execution upon a Statute of the Staple; and for so much as the said Cook during

The Commands of the Parliament to be executed by their Serjeant without any Writ, by shewing only his Mace.

King *Henry* will maintain the Priviledges of Parliament.

all the Parliament ſerved the Speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution by Priviledge of Parliament; the Prerogative of which Court (as our learned Council informeth us) is ſo great, that all Acts and Proceſſes coming out of any other Court, muſt for a time ceaſe and give place to it. And touching the party himſelf, though for his preſumption he was worthy to have loſt his debt, yet I commend your equity, that have reſtored him to his debt againſt him that was the principal. When the King had ſaid this, Sir *Edward Montacute*, Lord Chief Juſtice, roſe up and confirmed by many reaſons all that the King had ſaid, as likewiſe did all the other Lords, none ſpeaking any thing to the contrary.

1543. It was now the four and thirtieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when in *May* he took a loan of money of all ſuch as were valued at fifty pounds and upwards in the Subſidy-Book. The Lord Privy-Seal, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Sir *Thomas Baker*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothſley* were Commiſſioners for the loan in *London*, who ſo handled the matter, that of ſome chief Citizens they obtained a thouſand marks impreſt to the Kings uſe: for which Privy-Seals were delivered to repay it again within two years.

At this time were many complaints made by the *Engliſh* againſt the *Scots*, partly for receiving and maintaining divers *Engliſh* Rebels, fled into *Scotland*, and partly for invading the *Engliſh* Borders: but ſtill when the King of *England* was preparing to oppoſe them, the *Scottiſh* King would ſend Ambaſſadors to treat of reconcilement; till at laſt, after many deluſory pranks of the *Scots*, the King of *England*, no longer enduring ſuch abuſes, ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* his Lieutenant General, accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hartford*, *Angus*, *Rutland*, the Lords of the North parts, Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Kings Horſe, and Sir *John Gage* Comptroller of the Kings Houſe, with others to the number of twenty thouſand men; who on the one and twentieth of *October* entred *Scotland*, where ſtaying but eight days only, he burnt above eighteen Towns, Abbeys, and Caſtles, and then, without having Battel offered, for want of victuals returned to *Barwick*. As ſoon as he returned, comes abroad the King of *Scots*, raiſeth a power of fifteen thouſand men, and uſing great threatnings what he would do, invaded the Weſt Borders: but the edge of his threatning was ſoon taken off; for the Baſtard *Dacres*, with *Jack* of *Muſgrave*, ſetting upon them with only an hundred Light Horſe, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* with three hundred, put them to flight; upon a conceit, that the Duke of *Norfolk* with all his Army had been come into thoſe parts: where were taken priſoners of the *Scots*, the Earls of *Caſſil* and *Glencarn*, the Lord *Maxwel* Admiral of *Scotland*, the Lord *Flemming*, the Lord *Somerwel*, the Lord *Oliphant*, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Oliver Sincleer*, the Kings Minion, *John Roſs* Lord of *Gray*, *Roger Erskin* Son to the Lord *Erskin*, *Car* Lord of *Gredon*, the Lord *Maxwels* two Brothers, *John Leſley* Baſtard-Son to the Earl of *Rothes*, *George Hume* Lord of *Hemetton*, with divers other men of account, to the number of above two hundred, and more than eight hundred of meaner calling: ſo as ſome one *Engliſhman*, and ſome women alſo, had three or four priſoners in their hands. At which overthrow the King of *Scots* took ſuch grief, that he fell into a burning Ague, and thereof died, leaving behind him one only Daughter. And here King *Henry* began to apprehend a greater matter than the Victory; for he and his Council conceived, that his Daughter would be a fit match for his Son Prince *Edward*, thereby to make a perpetual union of the two Kingdoms: and to this purpoſe they conferred with the Lords whom they had taken priſoners, who exceeding glad of the propoſition, and promiſing to further it by all the poſſible means they could, were thereupon ſet at liberty, and ſuffered to return home. Coming into *Scotland*, and acquainting the Earl of *Arran* with the motion, who was choſen Governour of the young Queen, and of the Realm; the matter with great liking was entertained, and in Parliament of the three Eſtates in *Scotland*, the Marriage was confirmed, and a Peace between the two Realms for ten years was Proclaimed, and Ambaſſadours ſent into *England*, for ſealing the conditions. But *Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*, being Cardinal, and at the Popes devotion, and therefore an utter enemy to King *Henry*, ſo croſſed the buſineſs, that it came to nothing, but ended in a War between the two Kingdoms; ſo as in *March* the year following, the Lord *Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*, with an Army by Land, & Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Liſle*, with a Fleet by Sea, met at *New-Caſtle*, and there joyned together, for invading of *Scotland*. With the Earl of *Hartford*, were the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Clinton*, *Conyers*, *Stinton*, the Lord *William Howard*, with Knights and others, to the number of ten thouſand; with Sir *John Dudley* the Admiral, were two hundred ſail of Ships. On the fourth of *May*, the whole Army was landed two miles from the Town of *Leith*, at a place called *Grantber Garg*, and there the Lord Lieutenant putting his men in order, marched towards the Town of *Leith*; the Lord Admiral led the Foreward, the Lieutenant the Battel, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Rereward. Before they came to the Town of *Leith*, the Cardinal with ſix hundred Horſe, beſides Foot, lay in the way to impeach the paſſage; but they were ſo aſſailed by the Harquebuſars, that they were glad to flie, and the firſt man that fled was the Cardinal himſelf, and then the Earls of *Huntley*, *Murray*, and *Bothwel*: hereupon the *Engliſh* made forward to *Leith*, and entred it without any great reſiſtance. The ſixth of *May* they marched towards *Edinburgh*, and as they approached the Town, the Provoſt with ſome of the Burgers came and offered the Keys of the Town to the Lord Lieutenant, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage, and the Town to be preſerved from fire: but the Lord Lieutenant told them, their falſhood had been ſuch, as deſerved no favour, and therefore unleſs they would deliver the Town abſolutely without any condition, he would proceed in his enterpriſe and burn the Town. Here we may ſee what it is to make men deſperate; for to this the Provoſt anſwered, They were better then to ſtand upon defence: and ſo indeed they did, and made the *Engliſh* glad to retire; for the Caſtle

The *Scots* enter the *Engliſh* Borders: againſt whom the King ſends an Army, and repels them.

The *Scots* frighted with a conceit.

The King of *Scots* with grief thereof dieth, leaving behind him one only Daughter. King *Henry* ſeeks to match his Son Prince *Edward* with his Daughter; and is embraced by all the States of *Scotland*.

Only *Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*, and Cardinal, croſſeth it. Whereupon a War between the two Kingdoms. And the Earl of *Hartford* is ſent with an Army into *Scotland*.

Where he takes *Leith* and many other Towns.

No policy to make the Enemy deſperate.

Caſtle ſhot ſo fiercely upon them, that having burnt only a part of the Town, they returned to *Leith*; but whilſt they lay there, they ſo waſted the Country, that within ſeven miles every way of *Edenburgh*, there was not a Town, nor Village, nor houſe that was left unburnt. At *Leith* the eleventh day of *May*, the Lord General made Knights, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Conyers*, Sir *William Wroughton*, Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, Sir *Edward Dorrel*, Sir *Francis Hotham*, and others, to the number of at leaſt threeſcore. In *Leith* Haven, they ſeiſed upon all the *Scottiſh* Ships, whereof two were of notable fairneſs, the one called the *Salamander*, given by the *French* King at the marriage of his Daughter into *Scotland*; the other called the *Unicorn*, made by the late *Scottiſh* King: the ballaſt of which two Ships was Canon-ſhot, whereof they found in the Town to the number of fourſcore thouſand. On the fifteenth of *May*, their Army and their Fleet departed from *Leith*, both in one hour, having firſt ſet the Town on fire, and burned it to the ground: from *Leith* the Engliſh Army marched to *Seaton*, from thence to *Haddington*, from thence to *Dunbar*, from thence to *Ranton*, all which Towns and Caſtles, with divers others, they burnt and utterly defaced; and on the eighteenth of *May* came to *Barwick*, not having loſt in all the journey above fourteen men.

1544. In the mean time, in King *Henry*'s five and thirtieth year, on Trinity Sunday a new League was entred into and ſworn, between the King and the Emperour, at *Hampton-Court*, to be both offenſive and defenſive.

Lords impriſoned for eating fleſh in Lent. In this year Proclamation was made, whereby the people were licenſed to eat white meats in Lent; but ſtreightly forbidden the eating of fleſh: whereupon ſhortly after, the Earl of *Surrey* with divers other Lords and Knights were impriſoned, for eating of fleſh contrary to the Proclamation.

Obrine is created Earl of *Thowmond*: whoſe Poſterity enjoyeth the Honour to this day. The third of *June* this year, there came out of *Ireland* three Lords, of whom *Obrine* was here created Earl of *Thowmond*, (which honour his poſterity enjoyeth to this day) *Mack William a Bary* was created Earl of *Clanrickard*, and *Mack Gilpatrick* was made Baron of *Ebrankie*.

King *Henry* marries the Lady *Katharine Par*, Widow of the Lord *Latimer*. King *Henry* had already had five Wives, all of them Maids, and no good luck with any of them; he will now therefore try his fortune with a Widow, and thereupon the twelfth of *June*, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, he took to Wife the Lady *Katharine Par*, Widow of the Lord *Latimer* late deceaſed, who was then proclaimed Queen: but how lucky this match would have proved, if the King had longer lived, God knows, ſeeing in a ſhort time of three years they lived together, it was no ſmall danger ſhe eſcaped: which though it happened not till a year or two after this time, yet will not unfitly be ſpoken of in this place, that ſo her ſtory may come together. This Queen, as being an earneſt Proteſtant, had many great adverſaries, by whom ſhe was accuſed to the King, to have Heretical books found in her cloſet; and this was ſo much aggravated againſt her, that they prevailed with the King, to ſign a Warrant to commit her to the *Tower*, with a purpoſe to have her burnt for Hereſie.

She is accuſed to the King of Hereſie. This Warrant was delivered to *Wriothſley* Lord Chancellour, and he by chance, or rather indeed by Gods Providence, letting it fall from him, it was taken up and carried to the Queen; who having read it, went ſoon after to viſit the King, at that time keeping his Chamber, by reaſon of a ſore Leg: being come to the King, he preſently fell into talk with her, about ſome points of Religion, demanding her reſolution therein; but ſhe knowing that his nature was not to be croſt, ſpecially conſidering the caſe ſhe was in, made him anſwer, that ſhe was a woman accompanied with many imperfections, but his Majeſty was wiſe and judicious, of whom ſhe muſt learn as of her Lord and Head. Not ſo by Saint *Mary*, (ſaid the King) for you are a Doctor, *Kate*, to inſtruct us, and not to be inſtructed by us, as often we have ſeen heretofore. Indeed Sir (ſaid ſhe) if your Majeſty have ſo conceived, I have been miſtaken; for if heretofore I have held talk with you touching Religion, it hath been to learn of your Majeſty ſome point, whereof I ſtood in doubt, and ſometimes that with my talk I might make you forget your preſent infirmity. And is it even ſo ſweet heart? (quoth the King) why then we are friends, and ſo kiſſing her, gave her leave to depart. But ſoon after, was the day appointed by the Kings Warrant for apprehending her; on which day, the King diſpoſed to walk in the Garden, had the Queen with him, when ſuddenly the Lord Chancellour with forty of the Guard came into the Garden with a purpoſe to apprehend her: whom as ſoon as the King ſaw, he ſtept to him, and calling him knave and fool, bid him avaunt out of his preſence. The Queen ſeeing him ſo angry with him, began to intreat for him: to whom the King ſaid, Ah poor ſoul! thou little knoweſt what it is he came about; of my word ſweet-heart he hath been to thee a very knave. And thus by Gods Providence was this Queen preſerved, who elſe had taſted of as bitter a cup, as any of his former Wives had done.

And by what means ſhe avoids the danger.

About this time King *Henry* and the Emperour ſent *Garter* and *Toyſon d'or*, Kings at Arms, to demand performance of certain Articles of the *French* King; which if he denyed, they were then commanded to defie him: but the *French* King would not ſuffer them to come within his land, and ſo they returned: whereupon King *Henry* cauſed the ſaid demands to be declared to the *French* Ambaſſadour at *Weſtminſter*; and in *July* ſent over ſix thouſand men, under the leading of Sir *John Wallop*, accompanied with divers Knights and Gentlemen. Sir *Thomas Seymour* was Marſhall of the Army, Sir *Robert Bowes* Treaſurer, Sir *Richard Cornwal* Captain of the Horſe, and Sir *George Carew* his Lieutenant. There were likewiſe Sir *Tho. Palmour*, Sir *John Rainsford*, Sir *John Saint-John*, and Sir *John Gaſcoigne*, Knights, that were Captains of the Foot. Their Commiſſion was to joyn with the Emperour, and together to make War upon *France*. The third of *Auguſt* open War was proclaimed in *London*, between the Emperour and the King of *England* on the one part, and the *French* King on the other, as mortal enemy to them both, and to all other Chriſtian Princes beſides, as he that had confederated

King *Henry* ſends over an Army to aid the Emperour againſt the King of *France*.

himself with the *Turk*. Sir *John Wallop* marching forth of *Callice* with his Army, joyned with the Emperours Forces, who together went and besieged *Landrecies*, a Town lately fortified by the *French*, lying within the Borders of the Emperours Dominions: to raise this siege the *French* King had raised a mighty Army, with which he came on as if he meant to give the Emperour Battel: and thereupon the Emperour raising his siege, with a purpose to encounter him, the *French* King took the opportunity to put men and victuals into the Town, which was the thing he intended; and having done this, the night following departed with his Army: and then the Emperour seeing him gone, and finding the Winter coming on, and no hope of sudden getting the Town, being now newly supplyed, he also broke up his Army, and returned home.

Lords made.

This year, the Sunday before Christmas, the Lord *William Parre*, Brother to the Queen, who had married the Daughter and Heir of *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, was at *Hampton-Court* created Earl of *Essex*; and Sir *William Parre* Knight, Uncle to them both, was made Lord *Parre* of *Horton*, and Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; and on New-years day Sir *Thomas Wriothsley*, the Kings Secretary, was made Lord *Wriothsley* of *Tichfield*.

King *James* his Parentage.

In *June* this year, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* fled out of *Scotland*, and came into *England*, whom King *Henry* received kindly, and gave him in marriage the Lady *Margaret* his Sisters Daughter, by whom he had *Henry*, Father of our late King *James* of blessed memory.

Thomas Audeley Lord Chancellour being lately dead, *Thomas* Lord *Wriothsley* succeeded him in the place: and now was an Army levied to go for *France*. The Duke of *Norfolk* and the Lord Privy Seal, accompanied with the Earl of *Surrey* the Dukes Son, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and his Son, Sir *Robert Devereux*, Sir *Tho. Cheiney* Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Lord *Montjoy*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Thomas Poynings* Captain of *Guysnes*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, about Whitsuntide passed over to *Callice*, and marching towards *Muttrel*, joyned with the Emperours Forces, under the leading of the *Count de Baron*; which two Armies laid siege to *Muttrel*, whereof Monsieur *de Bies*, one of the Marshals of *France*, was Captain: but being then at *Bulloigne*, and hearing of the siege of *Muttrel*, he left *Bulloigne*, and with his Forces came thither, which was the thing that was desired, to draw him from *Bulloigne*; and thereupon was the Duke of *Suffolk* appointed to pass over with the Kings Army, accompanied with the Earl of *Arundel* Marshal of the Field, the Lord *Saint John*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *John Gage* Comptroller of the Kings House, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Kings Horse, with divers others, who the nineteenth of *July* came and encamped before *Bulloigne*. The four and twentieth of *July* the King in person, accompanied with divers of the Nobility, came to *Callice*; and the six and twentieth encamped before *Bulloigne* on the North-side. Many batteries and assaults were made, so long, till at last the Town upon composition yielded, and the Duke of *Suffolk* entred and took possession, suffering six thousand *French*, as was agreed, with bag and baggage to depart. The eighth of *September* King *Henry* entred the Town himself, and then leaving the Lord *Lisle* Lord Admiral his Deputy there, he returned into *England*, landing at *Dover* the first of *October*. Many enterprises after this were made by the Dauphin of *France* and by Monsieur *de Bies* for recovery of *Bulloigne*, but they were still repulsed, and the *English* kept the Town in spight of all they could do; although at one time there came an Army of eighteen thousand foot, at another time an Army, wherein were reckoned twelve thousand Launce-Knights, twelve thousand *French* Footmen, six thousand *Italians*, four thousand of Legionary Souldiers of *France*, a thousand men of Arms, besides eight thousand light Horse; great Forces certainly to come and do nothing.

King *Henry* lays siege to *Bulloigne*.

He takes the Town and returns.

Whilest these things were doing about *Bulloigne*, the Ships of the West Country and other places wafted abroad on the Seas, and took above three hundred *French* Ships; so that the *Gray-fryers* Church in *London* was laid full of Wine, the *Austin-fryers* and *Black-fryers* full of Herrings and other Fish, which should have been conveyed into *France*.

Three hundred *French* Ships taken, laden with Wine and Herrings.

About this time the King demanded a Benevolence of his Subjects, towards his Wars in *France* and *Scotland*; to which purpose, the Lord Chancellour, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and other of the Kings Council sate at *Baynards*-Castle, where they first called before them the Mayor and Aldermen: and because *Richard Read* Alderman would not agree to pay as they set him, he was commanded to serve the King in his Wars in *Scotland*, which the obstinate man rather chose to do, than he would pay the rate he was required. But being there, he was taken prisoner by the *Scots*, to his far greater damage, than if he had agreed to the Benevolence required: for at this time Sir *Ralph Evers* Lord Warden of the Marches, after many fortunate Roads into *Scotland*, assembled four thousand men, and entring *Scotland* now again, was encountred by the Earl of *Arran*, by whom he and the Lord *Ogle*, and many other Gentlemen were slain, and divers were taken prisoners, of whom Alderman *Read* was one.

King *Henry* demands a Benevolence towards his Wars in *France*.

Richard Read Alderman, refusing to pay his Assessment, is sent a Souldier into *Scotland*, and there taken prisoner.

It was now the seven and thirtieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when on Saint *Georges* day Sir *Thomas Wriothsley* Lord Chancellour was made Knight of the Garter: also *Trinity* Term was adjourned by reason of the Wars, but the Exchequer and the Court of the Tenths were open.

1546.

Sir *Thomas Wriothsley* Lord Chancellour is made Knight of the Garter.

At this time the *English* Fleet went before *New-haven*, but being there encountered by a far greater Fleet of *French*, they returned; with whose retreat the *French* Admiral emboldened, came upon the Coast of *Sussex*, where he landed Souldiers; but upon firing of the Beacons was driven back: after which he landed two thousand men in the *Isle of Wight*, but was there repelled, though reported to have in his Ships threescore thousand men.

In *August* this year died the valiant Captain the Lord *Poynings*, the Kings Lieutenant of his Town of *Bulloigne*; and the same month also died

Charles Brandin Duke of Suffolk dieth.

died at *Guilford* the noble Duke of *Suffolk*, *Charles Brandon*, Lord Great Master of the Kings House, whose body was honourably buried at *Windsor* at the Kings cost.

About this time the *Scots*, having received aid out of *France*, approached the *English* Borders, but durst attempt nothing: whereupon the Earl of *Hartford*, Lieutenant of the North-parts, raising an Army of twelve thousand men, *English* and Strangers, entred *Scotland*, and burnt a great part of *Mers* and *Tividale*, as *Kelsey* Abbey, and the Town, the Abbeys of *Medrose*, *Driborne* and *Tedworth*, with a hundred Towns and Villages more: when on the sixteenth of *September*, an Army of *Scots* and *French* attempted to enter into *England* on the East Borders, but in a Streight were set upon by the *English*, who slew and took of them to the number of sevenscore, amongst whom was the Lord *Humes's* Son, and a principal *French* Captain. In another Road, which they made into the West Borders, the Lord *Maxwell's* Son, and divers other were taken: but then at another time, (such is the chance of War) five hundred *English* entring the West Borders of *Scotland* were discomfited, and the greatest part of them either taken or slain.

And now to revenge the presumptuous attempts of the *French* upon the *Isle* of *Wight*, the Lord Admiral with his Fleet approached the Coasts of *Normandy*, landed six thousand men at *Treport*, burnt the Suburbs of that Town with the Abbey, destroyed thirty Ships there in the Haven, and then returned, not having lost above fourteen persons in the whole Voyage.

A Peace concluded between the two Kings of England and France.

At this time the Earl of *Hartford* lying at *Bulloigne*, had in his Army above fourscore thousand men, and many skirmishes passed between him and the *French*; till at last, by mediation of the Emperour and divers other Princes, a meeting was appointed to treat of a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*. Hereupon there came to *Guysnes* for the King of *England*, the Earl of *Hartford*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *John Dudley*, Vicount *Lisle*, Baron of *Mawpas*, and High Admiral of *England*, Sir *William Paget* the Kings Secretary, and Doctor *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*: For the *French* King there came to *Ard*, *Claude Danebolt* Admiral of *France*, the Bishop of *Eureux*, Monsieur *Raymond* chief President of *Roan*, and the Secretary *Bouchetel*. Divers times they met betwixt *Ard* and *Guysnes*, and after long debating of matters, and divers breakings off, at length, the seventh of *June*, a Peace was concluded, and proclaimed in the City of *London*, on Whitsunday the thirtieth of *June*, by sound of Trumpet; and the same day in like manner at *Paris* and *Roan*: the chief Article of which Peace was this, that the *French* King paying to the King of *England* eight hundred thousand Crowns, within the term of eight years, should

Bulloigne is restored to the French upon payment of eight hundred thousand Crowns.

have *Bulloigne* again restored to him, which in the mean time should remain in possession of the King of *England*, as a pledge for assurance of the said money. And now for a full establishment of this Peace, the Vicount *Lisle* Lord Admiral, with the Bishop of *Duresme*, and divers other Lords were sent into *France*, to take Oath of the *French* King, and of the Dauphin; as likewise at the same time divers Lords came from the *French* King, to take Oath of King *Henry*, who by the way were met by the young Prince and many Lords, and conducted to the King at *Hampton-Court*.

All Colledges and Chantries are given to the King by Parliament.

In his seven and thirtieth year, the three and twentieth of *November*, a Parliament began at *Westminster*, wherein was granted to the King a Subsidy both of Spirituality and Temporality, and all Colledges, Chantries and Hospitals were given to him to dispose of. The four and twentieth of *December* the Parliament was prorogued, on which day the King coming to the Parliament-House, the Speaker made to him an Oration, which the Lord Chancellour was used to answer, but at this time the King would answer himself: the effect whereof was, that where Master Speaker had commended him for many excellent qualities that were in him, he thanked him for it, not that he had them, but for putting him in mind how necessary it was he should have them: then he thanked the whole House for their Subsidy, and for giving him the Colledges and Chantries, which he promised should be bestowed to the Glory of God & good of the Realm: lastly, he acknowledged their love to himself, but found fault with want of love to one another; for what love, where there is not concord? and what concord, when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptist; and he again calleth him Papist and Hypocrite? and this not only amongst those of the Temporality, but even the Clergy-men themselves preach one against another, inveigh one against another, without Charity or Discretion; some to be stiff in their old *Mumpsimus*, and others so curious in their new *Sumpsimus*, that few or none preacheth truly and sincerely the word of God. Now therefore let this be amended, fear and serve God, be in Charity among your selves, to the which I, as your Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you. And this said, the Acts were openly read; to some he gave his Royal assent, and to divers assented not.

The King answers the Speakers Speech himself, and the effect of his Speech.

Whilst the Oath for the Peace was thus taken by both Kings, *Bulloigne* remaining still in King *Henry's* possession, Monsieur *de Chatillon* Captain of *Mont-pleasier* began to make a new Bastillion at the very mouth of the Haven of *Bulloigne*, naming it *Chatillons* Garden: hereof the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, as then Deputy of *Bulloigne*, advertised the King by Sir *Thomas Palmour*, requiring to know his pleasure whether he should raze it, as a thing very incommodious to the Town, or let it stand. The King asked advice of his Council, who all agree, that the Conditions of the Peace ought in no wise to be infringed, and therefore to let the Bastillion stand: whereupon the King caused his Secretary the Lord *Paget* to write a Letter to the Lord *Gray* to that purpose; but then called Sir *Thomas Palmour* secretly to him, bidding him tell the Lord *Gray*, that whatsoever he had written in his Letter, yet with all speed possible he should raze the Fortification to the ground. Sir *Thomas Palmour* replying, that a message by word of mouth being contrary to his Letter, would never be believed; Well (said the King) do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing it to his choice. Upon the coming back of

Sir

Sir *Tho. Palmour*, the Lord *Gray* called a Council, shewing them the Kings Letter, and withall Sir *Thomas Palmour*'s Message, and then asked their advice, what in this case he should do; who all agreed without any question, that the Letter was to be followed, and not the Message: to which the Lord *Gray* himself said nothing, but caused the Message to be written *verbatim* from Sir *Thomas Palmour*'s mouth, and those of the Council to set their hands to it: this done, the night following he issued forth with a company of armed men and Pioneers, and overthrew the Fortifications to the ground, and then sent Sir *Thomas Palmour* with Letters to the King, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, What, will he do it or no? Sir *Thomas Palmour* delivering his Letter, said, Your Majesty shall know by these; but then the King half angry, Nay tell me (saith he) will he do it or no? Being then told it was done, and the Fortifications clean razed, he turned to his Lords and said, What say you my Lords to this, *Chatillons* Garden is razed to the floor? Whereto one presently answered, he that had done it was worthy to lose his head: to which the King straightly replyed, That he would rather lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged, than one such servant as had done it; and therewith commanded the Lord *Gray*'s Pardon should presently be drawn; the which he sent with Letters of great thanks, and promise of reward. The cause why the King took this course was this, lest if he had written the razing of the Fortification in this Letter, it might have come to the *French*-mens knowledge, before it could have been done, and so have been prevented. And this may be taken as a scantling of King *Henry*'s great capacity.

The Lord *Gray* obeyeth a Message from the King before the Kings Letter.

1547.

It is now the eight and thirtieth year of his Reign, when about *Michaelmas*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* his Son and Heir, upon certain surmises of Treason, were committed to the Tower of *London*: and the thirteenth of *January*, the King then lying at the point of death, the said Earl was arraigned in the *Guild-hall*, before the Lord Mayor, the Lord Chancellour, and other Lords there in Commission. The special matter wherewith he was charged, was the bearing of certain Arms that were said to belong to the King and to the Prince; though the Earl justified the bearing of them as belonging to divers of his Ancestours; affirming withall, that he had the opinion of Heralds therein. But this notwithstanding, being no Lord of the Parliament, he was tryed by a common Jury, by them was found guilty, and thereupon had judgment of death; and the nineteenth of *January* was beheaded on the *Tower-hill*. The Duke was attainted by Parliament, and kept in prison, till in the first year of Queen *Mary* the Attainder was reversed. The death of this Earl might lay an imputation of cruelty upon King *Henry*, if a just jealousie growing from the many circumstances of the Earls greatness, in the tender age of his own Son, did not excuse him.

The Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son the Earl of *Surrey* committed to the *Tower*, and why.

The Earl is beheaded.

Soon after the death of this Earl, the King himself died; having made his last Will, in which he took order, that his Son *Edward* should succeed him in the Crown, and he dying without Issue, his Daughter *Mary*, and she dying without Issue, his Daughter *Elizabeth*; although another order of succession had passed before by Act of Parliament. The Executors of his last Will were these sixteen; *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Wriothsley* Lord Chancellour, Sir *William Pawlet* Lord *Saint-John* and great Master of the Household, Sir *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford* and high Chamberlain of *England*, Sir *John Russel* Lord Privy-Seal, Sir *John Dudley* Vicount *Lisle* Lord Admiral, *Cuthbert Tunstal* Bishop of *Durham*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, Sir *Edmund Montacute* Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *Thomas Bromley* one of the Justices of the *Kings Bench*, Sir *Edward North* Chancellour of the Augmentation, Sir *William Paget* Knight of the Order, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Herbert*, Sir *Edward Wotton* Treasurer of *Callice*, and *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. To whom were adjoyned as Assistants these twelve; *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel*, *William Par* Earl of *Essex*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Treasurer of the Household, Sir *John Gage* Comptroller, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *William Peter* Principal Secretary, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker* of *Sissinghurst* in *Kent*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, and Sir *Edward Peckham*. And it was not without need to leave a full Council-Table, considering in what terms he left the Kingdom when he died. Abroad, in league with the Emperour, at Peace with the King of *France*; but whether these were not personal only, and no longer binding than King *Henry* lived, might be doubted: with the *Scots* at deadly feud; with the Pope at utter defiance; from both which Coasts there could be expected but little fair weather: at home the frame of Religion extremely disjoynted; and the Clergy that should set it in frame, out of frame themselves; the minds of the people extremely distracted; and the Nobility that should cement them, scarce holding themselves together. And in this state was the Kingdom when King *Henry* the eighth died, in the year 1547. the fifty sixth of his life, and of his Reign the eight and thirtieth.

His Executors.

Assistants to his Executors.

King *Henry* dieth.

Of his Taxations.

IN his fourth year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, was granted to the King two Fifteenths of the Temporality, and two Tenths of the Clergy, and Head-money; of every Duke ten Marks, an Earl five pounds, a Baron four pounds, a Knight four Marks, and every man valued at eight hundred pounds in Goods to pay four Marks, and so after that rate till him that was valued at forty shillings, and he paid twelve pence, and every man and woman of fifteen years and upward four pence. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein divers Subsidies were granted to the King, towards the charges of his Wars in *France*. In his fourteenth year, order was taken by the Cardinal, that the true value of all mens substance might be known, and he would have had every man sworn, to tell what he was worth, and

Every man sworn what he is worth, and to give the Tenth part to the King.

and required a tenth part thereof, towards the Kings charges in the preſent Wars, as the Spirituality had granted a fourth part. This the *Londoners* thought very hard, and thereupon were excuſed for taking Oath, and were allowed to bring in their Bills upon their honeſties: but when all was done, after much labouring by the Cardinal, the Clergy granted one half of all their yearly Spiritual Revenues, for five years, and the Temporality two ſhillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upwards; and from forty ſhillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty ſhillings twelve pence; and under forty ſhillings, of every head of ſixteen years and upwards, four pence, to be paid in every two years. In his ſixteenth year, the Cardinal of his own head attempted by Commiſſion, to draw the people to pay the ſixth part of every mans ſubſtance in Plate or Money; but this was generally oppoſed, and the people in many Countreys roſe upon it, ſo as coming to the Kings knowledge, he utterly diſavowed it, and blamed the Cardinal exceedingly for attempting it. In his four and twentieth year, in a Parliament then holden, a fifteenth was granted to the King, towards his Charges of making Fortifications againſt *Scotland*. In his one and thirtieth year, a Subſidy of two ſhillings in the pound of Lands, and twelve of Goods, with four fifteens, were granted to the King, towards his charges of making Bulwarks. In his five and thirtieth year, a Subſidy was granted to be paid in three years, every *Engliſh*-man being worth in Goods twenty ſhillings and upwards to five pounds, to pay four pence of every pound; and from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; and from ten pounds to twenty pounds, 12 pence; from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound two ſhillings: Strangers, as well Denizens as others, being Inhabitants, to pay double. And for Lands, every *Engliſh*-man paid eight pence of the pound, from twenty ſhillings to five pounds, and from five pounds to ten pounds ſixteen pence, and from ten pounds to twenty pounds two ſhillings, and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound three ſhillings: Strangers double. The Clergy ſix ſhillings in the pound of Benefices, and every Prieſt having no Benefice, but an Annual ſtipend, ſix ſhillings eight pence yearly, during three years.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN a Parliament holden his ſixth year, divers Laws were made, but two moſt ſpoken of; one for Apparel, another for Labourers. In his twelfth year, he cauſed the Statutes againſt Incloſures to be revived, and commanded that decayed Houſes ſhould be built up again, and that Incloſed Grounds ſhould be laid open; which though it did ſome good, yet not ſo much as it might have done, if the Cardinal for his own benefit had not procured liberty for great men to keep up their Incloſures, to the oppreſſion of poor men. In his ſeventeenth year, the King lying at *Eltham*, divers Ordinances were made by the Cardinal touching the Governance of the Kings Houſe, and were long after called the Statutes of *Eltham*. In his eighteenth year, in the month of *May*, Proclamation was made againſt all unlawful Games, ſo that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cards, and Bowls were taken and burnt; but this Order continued not long, for young men being reſtrained from theſe Games, fell ſome to drinking, ſome to ſtealing of Coneys and Deer, and ſuch other miſdemeanours. Alſo in this year was an inhaunſing of Coin, for the preventing the carrying it over to places where it went at a higher rate; ſo that the Angel that went before but for ſeven ſhillings, ſhould now go for ſeven and ſix pence, and every Ounce of Gold ſhould be five and forty ſhillings, which was before but forty, and other Coins accordingly. In his twentieth year, Sir *James Spencer* being Mayor of *London*, the Watch uſed on Midſummer-night was laid down. In his three and thirtieth year, in a Parliament then holden, an Act was made, that whoſoever ſhould poyſon any perſon, ſhould be boyled to death; by which Statute, one *Richard Roofe*, who had poyſoned divers perſons in the Biſhop of *Rocheſters* place, was boyled to death in *Smithfield*, to the terrible example of all other. In his two and twentieth year, three Acts were made, one for probate of Teſtaments, another for Mortuaries, the third againſt plurality of Benefices, Non-reſidence, buying and taking of Farms by Spiritual perſons. In his thirtieth year, it was ordained by *Cromwell* the Kings Vicar-General, that in all Churches a Regiſter ſhould be kept of every Wedding, Chriſtning and Burial within the ſame Pariſh for ever. In his one and thirtieth year, the King firſt inſtituted and appointed fifty Gentlemen called Penſioners, to wait upon his Perſon, aſſigning to each of them fifty pounds a year, for the maintenance of themſelves and two Horſes. In his ſix and thirtieth year, Proclamation was made for the inhaunſing of Gold to eight and forty ſhillings, and Silver to four ſhillings the Ounce; alſo he cauſed to be coined baſe Money, mingling it with Braſs, which was ſince that time called down the fifth year of *Edward* the ſixth, and called in the ſecond year of Queen *Elizabeth*. In his ſeven and thirtieth year, the Brothel-houſes called the Stews, on the *Bank-ſide* in *Southwark*, were put down by the Kings Commandment, and it was done by Proclamation and ſound of Trumpet. In his three and twentieth year, it was enacted, that Butchers ſhould ſell their meat by weight, Beef for a half-peny the pound, and Mutton for three farthings: alſo at this time foreign Butchers were permitted to ſell their fleſh in *Leaden-hall Market*, which before was not allowed. In his time alſo the Government of the Preſident in the North was firſt inſtituted, and the firſt Preſident there was *Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*.

Dice and Cards forbidden.

Coin inhaunſed.

A Regiſter of all Weddings, Chriſtnings, and Burials, when firſt kept.

The Gentlemen-Penſioners when firſt ordained.

The Stews put down.

Butchers appointed to ſell their meat by weight.

The Preſident of the North when firſt ordained.

Incloſures commanded to be laid open.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the year 1517. the eighth year of this Kings Reign, *Martin Luther* of *Wittenberg* in *Germany*, a Fryer of the Order of the *Hermites*, taking occaſion from the abuſe of Indulgences, began to preach againſt the Authority of the Pope, and to bring in a Reformation of Religion. For repreſſing of whom, the Council of

Luther brings in a Reformation of Religion.

of *Trent* was called by Pope *Paul* the third, in the year 1542. which continued above forty years, but was never received in the Kingdom of *France:* which Council, by decreeing many things to be Points of Faith, which were not so accounted before, hath made no small distraction amongst Papists themselves. Against this *Luther*, King *Henry* wrote a Book with great bitterness, and with as great bitterness was answered. At the same time with *Luther*, there arose also in the same Countrey other Reformers of Religion, as *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Melanchthon*; who differing from *Luther* in some few points, made the difference which is at this day of *Lutherans* and Protestants, so called at first at *Augspurg*, for making a Protestation in defence of their Doctrine, which soon after spread all Christendom over. King *Henry* in the six and twentieth year of his Reign, had excluded the Popes Authority out of his Realm: but thinking the work not sufficiently done, as long as Abbeys and Priories kept their station, which were, as it were, his Fortresses and Pillars; there was not long after means found to have them suppressed: for aspersions being laid upon them (and perhaps no more than truth) of Adulteries and Murthers, they by Act of Parliament, in his eight and twentieth year, at least near four hundred of them were suppressed, and all their Lands and Goods conferred upon the King. In his one and thirtieth year, all the rest: and lastly, in his five and thirtieth year, all Colledges, Chantries, and Hospitals. So as the Hives being now all removed, there have never since any Bees or Drones been seen in the Country. In this Kings time the City of *Rome* was taken and sacked by the Imperial Army, forcing the Pope to flie to his Castle Saint *Angelo*, there kept a Prisoner, till he agreed to such conditions as his Adversaries propounded. In the two and twentieth year of this Kings Reign, a Proclamation was set forth, that no person should purchase any thing from the Court of *Rome*; and this was the first blow given to the Pope in *England*. In his three and twentieth year, the Clergy submitting themselves to the King, for being found guilty of a Præmunire, were the first that called him Supreme Head of the Church. In his four and twentieth year a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made, that Bishops should pay no more Annates or money for their Bulls to the Pope; and another, that no person should appeal for any cause out of this Realm to the Court of *Rome*, but from the Commissary to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King, and all causes of the King to be tried in the upper House of the Convocation. In his six and twentieth year, in *July*, *John Frith* was burnt in *Smithfield*, and with him at the same stake one *Andrew Hewet* a Taylor, both for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament. And in a Parliament holden this year, an Act was made which Authorized the Kings Highness to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and the Authority of the Pope to be abolished and then also was given to the King the First-fruits and Tenths of all Spiritual Livings.

The difference between *Lutherans* and Protestants.

The King when first called Supreme Head of the Church.

No more Annates to be paid to *Rome*; nor Appeals to be made to the Pope.

The First-fruits and Tenths given to the King.

And this year were many put to death, Papists for denying the Kings Supremacy, Protestants for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament: and it is incredible what number for these two causes were put to death in the last ten years of the Kings Reign, of whom if we should make particular mention, it would reach a great way in the Book of Martyrs. In his eight and twentieth year, the Lord *Cromwell* was made Vicar-General under the King over the Spirituality, and sate divers times in the Convocation-house amongst the Bishops as Head over them; and in *September* this year he set forth Injunctions, commanding all Parsons and Curates to teach their Parishioners the *Pater-noster*, the *Ave*, and *Creed*, with the ten Commandments and the Articles of the Christian Faith, in the *English* tongue. In his one and thirtieth year, was set forth by the Bishops the Book of the Six Articles, condemning all for Hereticks, and to be burnt, that should hold,

1. *That the Body of Christ was not Really present in the Sacrament after Consecration.*
2. *That the Sacrament might not be truly administred under one kind.*
3. *That Priests entred into Holy Orders might marry.*
4. *That Vows of Chastity entred into upon mature deliberation, were not to be kept.*
5. *That private Masses were not to be used.*
6. *That Auricular Confession was not necessary in the Church.*

The Six Articles set forth by the Bishops.

This year also the Religion of Saint *Johns* in *England*, commonly called the Order of Knights of the *Rhodes*, was dissolved; and on Ascension-day, Sir *William Weston* Knight, Prior of Saint *Johns*, departed this life, for thought, (as was reported) after he heard of the dissolution of his Order; for the King took all the Lands that belonged to that Order into his own hands. In his six and thirtieth year, the Litany or Procession was set forth in *English*, with commandment by the King, to be generally used in Parish-Churches.

The Order of Saint *Johns* dissolved.

Works of Piety done by him or others in his time.

UPon the suppression of Abbeys, King *Henry* instituted six new Bishopricks, and six Cathedral-Churches, endowing them with convenient Maintenance: he also gave competent Pensions during their lives, to such Religious persons as were turned out of their Cloisters: he also instituted in both the Universities Professors of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues, of Divinity, Civil Law, and Physick, allowing to each of them forty pounds a year: he also founded a Colledge at *Cambridge*. He gave at his death a thousand Marks to the Poor; and to twelve poor Knights of *Windsor*, each of them twelve pence a day for ever, and every year a long Gown of white Cloth. But his greatest work of Piety was his putting down the Stews in *Southwark*. *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, the Kings Grandmother, founded two Colledges at *Cambridge*, *Christs-Colledge* and Saint *Johns*. In the fifth year of this Kings Reign *George Monox* Mayor of

Professors of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues first instituted in both Universities.

of *London*, re-edified the decayed Steeple of the Church of *Waltham-stow* in *Essex*, adding thereunto a Side-Isle with a Chappel, where he lieth buried: on the North-side of the Church-yard there he founded a fair Almshouse, for a Priest and thirteen poor men and women, giving them a weekly maintenance. He also, for the commodity of Travellers, made a Cawsey of Timber over the Marshes, from *Waltham-stow* to *Lock-bridg* towards *London*. In this Kings eighth year, *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* founded *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, minding to have made it an house for Monks; but *Hugh Oldham*, Bishop of *Exeter*, perswaded him to make it rather a Colledge for Scholars, and joyning with him in it, contributed great sums of money towards it, contenting himself only with the name of a Benefactor. In his seventh year King *Henry* builded the Tower of *Greenwich*. In this Kings time Cardinal *Wolsey* founded two Colledges, one at *Oxford*, another at *Ipswich*. To his Colledge at *Oxford* he had given four thousand pounds Land a year; but his Lands being all confiscate to the King, the King took the Lands, but yet gave to the Colledge a competent maintenance for a Dean, eight Prebends, and a hundred Fellows: which Colledge is now called *Christ-Church*, and accounts King *Henry* for their Founder. His Colledge at *Ipswich* was demolished. This Cardinal also built *Hampton-Court*, the chiefest at this day of all the Kings Houses; and built or inlarged *White-hall*, called then *York-Place*. King *Henry* in his four and twentieth year built also his Mansion-House of *Saint James*, where also he made a fair Park. This Place before had been an Hospital of Sisters, with whom the King compounded, giving them Pensions during their lives. In his thirtieth year, *Nicholas Gibson* Grocer, then Sheriff of *London*, builded a Free-School at *Ratcliff* near *London*, with maintenance for a Master and an Usher; he also builded an Alms-house there for fourteen poor and aged people. In his one and thirtieth year, *Thomas Huntlow*, the then Sheriff of *London*, gave certain Tenements to the Haberdashers, for finding of ten Alms-men of the same Company. In his six and thirtieth year, Sir *John Allen*, who had been twice Mayor of *London*, and of the Kings Council, gave at his death to the City of *London* a rich Collar of Gold, to be worn by the Mayor: which Collar was first worn by Sir *William Laxton* on Saint *Edwards* day, at the election of the new Mayor, who gave to every Ward in *London* twenty pounds, to be distributed among poor Housholders; besides to sixscore persons, whereof threescore men, to every one a Gown of Broadcloth, and a black Cap; and threescore women, to every one a Gown of the like Cloth, and a white Kerchief. In the eight and thirtieth year, King *Henry* gave to the City of *London*, for relief of poor people in S. *Bartholomews* Spittle, the Church of the *Gray-fryers*, and two Parish-Churches, the one at S. *Nicholas* in the Shambles, the other S. *Ewins* in *Newgate-market*, all to be made one Parish-Church of the *Gray-fryers*; and in Lands he gave for the maintenance of the same five hundred Marks a year for ever: and this Church to be named *Christ-Church*, founded by King *Henry* the Eighth. The Lady *Elizabeth Hollys* (the Widow of Sir *William Hollys* Knight, late Lord Mayor of the City of *London*) by her last Will and Testament, dated the 17 of *February* 1543. and in the thirty fifth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, and proved at *London* in the Prerogative-Court of *Canterbury* the 28 of *March* 1544. did will her Executors, her Cousin Mr. *Andrew Jud* Alderman, (afterwards Knight and Lord Mayor of *London*) and her Brother *Thomas Scopham*, that they should provide a place or plot of ground, whereon should be erected six Almshouses for six aged folks, men or women, or else both, to inhabit and dwell in; for the maintenance of which, she willed that her said Executors should purchase as much Land or Tenements within the City of *London*, or Liberties of the same, as would amount *de claro* above all charges to the yearly value of ten pound sterling, to be distributed in this manner: that is to say, to every of the said six Alms-people seven pence by the Week, to be paid on every Saturday or Sabbath-day weekly; and the remainder of the said yearly ten pound to be distributed in Coals yearly, in the Winter season, to and amongst the said six Alms-people: and this to continue for ever, whiles the World shall endure, as by the said Will may appear; which was afterwards accordingly effected by her said Executors. Which said Lady *Elizabeth Hollys* and Sir *William Hollys*, were great Grandfather and great Grandmother unto *John Hollys* Knight, Earl of *Clare*, &c. deceased.

Corpus Christi Colledge in *Oxford*, when and by whom founded.

Christ-Church in *Oxford* founded.

Hampton-Court by whom built.

S. *James* when first built.

Christ-Church Hospital in the Shambles founded.

Casualties in his time.

IN his ninth year happened a Sweating-sickness, whereof infinite multitudes in many parts of *England* died, especially in *London*; which was so violent, that in three, and sometimes two hours, it took away mens lives, and spared neither rich nor poor: for in the Kings Court, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, and many Knights, Gentlemen and Officers died of it. It began in *July*, and continued to the midst of *December*. In his thirteenth year was a great Mortality in *London*, and other places of the Realm, and many men of Honour and Worship died; amongst others, Doctor *Fitz-James* Bishop of *London*, in whose place Doctor *Tunstall* succeeded. In his fifteenth year, after great Rains and Winds, there followed so sore a Frost, that many died for cold; and some lost Fingers, some Toes, and many their Nails. In his nineteenth year, by extremity of rain in Seed-time, there followed a great dearth of Corn; which would have caused great calamity, but that it was relieved in *London* by Merchants of the *Steel-yard* out of *Germany*, and a thousand quarters supplied out of the Kings own provision. In his twentieth year, in the end of *May*, began in *London* another Sweating-sickness, which afterwards infected all places of the Realm; by reason whereof the Term was adjourned, and the Circuit of the Assises also. Many died in the Court, as Sir *Franc. Poynes*, Sir *William Compton*, Knights, and

A Sweating Sickness, of which many great men died.

Another Sweating-sickness.

William Carew Esquire of the Kings Privy-Chamber. The King himself for a space removed almost every day, till he came to *Tittinghanger*, a place of the Abbot of *Saint Albans*, where he with the Queen and a small number remained till the Sickness was past. In his thirtieth year, the manner of casting Pipes of Lead for conveyance of Water under ground, without using of Soder, was first invented by *Robert Brocke* Clerk, one of the Kings Chaplains: a profitable Invention; for by this, two men and a boy will do more in one day, than could have been done before by many men in many days. *Robert Cooper* Goldsmith was the first that made the Instruments, and put this Invention in practice. In a Rebellion in the North in this Kings time, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent with an Army against the Rebels, and that a day of Battel between them was appointed; it happened, that the night before a small Brook called *Dun*, running between the two Armies, upon the fall of a small rain swelled to such a height, that it was not passable by either Foot or Horse; a thing which had never happened before upon a great rain, and was then accounted (as indeed it was) no less than a Miracle. In his three and thirtieth year was a great Mortality in the Realm, by reason of hot Agues and Fluxes; and withall so great a drought, that small Rivers were clean dried, much Cattel died for lack of water, and the *Thames* was grown so shallow, that the Salt-water flowed above *London-bridge*, till the rain had encreased the fresh-waters. In his five and thirtieth year, the first cast Pieces of Iron that ever were made in *England*, were made at *Buckstead* in *Sussex* by *Ralph Hage* and *Peter Bawde*. In his six and thirtieth year, was a great Plague in *London*, so as *Michaelmas* Term was adjourned to *Saint Albans*, and there kept. In his seven and thirtieth year, on Tuesday in *Easter-week*, *William Foxely*, Pot-maker for the Mint of the Tower of *London*, fell asleep, and could not be waked with pinching, or burning, till the first day of the next Term, which was full fourteen days; and when he awaked, was found in all points as if he had slept but one night, and lived forty years after. About his fifteenth year, it happened that divers things were newly brought into *England*, whereupon this Rhyme was made,

Casting Pipes of Lead without Soder, when, and by whom first invented.

A miraculous sudden rising of the River *Dun*.

The first cast Pieces of Iron made.

One that slept fourteen days together without waking.

Divers things newly brought into *England*.

Turkeys, Carps, Hops, Piccarel, and Beer,
Came into ENGLAND *all in one year.*

Of his Wives and Children.

KIng *Henry* had six Wives. His first was *Katharine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother *Arthur*. She lived his Wife above twenty years, and then was divorced from him; after which she lived three years by the name of *Katharine Dowager*: she deceased at *Kimbolton* in the County of *Huntington*, the eighth of *January*, in the year 1535. and lieth interred in the Cathedral-Church of *Peterborough*, under a Herse of black Say, having a white Cross in the midst. His second Wife was *Anne*, second Daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*. She was married to him the five and twentieth day of *January*, in the year 1533. lived his Wife three years, three months, and five and twenty days, and then was beheaded, and her body buried in the Choir of the Chappel in the Tower. His third Wife was *Jane*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, and Sister to the Lord *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*, and Duke of *Somerset*: she was married to him the next day after the beheading of Queen *Anne*, lived his Wife one year, five months, and four and twenty days, and then died in Child-bed, and was buried in the midst of the Choir of the Church within the Castle of *Windsor*. His fourth Wife was *Anne*, Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*. She lived his Wife six months, and then was divorced: she remained in *England* long after the Kings death, and accompanied the Lady *Elizabeth* through *London*, at the solemnizing of Queen *Maries* Coronation. His fifth Wife was *Katharine*, Daughter of *Edmund*, and Niece of *Thomas Howard* his Brother, Duke of *Norfolk*. She was married to him in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, lived his Wife one year, six months, and four days, and then was beheaded in the Tower of *London*, and buried in the Chancel of the Chappel by Queen *Anne Bullen*. His sixth Wife was *Katharine*, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Parre* of *Kindal*, and Sister to the Lord *William Parre*, Marquess of *Northampton*. She was first married to *John Nevil* Lord *Latimer*, and after his decease to the King at *Hampton-Court*, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign. She was his Wife three years, six months, and five days; and then surviving him, was again married to *Thomas Seymour* Lord Admiral of *England*, unto whom she bore a Daughter, but died in her Child-bed, in the year 1548. He had Children by his first Wife Queen *Katharine*, *Henry* born at *Richmond*, who lived not full two months, and was buried at *Westminster*; also another Son, whose name is not mentioned, lived but a short time neither; then a Daughter, named *Mary*, born at *Greenwich*, in the eighth year of his Reign, who came afterward to be Queen of *England*. By his second Wife, Queen *Anne Bullen*, he had a Daughter named *Elizabeth*, born at *Greenwich*, in the five and twentieth year of his Reign; who succeeded her Sister *Mary* in the Crown: he had also by her a Son, but born dead. By his third Wife, Queen *Jane*, he had a Son named *Edward*, born at *Hampton-Court* in the nine and twentieth year of his Reign, who succeeded him in the Kingdom. Besides these, he had a base Son, named *Henry Fitz-Roy*, begotten of the Lady *Talboyse*, called *Elizabeth Blunt*, born at *Blackmore* in *Essex*, in the tenth year of his Reign; who was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, married *Mary* Daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*; with whom he lived not long, but died at S. *James* by *Westminster*, and was buried at *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was exceeding tall of stature, and very strong, fair of complexion, in his latter days corpulent and burly. Concerning his conditions,

ditions, he was a Prince of ſo many good parts, that one would wonder he could have any ill: and indeed he had not many ill, till flattery and ill counſel in his latter time got the upper hand of him. His Cruelty to his wives may not only be excuſed, but defended. For if they were incontinent, he did but Juſtice; if they were not ſo, yet it was ſufficient to ſatisfie his conſcience, that he thought he had cauſe to think them ſo: and if the Marriage-bed be honourable in all, in Princes it is ſacred. In ſuppreſſing of Abbeys he ſhewed not little Piety, but great Providence: for though they were excellent things being rightly uſed, yet moſt peſtilent being abuſed; and then may the uſe be juſtly ſuppreſſed, when the abuſe ſcarce poſſibly can be reſtrained. To think he ſuppreſſed Abbeys out of covetouſneſs & deſire of gain, is to make him extremely deceived in his reckoning; for if we compare the profit with the charge that followed, we ſhall find him certainly a great loſer by the Bargain. He was ſo far from pride, that he was rather too humble; at leaſt he converſed with his Subjects in a more familiar manner than was uſual with Princes. So valiant, that his whole life almoſt was nothing but exerciſes of valour; and though performed amongſt his Friends in jeſt, yet they prepared him againſt his Enemies in earneſt, and they that durſt be his Enemies found it. It may be ſaid, the complexion of his Government for the firſt twenty years was ſanguine and jovial; for the reſt, cholerick and bloody: and it may be doubted, whether in the former he were more prodigal of his own treaſure, or in the latter of his Subjects blood: for as he ſpent more in Fictions, than any other King did in Realities; ſo in any diſtemper of his people, he had no other Phyſick but to open a vein. But we ſhall do him extreme wrong, to think that all the blood ſhed in his time was of his ſhedding: they were the Biſhops that were the *Draco*, to make the bloody Laws; the Biſhops that were the *Phalaris*, to put them in execution; the King oftentimes ſcarce knowing what was done. Certain it is, when a great Lord put a Gentlewoman the ſecond time on the Rack, the King hearing of it, exceedingly condemned him for ſuch extreme cruelty. As for Religion, though he brought it not to a full Reformation, yet he gave it ſo great a beginning, that we may truly ſay of that he did, *Dimidium plus toto.* They who charge him with the vice of Luſt, let them ſhew ſuch another example of Continence as was ſeen in him, to lie ſix months by a young Lady, and not to touch her; for ſo did he with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve.* But this is to make Noſegays: I like better to leave every Flower growing upon its ſtalk, that it be gathered freſh; which will be done by reading the ſtory of his Life.

Of his Death and Burial.

IT is recorded of him, that in his latter time he grew ſo fat and ſlothful, that engines were made to lift and remove him up and down. But howſoever, in the ſix and fiftieth year of his age, whether by a Dropſie, or by reaſon of an Ulcer in his Leg, he fell into a languiſhing Fever, which brought him into ſuch extremity, that his Phyſicians utterly deſpaired of his life: whereof yet none durſt ſpeak a word to him, till Maſter *Denny*, one of his Privy-Chamber, took the boldneſs to go to him, telling him of the danger he was in, and withall putting him in mind to think of his ſouls health. To which he anſwered, that he confeſſed his ſins to be exceeding great, yet had ſuch confidence in the mercy of God through Chriſt, that he doubted not of forgiveneſs, though they had been much greater. And being then asked by Maſter *Denny*, if he would have any Divine brought to him with whom to confer; he anſwered, he would willingly have the Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, but not yet a while, till he had taken a little reſt. Whereupon the Archbiſhop, being then at *Croydon*, was preſently ſent for: but before he could come, the King was grown ſpeechleſs, only ſeeming to retain a little memory, ſo as putting out his hand, and the Archbiſhop deſiring him to ſhew ſome ſign of his faith in Chriſt, he then wrung the Archbiſhop hard by the hand, and immediately gave up the ghoſt, the eight and twentieth of *January*, in the year 1547. the ſix and fiftieth of his age, and of his reign the eight and thirtieth. His Body with great ſolemnity was buried at *Windſor*, under a moſt coſtly and ſtately Tomb, begun in copper and gilt, but never finiſhed.

King Henry's religious carriage at his death.

Men of note in his time.

MEN famous for the Sword were many in his time, and in a manner all, that it is hard making choice without being partial; unleſs we ſhall prefer Dukes of equal valour before others of meaner calling: and then will the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* hold worthily the place firſt; and next to them the young Earl of *Surrey*, who had been more fortunate if he had been leſs valiant. Of men of Letters in his time, there were whole Armies in forein parts; the moſt famous were *Budæus*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *John Reuchlin*, *Eraſmus Roterodamus*, *Urſinus*, *Cornarius*, *Sadolet*, *Martin Bucer.* In *England* were *John Collet* Dean of *Pauls*, and Founder of the School there: *William Lily*, born at *Odiham* in *Hampſhire*, firſt School-Maſter of *Pauls* School; *Thomas Linaker*, a learned Phyſician; *John Skelton*, a pleaſant Poet; *William Horman*, Vice-Provoſt of *Eaton*, who wrote divers works; Sir *Thomas More*; *William Tindal*; *John Raſtal* a Citizen and Stationer of *London*; *Chriſtopher Saint-Germane*, an excellent Lawyer; Sir *Thomas Ellyot*; *John Leland*, a diligent ſearcher of Antiquities; Sir *John Bourchier* Knight, Lord *Berners*, who tranſlated the Chronicles of *Froiſard* out of *French* into *Engliſh*; *Henry Standiſh*, Biſhop of *Saint Aſaph*, who wrote a Book againſt *Eraſmus* tranſlation of the New Teſtament; *Arnold* of *London*, who wrote certain Collections touching Hiſtorical matters; *Thomas Lupſet* a *Londoner*, who wrote ſundry vertuous Treatiſes; *Henry Bradſhaw*, a black Monk, who wrote the life of Saint *Werburough*, and alſo a certain Chronicle; *John Palſgrave* a *Londoner*, who wrote inſtructions for the perfect underſtanding of the *French* tongue; *John Skuiſh* a *Corniſh*-man, who wrote certain Abbrevations

John Collet Dean of *Pauls.*

John Skelton the pleaſant Poet.

of Chronicles, with a Treatise of the Wars of *Troy*; *Anthony Fitz-Herbert*, a Judge, who wrote an Abridgment of the Law; *Wilfride Holme*, who wrote a Treatise of the Rebellion in *Lincolnshire*; *Tho. Lanquet*, who wrote an Epitome of Chronicles, and also of the winning of *Bullogn*; *Thomas Soulman* of *Gernsey*, who wrote divers notes of History; *Cuthbert Tunstal* Bishop of *Durham*; *Robert Whittington*, who wrote divers Treatises for the instruction of Grammarians; *John Russel*, who wrote a Treatise entituled, *Super Jure Cæsaris & Papæ*, also Commentaries in *Cantica*; *Simon Fish* a *Kentish*-man, who wrote a Book called the Supplication of Beggars; *George Bullen* Lord *Rochford*, Brother to Queen *Anne*, who wrote divers Songs and Sonnets; *Francis Bigod* Knight, born in *Yorkshire*, who wrote a Book against the Clergy, intituled *De Impropriationibus*; *Henry* Lord *Morley*, who wrote divers Treatises, as Comedies and Tragedies, as the Life of Sectaries, and certain Rhymes; *William Botevile, alias Thynne*, who restored the Works of *Chaucer*; *Richard Turpin*, who serving in the Garrison of *Calice*, wrote a Chronicle of his time, and died in the year 1541. Sir *Thomas Wyat* Knight, who wrote divers matters in *English* Metre, and translated the seven Penitential Psalms, and (as some say) the whole Psalter; he died of the Pestilence, as he was going Ambassador to the Emperor, in the year 1541. *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, who wrote divers Treatises in *English* Metre; *John Field* a *Londoner*, who wrote a Treatise of mans Free-will, *De libero hominis Arbitrio*, and Collections of the Common Laws of *England*; *Robert Shingleton*, born in *Lancashire*, who wrote a Treatise of the seven Churches, and certain Prophecies; *William Parry* a *Welsh*-man, who wrote a Book entituled *Speculum Juvenum*.

Anthony Fitz-Herbert, who wrote an Abridgment of the Law.

Sir *Thomas Wyat* knight.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his first year,
Thomas Bradbury was Mayor for the part of the year. Sir *William Capel* for the rest.
George Monox, *John Doget*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir *Henry Kebble* was Mayor.
John Milborne, *John Rest*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Roger Achcley* was Mayor.
Nicholas Shelton, *Thomas Merfine*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *William Copinger* was Mayor for part of the year, Sir *Richard Haddon* for the rest.
Rob. Holdernes or *Alderns*, *Rob. Fenrother*, Sher.

In his fifth year,
Sir *William Brown* was Mayor.
John Dawet, *John Beuges*, *Roger Basford*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *George Monox* was Mayor.
James Tarford, *John Mundy*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *William Butler* was Mayor.
Henry Warley, *Rich. Gray*, *William Baily*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *John Rest* was Mayor.
Thomas Seymour, *John* or *Rich. Thurston*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *Thomas Exmewe* was Mayor.
Tho. Baldrie, *Ralph* or *Richard Simons*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *Thomas Merfine* was Mayor.
John Allen, *James Spencer*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir James Tarford was Mayor.
John Wilkinson, *Nicholas Patrick*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir *John Burg* was Mayor.
John Skevington, *John Kyme* alias *Keble*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir *John Milborn* was Mayor.
John Breton or *Britain*, *Tho. Pargiter*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir *John Mundy* was Mayor.
John Rudston, *John Champneis*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Sir *Thomas Baldrie* was Mayor.
Michael English, *Nicholas Jennings*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Sir *William Baily* was Mayor.
Ralph Dodmere, *William Roche*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Sir *John Allen* was Mayor.
John Caunton or *Calton*, *Christ. Askew*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir *Thomas Seymour* was Mayor.
Stephen Peacock, *Nicholas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir *James Spencer* was Mayor.
John Hardy, *William Hollys*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Sir *John Rudston* was Mayor.
Ralph Warren, *John Long*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,
Sir *Ralph Dodmere* was Mayor.
Michael Dormer, *Walter Champion*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
Sir *Thomas Pargiter* was Mayor.
Will. Dantesey or *Dancy*, *Rich. Champion*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Sir *Nicholas Lambert* was Mayor.
Richard Gresham, *Edward Altham*, Sheriffs.

In

In his twenty fourth year,
Sir *Stephen Peacock* was Mayor.
Richard Reynolds, John Martin, Nicholas Pinchon, John Priest, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
Sir *Christopher Askew* was Mayor.
William Forman, Thomas Kitson, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year,
Sir *John Champneis* was Mayor.
Nicholas Leveson, William Denham, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year,
Sir *John Allen* was Mayor.
Humfrey Monmouth, John Cotes, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Sir *Ralph Warren* was Mayor.
Robert or *Richard Paget, William Bowyer*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Sir *Richard Gresham* was Mayor.
John Gresham, Thomas Lewin, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
Sir *William Forman* was Mayor.
William Wilkinson, Nicholas Gibson, Sheriffs.

In his thirty first year,
Sir *William Hollys* was Mayor.
Thomas Ferrer, Thomas Huntlow, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year,
Sir *William Roche* was Mayor.
William Laxton, Martin Bows, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Sir *Michael Dormer* was Mayor.
Rowland Hill, Henry Suckley, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Sir *John Cotes* was Mayor.
Henry Hobbletborn, Henry Amcoats, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
Sir *William Bowyer* was Mayor.
John Tholouse, Richard Dobbes, Sheriffs.

In his thirty sixth year,
Sir *William Laxton* was Mayor.
John Wilford, Andrew Jud, Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year,
Sir *Martin Bows* was Mayor.
George Barne, Ralph Allen or *Alley*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,
Sir *Henry Hobbletborn* was Mayor.
Richard Jarvis, Thomas Curtis, Sheriffs.

The

The Reign of KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

An. Dom. 1547.

IT was now in the year 1547. when on the eight and twentieth of *January* King *Henry* dying, Prince *Edward*, his Son by his third Wife, the Lady *Jane Seymour*, and the onely Son he left behind him, as well by right of Inheritance, as by his laſt Will, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom; to whom, as being but nine years old, and therefore unripe for Government, he had aſſigned eight and twenty Counſellors: a fit number, if agreeing amongſt themſelves; too many, if at variance: and at variance they would ſoon fall, if there were not a Moderator to keep them in concord. The firſt work therefore neceſſary to be done in this new World, was to make choice of ſuch a man as might be to the Counſellors a Moderator, a Protector to the King, and in his minority to the Kingdom. To this place, by common conſent of the King and Council, *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*, the Kings Uncle, was choſen, to hold the place until the King ſhould accompliſh the age of eighteen years. In which Office the firſt thing he did, was to make the young King Knight; who preſently thereupon, made *Henry Hobblethorn* Mayor of *London* Knight. And then, King *Henry*'s Obſequies being ſolemnly performed, on the ſeventeenth of *February* were raiſed in honour, the Earl of *Hartford* Protector, to be Duke of *Somerſet*; *William Par* Earl of *Eſſex*, to be Marqueſs of *Northampton*; *Dudley* Vicount *Liſle*, to be Earl of *Warwick*; *Wriothſley* Lord Chancellor, to be Earl of *Southampton*: Sir *Thomas Seymour*, the Protectors Brother, was made Lord *Sudeley*, and Admiral of *England*,; Sir *Richard Rich* was made Lord *Rich*; Sir *William Willoughby* was made Lord *Willoughby*; and Sir *Edmund Sheffield* was made Lord *Sheffield* of *Butterwick*. On the nineteenth of *Febr.* the King in great ſtate rode from the *Tower* to the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, where the day following he was Crowned by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites accuſtomed, in great ſolemnity. At which time a general Pardon was proclaimed for all offenders, ſix only excepted; namely, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, *Edward Courtney* eldeſt Son to the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, Maſter *Forteſcue*, Maſter *Throgmorton*, and Doctor *Pate* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who was fled to *Rome*, to avoid taking the Oath of Supremacy. All which ſix continued unpardoned till the firſt year of Queen *Mary*, and then were reſtored. A few days after, the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord Chancellor, for being contumacious to the reſt of the Lords in matters of counſel, was removed both from his Office of being Chancellor, and from his place in Council, and the great Seal was delivered to Sir *William Pawlet*, Lord *Saint-John*, and Lord great Maſter of the Kings Houſhold.

The Earl of *Hartford* choſen Protector.

Advancement of divers in honour.

King *Edward* is Crowned.

Within two months after the death of King *Henry*, died *Francis* King of *France* alſo, for whom ſolemn Obſequies were kept in *Paul*'s Church, as he likewiſe had kept before at *Paris* for King *Henry*. Theſe two Kings were of ſo conſenting natures, that they had certainly been great friends while they lived, if they had not been Kings, and that jealouſie of ſtate had not made them oftentimes not to be themſelves.

Francis King of *France* dieth.

King *Henry* before his death had left in charge with the Lords of his Council, by all means poſſible to procure a proceeding in the Marriage with the young Queen of *Scots*; and now in diſcharge thereof, the Lord Protector himſelf, with an Army of twelve thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe, beſides Labourers and Pioneers thirteen hundred, entred *Scotland* the third of *September*: at which time alſo *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, with a Fleet of threeſcore Sail, aſſiſted by Sea. But before he would do any hoſtile Act, he cauſed Proclamation to be made, that his coming was only to have performance of the Articles heretofore agreed on for the Marriage, tending to the good of both Kingdoms; which if they would yield unto, he would then return in peaceable manner. And the more to draw them on, where before it was demanded to have the Queen brought into *England*, and there to be brought up, the Protector was content ſhe ſhould remain in *Scotland* till years of conſent. This demand the more moderate ſort of the *Scots* accounted very reaſonable; but thoſe of the *French* and Papal Faction, who were the greateſt perſons, and the greateſt number, ſtrongly oppoſed. Whereupon the Lord Protector preſently put his Army into Array. The Lord *Gray* and Sir *Francis Brian*, with eight hundred Light horſe, were ſent before, to provide Lodging for the Army, and to give advertiſement of the enemies approaches: then followed the Avant-guard, in number between three and four thouſand Foot, one hundred men at Arms, and ſix hundred Light horſe, led by the Earl of *Warwick*; then followed the main Battel, conſiſting of above ſix thouſand Foot, ſix hundred

The Protector enters *Scotland* with an Army, and why.

How he marſhalled his Army.

dred men at Arms, and one thousand Light horse, led by the Protector himself: lastly followed the Arrear, wherein were between three and four thousand Foot, one hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Light horse, under the conduct of the Lord *Dacres*. Upon one Wing the Artillery was drawn, being sixteen Pieces of great Ordnance; the other Wing was made by men at Arms and Demilances: for the Avant-guard and half the Battel riding about two flight-shot from their side, the other half of the Battel and the whole flank of the Arrear was closed by the Carriages, being nine hundred Carts besides Waggons; the rest of the men at Arms and the Demilances marched behind. In this order they marched two days, taking in three Castles as they went, with little resistance. Where it is memorable, what a sudden device the Defendants of one of them used to save themselves by: for finding they were no longer able to defend themselves, and that their obstinacy had excluded all hope of pardon; they made suit, that they might not presently be slain, but have some time to commend their souls to God, and afterwards be hanged: which respite being obtained, their Pardon afterward did more easily ensue. So much doth the winning of time oftentimes prevail, more than any other policy. The Governour of *Scotland*, hearing of the Protectors approach, and having no sufficient Army ready to resist him, sent his Heralds abroad into all parts of the Realm, and commanded the Fire-cross to be carried, (an ancient custom in cases of importance) which was two Firebrands set in fashion of a Cross, and pitched upon the point of a Spear; and therewith Proclamation to be made, that all above sixteen years of age, and under sixty, should resort forthwith to *Musselborough*, and bring convenient provision of victuals with them. By this means having gotten a sufficient Army, he set forward towards the *English*, who were now come to the River called *Linne*: and here the Earl of *Warwick*, being too venturous, was like to have been entrapped, but by his valour came off bravely. And now the *Scottish* Horsemen began to hover about the *English* Army, and to come pricking towards them, sometimes within length of their staves, using provoking words, to draw the *English* from their strength: but the Protector, not moved with their provocations, maintained a close march, till he came to *Salt-Preston* by the *Frith*, where he incamped within two miles of the *Scottish* Army. And here the *Scots*, having gotten the advantage of a Hill, came upon the *English* with the number of twelve hundred Horse, besides five hundred foot that lay in ambush behind the Hill: at which time the Lord *Gray* and *Francis Brian*, impatient of such braveries, obtained leave of the General to encounter them; and so as they came scattered upon the spur, within a stones cast of the *English*, and were beginning to wheel about, the Lord *Gray* with some Troops of Light-horse-men charged them home, and was forthwith seconded by certain numbers of Demilances, and both of them backed with a thousand men at Arms: yet the *Scots* resolutely maintained the fight three hours and more; but in the end, overlaid with number, they were put to flight, and chased almost to the edge of their Camp. In this fight the chiefest force of the *Scottish* Horse-men was defeated; the Lord *Hume* by a fall from his Horse lost his life, his Son and Heir, with two Priests, and six Gentlemen, were taken Prisoners, and about fifteen hundred slain. The next day the Protector and the Earl of *Warwick* rode towards the place where the *Scottish* Army lay, to view their manner of incamping. As they returned, an Herald and a Trumpeter from the *Scots* overtook them, who having obtained Audience, the Trumpeter said, that the Lord *Huntley* his Master, to spare effusion of Christian bloud, would fight upon the whole quarrel, either with twenty against twenty, or with ten against ten, or else try it between the Lord General and himself. The Protector answered, that for number of Combatants, it was not in his power to conclude any bargain; and as for himself, that being in Publick charge, it was not fit he should hazard himself against a man of Private conditions, which otherwise he would most willingly accept. Here the Earl of *Warwick* intreated the Lord General that he might accept the Challenge; and, Trumpeter, (saith he) bring me word that thy Master will perform the Combat with me, and thou shalt have an hundred Crowns for thy pains. Nay, rather (saith the Lord General) bring me word, that thy Master will abide and give us battel, and thou shalt have a thousand Crowns for thy pains. And thereupon, when no other agreement could be made, a general Battel was resolved on. In the Army of the *Scots* were five or six and thirty thousand men: in the Avant-guard, commanded by the Earl of *Angus*, about fifteen thousand; in the Battel, over whom was the Lord Governour, about ten thousand; and in the Arrear as many, led by the valiant *Gourdon*, Earl of *Huntley*. *Hackbutters* they had none, nor men at Arms, but about two thousand Horsemen, (Prickers as they term them;) the rest were all on foot, well furnished with Jacks and Scull, Pikes, Daggers, Bucklers made of board, and slicing Swords broad and thin. Every man had a long Kerchief folded twice or thrice about his neck, and many of them had Chains of Lattin, drawn three or four times along their hoses or doublet sleeves. They had also, to affright the Enemies Horses, great Rattles covered with Parchment or Paper, and small stones within put upon staves three ells long. And now both Armies joyned in Battel, where after a long fight, and much variety of fortune on both sides, at length the victory fell to the *English*. In this fight, divers of the Nobility of *Scotland* were slain; of the inferiour sort about ten, or, as some say, fourteen thousand: of the *English* were slain one and fifty Horsemen, and one Footman, but many hurt. The Lord *Gray* was dangerously thrust with a Pike in the mouth, which struck two inches into his neck. The *Scottish* Prisoners, accounted by the Marshals Book, were about fifteen hundred; the chief whereof were, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lords *Yester*, *Hobley*, and *Hamilton*, the Master of *Sanc-Poole*, and the Lord of *Weemes*. The Earl of *Huntley* being asked, whilst he was a Prisoner, how

The profit of winning time.

The Fire-cross erected in *Scotland*, and what it was.

The Battel of *Musselborough* Field.

The Lord *Huntley* challengeth the Protector to a single Combat, and the Protectors Answer.

How the *Scots* Army was Marshalled.

The great number of *Scots* slain, and the small number of the *English*.

how he ſtood affected to the Marriage; made this anſwer, That he liked the Marriage well enough, but he liked not this kind of wooing. This Victory of *Muſſelborough* againſt the *Scots* was on the tenth of *December*, the very ſame day on which thirty years before a Victory had been had againſt them at *Flodden* field: ſo as it ſeems this day was fatal to the *Scots*, and confirms the opinion of Aſtrologers, that there are days to ſome men fortunate, and unfortunate to others, if they could be known. This Victory ſtruck ſuch a terrour into many of the *Scots*, that the Earl of *Bothwel* & divers chief Gentlemen of *Tividale* and of *Mers* ſubmitted themſelves to the King of *England*, and were received by the Protector into his protection. After this, the *Engliſh* Army took many Towns and Caſtles, and then for want of Proviſion, returned into *England*, having not ſtayed above five and twenty days in *Scotland*, and not loſt above threeſcore men. After the taking of *Muſſelborough*, the Duke of *Somerſet* made many Knights, but three eſpecially; namely, Sir *Ralph Sadler* Treaſurer, Sir *Francis Brian* Captain of the Light Horſe, and Sir *Ralph Vane* Lieutenant of all the Horſemen, he made Bannerets, which is a dignity above a Knight, and next to a Baron: and theſe were the laſt that from that time to this did ever receive this dignity. But notwithſtanding this great overthrow at *Muſſelborough*, the Governour of *Scotland* would not yet be quiet; but aſſembling the people, made unto them an Oration, exhorting them to defend the liberty of their Country, and not to be daunted with any event of war.

Days to ſome men fortunate, and unfortunate to others.

In this time many diſtractions and troubles happened in *England*; partly in matters of Religion, and partly about Incloſures. And firſt for Incloſures, the Lord Protector cauſed Proclamation to be ſet forth, commanding that they who had incloſed any Lands accuſtomed to lie open, ſhould, upon a certain pain, before a day aſſigned, lay them open again. And then in matter of Religion, certain Injunctions were ſet forth, for removing of Images out of Churches: and divers Preachers were ſent with Inſtructions to diſſwade the People from praying to Saints, or for the Dead; from uſe of Beads, Aſhes, and Proceſſions; from Maſſes, Dirges, praying in any unknown Tongue: and for defect of Preachers, Homilies were appointed publickly to be read in Churches. And many, for offering to maintain theſe Ceremonies, were either puniſhed, or forced to recant. *Edmund Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*, was committed to the Fleet, for refuſing to receive theſe Injunctions. *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, was likewiſe committed firſt to the Fleet, and after to the Tower, for that he had preached, It were well theſe changes in Religion ſhould be ſtayed untill the King were of years to govern by himſelf. For the like cauſes *Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Heath* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, were in like manner committed to priſon, and all of them diſpoſſeſſed of their Biſhopricks; and that which was worſe, the Biſhopricks themſelves were diſpoſſeſſed of their Revenues, in ſuch ſort that a very ſmall part remained to the Biſhops that came after.

Incloſures commanded to be laid open.

Injunctions ſet forth in matters of Religion.

Divers Biſhops committed to Priſon.

And now a Parliament was held, in the firſt year of the King, and by Prorogation in the ſecond; wherein divers Chantries, Colledges, free Chappels, Fraternities and Guilds, with all their lands and goods, were given to the King: which being ſold at a low rate, enriched many, and ennobled ſome, and thereby made them firm in maintaining the Change. Alſo it was then ordered, that no man ſhould ſpeak againſt receiving the Euchariſt in both kinds; and that Biſhops ſhould be placed by Collation of the King under his Letters Patents, without any election preceding, or confirmation enſuing; and that all Proceſſes Eccleſiaſtical ſhould be made in the Kings name, as in Writs at the Common Law, and that all perſons exerciſing Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction ſhould have the Kings Arms in the Seals of their Office: and further, the Statute of the Six Articles, and other Statutes concerning puniſhment of Lollards, were repealed, and the Kings Supremacy over the Church of *England* was confirmed.

A Parliament, in which many things ordered concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

All this while the Wars in *Scotland* continued, and were managed by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* with variable ſucceſs: and now about this time was ſent to him in aid the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with fifteen thouſand men. Againſt him, in aid of the *Scots*, was ſent the *Rhinegrave* with ten thouſand *French*; who entering into conſultation how to remove the young Queen out of the reach of the *Engliſh*, provided a Fleet, and ſailing round about *Scotland*, notwithſtanding the *Engliſh* Fleet lay in wait to impeach their paſſage, yet conveyed her ſafely into *France*, being then but ſix years old, accompanied in the journey with *James* her baſe Brother, *John Erskin*, and *Will. Levijton*: and in *April* following ſhe was married to *Francis* the Dauphin of *France*.

The young Queen of *Scots* is conveyed into *France*.

She is married at ſix years old to *Francis* the *Dauphin* of *France*.

1548.

You heard before the Alterations in Religion: now hear the Troubles. For when the Injunctions were ſent abroad into the Country, and Commiſſioners appointed to ſee them executed; one Maſter *Body* a Commiſſioner, as he was pulling down Images in *Cornwall*, was ſuddenly by a Prieſt ſtabbed into the body with a Knife. Hereupon the people flocked together in divers parts of the Shire, taking Arms, and beginning to commit outrages: and although the chief Offender was hanged and quartered in *Smithfield*, and many of his Complices executed in divers parts of the Realm, and withall a Pardon proclaimed to all that would lay down Arms; yet neither could that ſeverity, nor this lenity reſtrain them from their inſolencies; but in divers Countries, as *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Kent*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, but ſpecially in *Somerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire*, great Aſſemblies of people gathered to a head: whoſe chief Leaders were *Humfrey Arundel*, and about ſix others of inferiour note, but many Prieſts. Some of theſe (we may ſay) were Common-wealth Mutineers, and ſome mutined for Religion. They who were for the Common-wealth could agree upon nothing: ſome would have no Juſtices, ſome no Gentlemen, ſome no Lawyers, nor ordinary Courts of Juſtice; but above all, Incloſures muſt down; but whether all, or which, or how to be imployed, none could tell. The Religious Mutineers were not altogether ſo various in their voices, as having

The troubles that enſued upon the alteration of Religion.

ſome

some few amongst them by whom they were guided: these in the name of the people hammered up these Articles following; upon granting of which, they professed that both their bodies and goods should be at the Kings devotion.

1. *That Curates should administer Baptism at all times of necessity, as well on week-days as on holy-days.*
2. *That their Children might be confirmed by the Bishop.*
3. *That the Mass might be celebrated, no man communicating with the Priest.*
4. *That they might have reservation of the Lords Body in their Churches.*
5. *That they might have holy Bread and holy Water, in remembrance of Christs precious Body and Blood.*
6. *That Priests might live unmarried.*
7. *That the Six Articles set forth by King Henry the Eighth, might be continued, at least till the King should come to full age.*

1549. Upon these demands, although the King knew that Reasons would little prevail with unreasonable men, yet to discharge the place he held, he sent them in writing Answers to them all, and withal a general Pardon, if they would desist and lay down Arms. But the Seditious growing the more outrageous, the fairer they were intreated, and finding themselves unable to subsist with their own estates, began to think upon the spoil of Cities. And first they came to *Exeter*, and demanded entrance: which the Citizens refusing, they fell to set fire on the Gates: but the Citizens prevented this, by casting in wood, and maintaining the fire, till they had cast up a half Moon within; upon which when the Seditious attempted to enter, they were presently hewn and cut in pieces. And after this they mined the walls, laid Powder, and rammed the mouth: but the Citizens prevented this also, by making a Countermine, wherein to they poured such plenty of water, that the wet powder could not be fired. All this while the Lord *Russel*, Lord Privy-Seal, who had been sent down to suppress the Commotion, lay at *Honyton*, expecting more Forces; whilst the Citizens of *Exeter* for twelve days together endured so great famine, that they were fain to eat Horses, and make bread of course Bran moulded in cloaths, for that otherwise it would not cleave together. At last the Lord *Gray* came to the Lord *Russel* with supply of Forces; who after many conflicts with the Rebels, forced them to raise their siege at *Exeter*, and thereby freed the City from many miseries: to whom the King afterward gave the Mannor of *Evyland*, in reward for their loyalty. After this, the Rebels rallying their Forces, were again set upon by the Kings Army, and the greatest part of them slain, the rest fled; many were taken and executed by Martial Law: the chief Leaders were sent to *London*, and there executed. The Sedition being thus suppressed, it is memorable what sport Sir *William Kingston* the Provost-Marshal made, by virtue of his Office, upon men in misery. One *Boyer*, Mayor of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, had been amongst the Rebels, not willingly, but enforced: to him the Provost sent word he would come & dine with him, for whom the Mayor made great provision. A little before Dinner, the Provost took the Mayor aside, and whispered him in the ear, that an execution must that day be done in the Town, and therefore required to have a pair of Gallows set up against dinner should be done. The Mayor failed not of his charge. Presently after dinner the Provost taking the Mayor by the hand, intreated him to lead him to the place where the Gallows was; which when he beheld, he asked the Mayor if he thought them to be strong enough. Yes, (said the Mayor) doubtless they are. Well then, said the Provost, get you up speedily, for they are provided for you. I hope (answered the Mayor) you mean not as you speak. In faith (said the Provost) there is no remedy, for you have been a busie Rebel. And so without respite or defence he was hanged to death: a most uncourteous part, for a guest to offer his host. Near the said place dwelt a Miller, who had been a busie actor in that Rebellion; who, fearing the approach of the Marshal, told a sturdy fellow his servant, that he had occasion to go from home, and therefore bid him, that if any man came to enquire after the Miller, he should not speak of him, but say that himself was the Miller, and had been so for three years before. So the Provost came and called for the Miller; when out comes the servant, and saith, he was the man. The Provost demanded how long he had kept the Mill. *These three years*, answered the Servant. Then the Provost commanded his men to lay hold on him, and hang him on the next Tree. At this the Fellow cried out, that he was not the Miller, but the Millers man. *Nay Sir*, (said the Provost) *I will take you at your word, and if thou beest the Miller, thou art a busie knave; if thou beest not, thou art a false lying knave: and howsoever, thou canst never do thy Master better service than to hang for him.* And so without more ado he was dispatched.

Exeter endured a siege of the Rebels to extreme famine.

For which loyalty the King gave them the Mannor of *Evyland*.

Sir *William Kingstons* merry cruelty.

When this Sedition in *Devonshire* was appeased, there arose another in *Norfolk*, and that specially upon a grievance for Inclosures. The Rebels had got one *Robert Ket*, a Tanner of *Wimondham*, to be their Leader, and were grown to a Body of twenty thousand, seating themselves at *Mousehold* near *Mount-Surrey*, where they carried a face as it were of Justice and Religion. For they had one *Conyers*, an idle fellow, to be their Chaplain, who morning and evening read solemn Prayers, also Sermons they had often: and as for Justice, they had a Bench under a Tree, where *Ket* usually sate, and with him two of every Hundred whence their Companies had been raised, to hear complaints, and to give Judgment; and from hence were Warrants sent in the Kings name, to bring in Powder, Shot, Victuals, and all things necessary. Which Tree hath ever since been called the *Tree of Reformation*. And now being grown to a height, they presented certain Complaints to the King, requiring he would send a Herald to them, to give them satisfaction. The King, though he took it for a great indignity to have such base Fellows to capitulate with him, yet framing himself to the time, he returned this answer, That in *October* following he would call a Parliament, wherein their Complaints should be heard, and all their Grievances should be redressed; requiring them in the mean time to lay down Arms, and return to their houses, and thereupon granting them a

An Insurrection in *Norfolk* about Inclosures, by *Ket* a Tanner.

Their shews of Religion.

general Pardon. But this was so far from satisfying the Seditious, that hereupon first they assaulted the Town of *Norwich*, took it, and made the Mayor attend them as their Servant, and then returned again to their station at *Mousehold*. Not long after, *William Parre*, Marquess of *Northampton*, with the Lord *Sheffield*, the Lord *Wentworth*, divers Knights and fifteen hundred horse, with a small Band of *Italians*, was sent against them; whom the Seditious so stoutly opposed, that much mischief was done on both sides. The Lord *Sheffield*, falling with his Horse in a Ditch, was taken prisoner; and as he pulled off his Helmet to shew who he was, he was by a Butcher strucken down with a Club and slain. So as the Marquess with his Forces not prevailing, there was afterward sent the Earl of *Warwick* with six thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, with whom were the Lords *Willoughby*, *Powis*, and *Bray*, his two Sons *Ambrose* and *Robert*, and many Knights and Gentlemen of name. When the Earl was come near to the Camp of the Seditious, he sent a Herald to them, offering them the Kings Pardon, if they would desist: but they were so far from accepting it, that a lewd Boy turned up his naked breech towards the Herald, and bid him kiss it. Upon this, many Skirmishes passed between the Earl and them, with loss sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another. At last they came to Battel, where the Rebels placed in the Front all the Gentlemen they had taken Prisoners, meaning they should be the first slain; of whom yet very few were hurt, but of the Rebels were slain above two thousand. And now once again the Earl offered them pardon, if they would desist: but for all their losses, they continued obstinate still. At last, the Earl sent to know if they would entertain their Pardon, in case he should come in person and assure them of it. This moved them much; and then they answered, They knew him to be so honourable, that from himself they would embrace it. Whereupon the Earl riding to them, and causing their Pardon to be read, they threw away their Weapons, wishing all joy and prosperity to the King. Nine of the principal Rebels were hanged upon the *Tree of Reformation*: *Ket* himself flying away was taken, and hanged in Chains upon *Norwich* Castle. The day of this defeat of the Seditious was a long time after observed for a Festival day by the Inhabitants of *Norwich*. And thus ended the Sedition in *Norfolk*; when at the same time another arose in *Yorkshire*, whereof the chief movers were *William Ombler* a Gentleman, *Thomas Dale* a Parish-Clerk, and *Stephenson* a Post, to whom were assembled four or five thousand: who took their encouragement from a certain Prophecie, which did foretel, that the time should come when there should be no King; when the Nobility and Gentry should be destroyed; when the Realm should be ruled by four Governours elected by the Commons, holding a Parliament in Commotion, which should begin at the *South* and *North* Seas of *England*: and that time they understood to be the present, and that the Rebels of *Devonshire*, *Norfolk*, and *Yorkshire*, should draw together to accomplish this Prophecie. But as soon as they heard that the Tumults of *Devonshire* and *Norfolk* were quieted, they found that they were deceived in the understanding of the Prophecie; and thereupon presently, upon the Kings Pardon, they fell off and dispersed. Their chief Leaders, *Ombler*, *Dale*, and four others, were executed at *York*; and with this, the Spirit of Sedition was quite laid in all places of the Kingdom.

They take the Town of *Norwich*.

They encounter the Kings Forces.

They refuse Pardon offered to them.

At last they embrace Pardon, if the Earl of *Warwick* will bring it to them himself.

Ket is taken and hanged.

Another Insurrection at the same time in *Yorkshire*, upon the conceit of a Prophecie.

But these also upon the Kings Pardon lay down their Arms.

But the King of *France* taking advantage of these Seditions, though he had been in Treaty of Peace with *England* before, yet now he brake off the Treaty, proclaimed War, and denounced it by his Embassadour to the King. Hereupon all *French*-men in *England*, not Denizens, were taken Prisoners, and all their Goods seized for the King: which the *French* King understanding, he sent a Fleet of Ships to surprize *Gernsey* and *Jersey*, but was repelled with the loss of a thousand men. After this, he levied an Army by land, and went himself in person against *Bulloign*, defended by the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold*. But being weary of the work, he left his Lieutenant *Chatillon* to pursue the Siege; who having made many fierce Batteries, and at last Assaults, and not prevailing, he then attempted to hinder the Town from supply of Victuals; and to this end charged a Galley with gravel and stones, meaning to sink it in the Haven. But the *English* took the Galley before it was sunk, and made use of the stones for their own defence. After this they made Faggots of light matter, mixed with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Rosin, Powder, and Wild-fire, with intention to fire the Ships in the Haven: but that enterprise was defeated by the *Bulloigners*, and the Faggots taken from the *French*: and more than this there was little done in those parts at this time.

The *French* King taking advantage of these Seditions in *England*, goes with an Army against *Bulloign*, which the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold* defended.

But in *England*, in the mean time, an unfortunate accident happened, which beginning upon a very light occasion, produced afterward very heavy effects; whereof though there were many concurrent circumstances, yet the original cause was the Pride of a woman, upon a point indeed wherein the natures of Women are commonly most tender, Precedency of place. The Protector had married *Anne Stanhope*, a Woman of an haughty stomach; & the Lord Admiral, his Brother, the Queen *Dowager*, a Lady of great mildness. The nearness of the Husbands gave occasions of the Ladies often meeting, where the Dutchess would inwardly murmur, why she, being the Wife of the elder Brother, and the better man, should give place to her, who was the wife of the younger Brother, and the meaner man. This envy of hers towards the Queen bred a malice in her towards the Admiral, as thinking the mischief she did to the Husband, to be a part of revenge upon the Wife; and though the Queen shortly after died in Child-bed, yet the malice of the Dutchess towards the Admiral lived still: (so hard a thing it is for malice, once settled in a Womans heart, to be removed.) Out of this malice, she puts divers surmises into her Husband the Protectors head, against his Brother the Admiral, as though he went about to procure his death, to the end he might aspire to the place he held; but certainly, as misliking his Government, being a Protestant, who was himself a Papist. In this case causes of jealousie against the Admiral were obvious enough; for it was known

Contention for place between the Queen *Dowager*, Wife of the Lord Admiral, and the Lady *Anne Stanhope*, Wife of the Protector.

She makes variance between the two Brothers their Husbands.

known that in King *Henry*'s time, he had aimed at the marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, King *Henry*'s second Daughter; and now his Wife the Queen *Dowager* being dead, (and not without suspicion of poyson) he fell upon that marriage afresh, which could not be thought to tend but to some very high aspiring end. The Protector, a plain man, and one that had not the deepest intight into practices, whether too importunately provoked by his Wife, or whether out of an honest mind, not willing to patronize faults, though in a Brother, gave way to Accusations brought against him: so as in a Parliament then holden, he was accused for attempting to get into his custody the Person of the King and Government of the Realm; for endeavouring to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Kings Sister; for perswading the King in his tender years to take upon him the rule and ordering of himself. Upon which points (though perhaps proved, yet not sufficiently, against him, who was never called to his answer) he was by act of Parliament condemned; and within few days after condemnation, a Warrant was sent, under the hand of his Brother the Protector, to cut off his Head. Wherein (as after it proved) he did as much, as if he had laid his own Head down upon the Block: for whilest these Brothers lived and held together, they were as a strong Fortress one to the other; the Admirals courage supporting the Protectors Authority, and the Protectors Authority maintaining the Admirals stoutness; but the Admiral once gone, the Protectors Authority, as wanting support, began to totter, and fell at last to utter ruine. Besides, there was at this time, amongst the Nobility, a kind of faction; Protestants, who favoured the Protector for his own sake, and other of the Papal inclination, who favoured him for his Brothers sake: but his Brother being gone, both sides forsook him, even his own side, as thinking they could expect little assistance from him, who gave no more assistance to his own Brother. And perhaps more than all this, the Earl of *Warwick*, at this time, was the most powerfull man both in Courage and Council amongst all the Nobility, and none so near to watch him as the Admiral, while he lived; but he being gone, there was none left that either was able and durst, or durst and was able to stand against him. However it was not long after the Admirals death, the Protector was invaded with sundry Accusations; wherein the Earl of *Warwick* made not always the greatest show, but yet had always the greatest hand. One thing the Protector had done, which, though a private act, yet gave a publick distaste.

The Admiral in Parliament is accused of divers Crimes.

He is beheaded.

After his death the Protector is accused.

Somerset-house builded by the Protector with Sacriledge.

To make him a Mansion-house in the *Strand*, (the same which is now called *Somerset-House*) he pulled down a Church, and two Bishops Houses by the *Strand-Bridge*; in digging the foundation whereof, the Bones of many who had been there buried were cast out, and carried into the fields: and because the Stones of those Houses and the Church sufficed not for his work, the Steeple, and most part of the Church of S. *Johns* of *Jerusalem* near *Smithfield*, was mined & overthrown with Powder, and the stones applied to this spacious Building: and more than this, the Cloyster of *Pauls* on the North side of the Church, in a place called *Pardon* Church-yard, and the dance of Death very curiously wrought about the Cloyster, and a Chappel that stood in the midst of the Church-yard, also the *Charnel* House that stood on the South side of *Pauls*, (now a Carpenters Yard) with the Chappel, Timber, and Monuments therein, were beaten down, the bones of the dead carried into *Finsbury Fields*, and the Stones converted into this Building. This act of the Protectors did something alienate the peoples minds from him: which the Earl of *Warwick* perceiving, thought it now a fit time to be falling upon him; and thereupon drew eighteen of the Privy Council to joyn with him, who withdrawing themselves from the Court, held secret consultations together, and walked in the City with many Servants weaponed, and in new Liveries. Whereof when the *Protector* heard, he sent Secretary *Peter* to them, to know the causes of their Assembly, requiring them to resort to him peaceably, that they might commune together as Friends: but in the mean time he armed five hundred men, and removed the King by night from *Hampton-Court* to *Windsor*. On the other side, the Lords at *London*, having first taken possession of the Tower, sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of the City to the Earl of *Warwicks* Lodging at *Ely-house*, in *Holborn*; to whom the Lord *Rich*, then Lord Chancellour, made a long Oration, wherein he shewed the ill Government of the Lord Protector, and the many mischiefs that by it were come upon the Kingdom, and thereupon required them to joyn with the Lords there assembled to remove him. And presently that day a Proclamation was made in divers parts of the City to that purpose, to which the Lords and Counsellors that subscribed their names were these; the Lord *Rich* Chancellour, the Lord *Saint-John* Lord great Master, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Warwick* Lord great Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundell* Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Tho. Cheyney* Treasurer of the Houshold, Sir *John Gage* Constable of the Tower, Sir *William Peter* Secretary, Sir *Edward North* Knight, Sir *Edward Montague* chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *John Baker* Chancellour of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Knights, and Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*. In the afternoon of the same day the Lord Mayor assembled a Common-Council in the *Guild-hall*, where two Letters arrived almost in one instant, one from the King and the Lord Protector, for a thousand men to be armed for defence of the Kings Person; another from the Lords at *London*, for two thousand men to aid them in defence of the Kings Person also, both pretending alike, and therefore hard how to please them both. The Recorder set forth the complaint of the Lords against the Protector in such sort, that he made many inclinable to favour that side: but one named *George Stadlow*, better advised, stept up, and in a long Speech shewed what mischiefs had come to the City by opposing the King; and therefore gave his opinion, to suspend giving aid to the Lords, at least for a time. His advice was hearkened unto

The Earl of *Warwick* draws many of the Lords to own against the Protector.

and thereupon the Court resolved only to arm an hundred Horsemen, and four hundred Foot, in defence of the City; and to the Letters returned submissive, but dilatory Answers. After some other passages between the Protector and the Lords, Sir *Edward Winsield*, Captain of the Guard, was sent from the Lords to *Windsor*, who so well perswaded the King of the Lords loyal affection towards him, and of their moderate intention towards the Protector, that the King was contented to have him presently removed from him, and suffered him within two days after to be carried to the Tower. In whose absence, seven Lords of the Council, and four Knights, were appointed by turns to attend the Kings Person; and for Affairs of State, the Government of them was referred to the whole Body of the Council. Soon after were sent to the Protector in the Tower certain Lords of the Council, with Articles against him, requiring his present answer, whether he would acknowledge them to be true, or else stand upon his justification. The chief Article was this, that he took upon him the Office of Protector, with express condition, that he should do nothing in the Kings Affairs but by assent of the late Kings Executors, or the greatest part of them; and that, contrary to this condition, he had hindered Justice, and subverted Laws, of his own Authority, as well by Letters, as by other Command: and many other Articles, but all much to this purpose.

The Protector is sent to the Tower.

The Protector, whether thinking to speed better by submission than by contesting, or perhaps finding himself not altogether innocent, (for indeed, in so great a place, who can bear himself with such sincerity, but he will commit errors with which he may be taxed?) subscribed an acknowledgement with his own hand; humbly submitting himself to the Kings mercy, and desiring their Lordships favour towards him. Upon this submission, three months after he had been imprisoned, he was released, entertained, and feasted by the King, and sworn again to be a Privy Counsellour, but no more Protector. At which time, between him and the Lords a shew at least of perfect amity was made; and to make it the more firm, the Dukes Daughter was afterward married to the Lord *Lisle*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Warwick*: at which Marriage the King was present. And perhaps to honour their reconcilement and this Marriage, the Earl of *Warwick* was made Lord Admiral of *England*; Sir *John Russel*, Lord Privy Seal, was created Earl of *Bedford*; the Lord *Saint-John* was created Earl of *Wiltshire*, and soon after made Lord Treasurer; Sir *William Paget*, Controller of the Kings House, was made Lord *Paget*; Sir *Anthony Winsield*, Captain of the Guard, was made Controller; and Sir *Thomas Darcy* was made Captain of the Guard. But of the other side, the Earl of *Arundell*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, were put off from the Council; of whom the Earl of *Southampton* died shortely after at *Lincoln-Place* in *Holborn*, and was buried in St. *Andrews* Church there.

Upon his submission he is released, but no more Protector.

Divers Lords made.

1550.

About this time a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies; another against unlawful Assemblies: but for fear of new Tumults, the Parliament was untimely dissolved, & Gentlemen were commanded to retire to their Country Habitations; and for the same cause also, *Trinity* Term did not hold.

About this time also Pope *Paul* the Third died; after whose death the Cardinals being divided about the Election of a new Pope, the Imperial part, which was the greatest, gave their Voices for Cardinal *Poole*: which being told him, he disabled himself, and wished them to chuse one that might be most for the glory of God, and good of the Church. Upon this stop, some that were no friends to *Poole*, and perhaps looked for the place themselves, if he were put off, laid many things to his charge; amongst other, that he was not without suspicion of *Lutheranism*, as having been very conversant with *Emanuel Tremellius*, and *Antonius Flaminius*, great *Lutherans*: and not altogether without blemish of Incontinency, there being a young Nun that was thought to be his Daughter. But of these Criminations *Poole* so cleared himself, that he was afterward more importuned to take the place than he was before: and thereupon one night the Cardinals came unto him, being in bed, and sent him word they came to adore him, (which is one special kind of electing the Pope.) But he being awaked out of his sleep, and acquainted with it, made answer, that this was not a work of darkness, and therefore required them to forbear till the next day, and then to do as God should put into their minds. But the *Italian* Cardinals, attributing this putting off to a kind of stupidity and sloth in *Poole*, looked no more after him, but the next day chose Cardinal *Montanus* Pope, who was afterward named *Julius* the Third.

Cardinal *Pool* is chosen Pope, but making excuses is rejected.

And now the King of *France*, upon many just Considerations, was grown desirous to have a Peace with *England*; and thereupon sent one *Guidolti*, a *Florentine*, into *England*, to make some overture of his desire to the Lords of the Council: who addressing himself to the Earl of *Warwick*, whom he knew to be most prevalent, so prevailed, that it was concluded four Embassadours should be sent from the King of *England* into *France*, and four from the *French* King, to treat with them. The Commissioners for the *English* were *John* Earl of *Bedford*, *William* Lord *Paget*, Sir *William Peter*, and Sir *John Mason*, Secretaries of State. For the *French*, were *Monsieur Rochpot*, *Monsieur Chatillon*, *Guyllart de Martier*, and *Rochetelle de Dassie*. Much time was spent to agree about a place of Meeting; till at last the *English*, to satisfie the *French*, were contented it should be before *Bulloigne*: where were many Meetings, and many differences about Conditions. But in conclusion, a Peace was concluded upon certain Articles, the chief whereof was, that *Bulloigne* and the places adjacent should be delivered up to the *French* within six weeks after the Peace Proclaimed; and that the *French* should pay for the same two hundred thousand Crowns within three days after delivery of the Town, and other two hundred thousand Crowns upon the fifth day of *August* following. Hostages were on both sides given for performance, and to

A Peace between *England* & *France*, upon payment of four hundred thousand Crowns.

to thoſe Articles the *French* King was ſworn at *Amiens*, and the King of *England* in *London*. The Lord *Clinton*, who had been Deputy of *Bullogne*, was made Lord Admiral of *England*.

Preſently after this Agreement, the Duke of *Brunſwick* ſent to the King of *England*, to offer his Service in the Kings Wars with ten thouſand men, and to intreat a Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, the Kings eldeſt Siſter. To his offer of Aid Anſwer was made, that the Kings Wars were ended: And touching the Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, that the King was in ſpeech for her Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*; which if it ſucceeded not, he ſhould then be favourably heard. Upon this, the Emperours Ambaſſadour demanded of the King, that the Lady *Mary* might have free exerciſe of the Maſs; which the King not only conſtantly denied, but thereupon Sermons were exerciſed at the Court, and order taken that no man ſhould have any Benefice from the King, but firſt he ſhould Preach before him. And ſhortly after, under pretence of preparing for Sea-matters, five thouſand pounds were ſent to relieve Proteſtants beyond the Seas. At this time alſo an Ambaſſadour came from *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*, to enter League with the King for entercourſe of Merchants; and charge was then alſo given, that the Laws of *England* ſhould be adminiſtred in *Ireland*.

The Laws of *England* firſt adminiſtred in *Ireland*.

1551.

About this time the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, going from *France* to her Country, paſſed through *England*, having firſt obtained a ſafe Conduct. She arrived at *Portſmouth*, and was there met by divers of the *Engliſh* Nobility; conducted to *London*, ſhe was lodged in the Biſhops Palace. After four days ſtaying, having been Feaſted by the King at *White-Hall*, ſhe departed, being waited on by the Sheriffs of Counties to the Borders of *Scotland*. And now was one *Stewart* a *Scot* apprehended in *England*, and impriſoned in the *Tower*, for intending to poyſon the young Queen of *Scots*; whom the King delivered to the *French* King upon the Frontiers of *Callice*, to be by him Juſticed at his pleaſure.

The Emperour ſeeks to get the Lady *Mary* by ſtealth out of *England*.

At this time certain Ships were appointed by the Emperour, to tranſport the Lady *Mary* either by violence or by ſtealth out of *England* to *Antwerp*. Whereupon Sir *John Gates* was ſent with Forces into *Eſſex*, where the Lady lay: and beſides, the Duke of *Somerſet* was ſent with two hundred men, the Lord Privy-Seal with other two hundred, and Maſter *Sentleger* with four hundred more, to ſeveral Coaſts upon the Sea: and the Lord Chancellour and Secretary *Peter* were ſent to the Lady *Mary*, who, after ſome Conference, brought her to the Lord Chancellours Houſe at *Lye* in *Eſſex*, and from thence to the King at *Weſtminſter*. Here the Council declared unto her, how long the King had permitted her the uſe of the Maſs; and conſidering her obſtinacy, was reſolved now no longer to permit it, unleſs ſhe would put him in hope of ſome conformity in ſhort time. To which ſhe anſwered, that her Soul was Gods: and touching her Faith, as ſhe could not change, ſo ſhe would not diſſemble it. Reply was made, that the King intended not to conſtrain her Faith, but to reſtrain the outward profeſſion of it, in regard of the danger the Example might draw. After ſome like enterchange of ſpeeches, the Lady was appointed to remain with the King, when there arrived an Ambaſſadour from the Emperour, with a threatning Meſſage of War, in caſe his Couſin the Lady *Mary* ſhould be denied the free exerciſe of the Maſs. Hereupon the King preſently adviſed with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and with the Biſhops of *London* and *Rocheſter*; who gave their Opinion, that to give Licence to ſin, was ſin; but to connive at ſin, might be allowed, ſo it were not too long, nor without hope of Reformation. Then Anſwer was given to the Ambaſſadour, that the King would ſend to the Emperour within a month or two, and give him ſuch ſatisfaction as ſhould be fit.

The Lady *Mary* is conſtant to her Religion.

To connive is leſs than to give Licence.

And now the King, being uncertain of the faith both of his Subjects and of his Confederates, intended by alliance to ſtrengthen himſelf; and thereupon ſent one *Bartwick* to the King of *Denmark*, with private Inſtructions to treat of a Marriage between the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Kings youngeſt Siſter, and the King of *Denmark*'s eldeſt Son: but when it came to the point, the Lady could not be induced to entertain Marriage with any.

The Lady *Elizabeth* cannot be induced to marry.

After this the Marqueſs of *Northampton* was ſent Ambaſſadour to the *French* King, as well to preſent him with the Order of the Garter, as to treat with him of other ſecret Affairs. With him were joyned in Commiſſion the Biſhop of *Ely*, Sir *Philip Hobbie*, Sir *William Pickering*, Sir *John Maſon*, and Maſter *Smith* Secretary of State; alſo the Earl of *Worceſter*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond*, were appointed to accompany them; as likewiſe the Lords *Liſle*, *Fitzwater*, *Bray*, *Abergavenny*, and *Evers*, with other Knights and Gentlemen of note, to the number of ſix and twenty. And for avoiding of an immoderate Train, order was given, that every Earl ſhould have but four Attendants, every Baron but three, every Knight and Gentleman but two, only the Commiſſioners were not limited to any number. Being come to the Court of *France*, they were forthwith brought to the King, being then in his Bed-chamber: To whom the Marqueſs preſented the Order of the Garter, wherewith he was preſently inveſted. Then the Biſhop of *Ely*, in a ſhort Speech, declared how the King of *England*, out of his love and deſire of Amity, had ſent this Order to his Majeſty; deſiring withall, that ſome perſons might be Authoriſed to treat with them about ſome other matters of Importance. Whereupon a Commiſſion went forth to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, *Chaſtillion* the Conſtable, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and others. At firſt the *Engliſh* demanded, that the young Queen of *Scots* might be ſent into *England*, for perfecting of a Marriage between King *Edward* and her. But to this the *French* anſwered, that concluſion had been made long before for her Marriage with the Dauphin of *France*. Then the *Engliſh* propoſed a Marriage between King *Edward* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, the *French* Kings eldeſt Daughter. To this the *French* did chearfully incline: but when they came to talk

Embaſſadours are ſent into *France*,

To treat of Marriage between King *Edward* and the *French* Kings eldeſt Daughter, which is at laſt concluded.

talk of Portion, the *Englifh* demanded at firft fifteen hundred thoufand Crowns, then fell to fourteen, and at laft to eight hundred thoufand. The *French* offered at firft one hundred thoufand Crowns, then rofe to two hundred thoufand, and higher they would not be drawn; faying, It was more than ever had been given with a Daughter of *France*. Shortly after, *Monfieur*, the Marfhal and other Commiffioners were fent by the *French* King to deliver to the King of *England* the Order of S. *Michael*; and then was further Treaty about the Marriage. And becaufe the *French* could be ferued no higher than two hundred thoufand Crowns, it was at laft accepted, and the Agreement was reduced into Writing, and delivered under Seal on both fides.

And now King *Edward* fuppofing his ftate to be moft fafe, when indeed it was moft unfure, in teftimony both of his Joy and Love, advanced many to new Titles of Honour. The Lord Marquefs *Dorfet*, who had married the eldeft Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, was created Duke of *Suffolk*; the Earl of *Warwick*, Duke of *Northumberland*; the Earl of *Wiltfhire* was created Marquefs of *Winchefter*; Sir *William Herbert*, Lord of *Cardiffe*, and Mafter of the Horfe, was created Earl of *Pembroke*: Alfo *William Cecill* the Kings Secretary, *John Cheek* one of his Schoolmafters, *Henry Dudley* and *Henry Nevil* were made Knights; and (which perhaps it had been happy if it had never been) Sir *Robert Dudley*, one of the Duke of *Northumberlands* Sons, (the fame who was afterward the great Earl of *Leiceffer*) was fworn one of the fix ordinary Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber. After whofe coming into a place fo near about him, the King enjoyed his health but a while.

Dukes and Earls made.

The Lord *Robert Dudley* is made one of the Kings Bed-Chamber.

The afpiring thoughts of the Duke of *Northumberland* were now grown to be put in execution. He was advanced in title of Honour equal with the higheft; in authority and power above the higheft: he had placed his Politick Son near about the Kings Perfon. The next thing was to remove the Duke of *Somerfet* out of the way. And for this alfo, he had prepared Inftruments, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, *Crane*, *Hammond*, *Cecill*, and others, who brought feveral Accufations againft the Duke; fome trenching upon the King and Kingdom, but one fpecially againft the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Perfon. Whofe practices when the Duke of *Somerfet* found, and had caufe to fear; he went one day into the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Chamber, with a purpofe to kill him: but finding him in his Bed, and being received with much kind Complement by him, his heart relented, and thereupon he came away without any thing done. At his coming out, one of his Company asked him if he had done the deed: Who anfwered, No. Then, faid he, you are your felf undone. And indeed it fo fell out; for when all other Accufations were refelled, this onely ftuck by him, and could not be denied. And fo on the firft of *December* he was Arraigned at *Weftminfter*; where the Lord *William Paulet*, Marquefs of *Winchefter*, and Lord Treafurer, fate as High Steward of *England*, and with him Peers to the number of feven and twenty; the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, the Marquefs of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Bathe*, *Suffex*, *Worceffer*, *Pembroke*, and *Hereford*, the Barons *Abergavenny*, *Audley*, *Wharton*, *Evers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Zouch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcy*, *Sturton*, *Winfor*, *Cromwell*, *Cobham*, and *Bray*. The Lords being fet, the Indictments were read, in number five, containing a Charge for raifing men in the North-parts of the Realm; and at his Houfe, for affembling men to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*; for refifting his Attachment; for raifing *London*; for affaulting the Lords, and deviling of their deaths. To all which he pleaded, Not guilty, and made a fatisfactory Anfwer to every Point, though the Kings Learned Council preffed them hard againft him. This done, the Lords went together, where Exception was taken by fome, as a thing unfit, that the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquefs of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, fhould be of the Jury; feeing the Prifoner was chiefly charged with practices againft them. But to this the Lawyers made anfwer, that a Peer of the Realm might not be challenged. So after much variation of Opinions, the Prifoner was acquit of Treafon, but by moft Voices found guilty of Felony; and that by a Statute lately by his own procurement made, that if any fhould attempt to kill a Privy-Councellour, although the Fact were not done, yet it fhould be Felony, and be punifhed with death. But upon his being acquit of Treafon, the Axe at the Tower was prefently laid down, which made people conceive he had been acquitted of all; who thereupon for Joy gave fo great a Shout, that it was heard as far as *Charing-Crofs*. But the Duke was little the better for being acquitted of Treafon, feeing he was found guilty of Felony, and had Judgment to die. It is thought by fome, he might have faved his life, if he had demanded his Clergy: but it is rather thought that in that Statute Clergy was denied. Two months after his Condemnation, (much againft the Kings will) he was brought to the Tower-Hill to Execution: where being afcended the Scaffold, he entred into a Speech wherein though he juftified himfelf for any matter tending to the hurt of the King or Kingdom, yet he confeffed he was juftly by the Law brought to his death; and thanked God, that had given him fo large a time of repentance, efpecially that he had opened his eyes, to fee clearly the light of the Gofpel. And going on in his Speech, a fudden noife arofe of fome crying, *Away*, *away*; which made fome think a Pardon had been come; but it was indeed the voice of fome that had been warned to be at the Execution, and were come fomewhat late. But the Tumult being appeafed, the Duke went on with his Speech; and at laft commending his Soul to God, with a countenance not fhewing any fign of fear or perturbation, only his Cheeks a little redder than they ufed to be, he peaceably laid down his head upon the Block, and in a moment, with one ftroke of the Axe, had it ftricken off.

A Peer of the Realm not to be challenged in a Jury.

1552.

The Duke of *Somerfet* is beheaded, & his patient fuffering it.

The Duke of *Northumberland* feeks Accufations againft the Duke of *Somerfet*.

Who being arraigned, is acquitted of Treafon, but found guilty of Felony.

The

The Death of this Duke made the Duke of *Northumberland* more odious to the people than he was before; and there were ſome that dipped Handkerchiefs in his bloud, and kept them to upbraid the Duke of *Northumberland* withall, when he came himſelf afterward to the like end. After execution of the Duke, Sir *Ralph Vane* and Sir *Miles Partridge* were hanged at the *Tower-hill*, Sir *Michael Stanhope* and Sir *Thomas Arundel* were there beheaded.

George Ferrers Lord of Miſrule at Chriſtmas.

After the Dukes condemnation, it was thought fit to have ſomething done for averting the Kings mind from taking thought; and to that end, one *Geoge Ferrers*, a Gentleman of *Lincolns-Inne*, was appointed in the Chriſtmas-time to be Lord of Miſrule; who ſo carried himſelf, that he gave great delight to many, and ſome to the King, but not in proportion to his heavineſs.

A call of Serjeants.

About this time was a call of ſeven Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feaſt at *Grays-Inne*: of whom Maſter *Robert Brook*, Recorder of *London*, was the firſt; and the next Maſter *Dyer*, who was choſen Speaker the next Parliament.

The Lord *Paget* hath the Garter taken from him, and why.

About this time alſo the Lord *Paget* was committed to the Tower, for what cauſe is not certain; and being a Knight of the Order, his Garter was taken from him by Garter King at Arms, upon this pretence, that he was ſaid to be no Gentleman, either by Father or Mother: and the Garter was then beſtowed on the Earl of *Warwick*, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s eldeſt Son. And the Lord *Rich*, Lord Chancellour, was put off from his place, and the Seal then delivered to Doctor *Thomas Goodrick* Biſhop of *Ely*.

Sebaſtian Cabot ſent to diſcover a Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

About this time alſo three great Ships were ſet forth at the Kings charge, for diſcovery of a Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies* by the North Seas. The chief Pilot and Director in this Voyage was one *Sebaſtian Cabot*, an *Engliſh*-man, born at *Briſtol*, but the Son of a *Genoway*. Theſe Ships at the laſt arrived in the Country of *Moſcovia*, but not without loſs of their Captain Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who being toſſed and driven by tempeſt, was afterward found in his Ship frozen to death, and all his people.

Sir *Hugh Willoughby* frozen to death.

At this time alſo the Duke of *Suffolk*'s three Daughters, which he had by *Frances*, Daughter of *Charles Brandon* and *Mary* Queen of *France*, were married at *Durham*-Houſe: the eldeſt, *Jane*, to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, fourth Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*; the ſecond, *Katharine*, to *Henry*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Pembroke*; the youngeſt, *Mary*, being ſomewhat deformed, to *Martyn Keyes*, the Kings Gentleman-Porter. And then alſo *Katharine*, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s youngeſt Daughter, to the Lord *Haſtings*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Huntington*. And now had the Duke of *Northumberland* gone a great way in his deſign: it remained to perſwade King *Edward* to exclude his two Siſters from Succeſſion in the Crown; for that done, his Daughter-in-law, the Lady *Jane*, would come to have a right. For as for pretenders out of *Scotland*, or any other, he made no great matter. And now to work the King to this perſwaſion, (being in a languiſhing ſickneſs, not far from death) he inculcates to him, how much it concerned him to have a care of Religion, that it might be preſerved in purity, not only in his own life, but as well after his death: which would not be, if his Siſter the Lady *Mary* ſhould ſucceed; and ſhe could not be put by, unleſs her other Siſter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, were put by alſo, ſeeing their rights depended one upon another. But if he pleaſed to appoint the Lady *Jane*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s eldeſt Daughter, and his own next Kinſwoman to his Siſters, to be his Succeſſor, he might then be ſure that the true Religion ſhould be maintained, to Gods great glory, and be a worthy Act of his own religious Providence. This was to ſtrike upon the right ſtring of the young Kings affection, with whom nothing was ſo dear as preſervation of Religion; and thereupon his laſt Will was appointed to be drawn, (contrived chiefly by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Mountague*, and Secretary *Cecil*:) by which Will, as far as in him lay, he excluded his two Siſters from the Succeſſion, and all other but the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Daughters. And then cauſing it to be read before his Council, he required them all to aſſent unto it, and to ſubſcribe their hands: which they all, both Nobility, and Biſhops, and Judges, did. Only the Archbiſhop *Cranmer* refuſed at firſt; Sir *James Hales*, a Judge of the Common-Pleas, to the laſt; and with them alſo Sir *John Baker*, Chancellour of the Exchequer. And now remained nothing for the Duke of *Northumberland*'s purpoſe, but that the King ſhould die; which ſoon after he did at *Greenwich*, the ſixth of *July*, in the year 1553. One point of the Duke's policy muſt not be forgotten, that fearing what troubles the Lady *Mary* might raiſe after the Kings deceaſe, if ſhe ſhould be at liberty, he therefore, ſeeing the King drawing on, uſed all means poſſible to get her within his power: to which end Letters are directed to her in the Kings name from the Council, willing her forthwith to repair to the King, as well to be a comfort to him in his ſickneſs, as to ſee all matters well ordered about his Perſon. Whereupon the Lady, ſuſpecting nothing, addreſſed her ſelf with all ſpeed to the Journey; till being upon the way, ſhe was advertiſed of the Dukes deſign; and then ſhe returned to her Houſe at *Hoveſden*, and ſo eſcaped the ſnare: by whoſe eſcape the whole Deſign of the Duke of *Northumberland* was diſappointed; as ſoon after will be ſeen.

The Duke of *Northumberland* perſwades King *Edward* to exclude his two Siſters ſucceſſion in the Crown: and by what reaſons.

His Will drawn to that purpoſe.

King *Edward* dies.

1553.

The Duke of *Northumberland* ſeeks to get the Lady *Mary* into his hands.

Of his Taxations.

IN no Kings Reign were ever more Parliaments for the time, nor fewer Subſidies: the greateſt was in his laſt year, when yet there was but one Subſidy, with two Fifteens and Tenths, granted by the Temporality, and a Subſidy by the Clergy. And indeed, to ſhew how loath this King was to lay Impoſitions upon his people, this may be a ſufficient argument; that though he were much in debt, yet he choſe rather to deal with the Foulket in the Low-Countries for money upon loan, at the intereſt of fourteen pounds for a hundred for a year. But his ways for raiſing of money were, by

ſelling

selling of Chantrey Lands and Houses, given him by Parliament; and by inquiring after all Church-Goods, either remaining in Cathedral and Parish-Churches, or embezelled away, as Jewels, Gold and Silver Chalices, ready Money, Copes, and other Vestments; reserving to every Church one Chalice, and one Covering for the Communion-Table, the rest to be applied to his benefit. He also raised money by enquiring after Offences of Officers in great places; in which enquiry one *Beaumont*, Master of the Rolls, being convinced of many Crimes, surrendred all his Offices, Lands and Goods into the Kings hands. Also one *Whalley*, Receiver of *Yorkshire*, being found a Delinquent, surrendred his Office, and paid a great Fine besides. Also the Lord *Paget*, Chancellour of the Dutchy, convinced that he had sold the Kings Lands and Timber-woods without Commission, and had applied the Kings Fines to his own use, for these and other Offences, surrendred his Office, and was fined at four thousand pounds, which he paid in hand. One thing more was done in his time for raising of money; twenty thousand pounds weight of Bullion was appointed to be made so much baser, that the King might gain thereby a hundred and forty thousand pounds.

Delinquent Officers fined.

Bullion made baser to raise money.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his third year a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies; another against unlawful Assemblies. In his fourth year a Parliament was holden, wherein Priests Children were made legitimate; and Usury for loan of money was forbidden. In his fifth year it was ordained, that the Laws of *England* should be admitted in *Ireland*; and a King at Arms, named *Ulster*, was newly instituted for *Ireland*, whose Province was all *Ireland*: and he was the first fourth King of Arms, and first Herald appointed for *Ireland*. Also in his fifth year base moneys formerly coined were cried down; so as the shilling went but for nine pence, and shortly after but for six pence, the groat but for three pence, and shortly after but for two pence.

Priests Children made legitimate.

Usury forbidden.

Ulster King at Arms ordained for *Ireland*.

Base moneys cried down.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the first year of this Kings Reign, Injunctions were set forth for pulling down and removing all Images out of Churches; also certain Homilies were appointed to be made by Learned men, to be read in Churches, for the peoples instruction. And at Easter this year it was ordered, that the Sacrament of the Lords Supper should be ministred to the Lay-people in both kinds. Also Marriage was allowed to Clergy-men; Auricular Confession and Prayer for the dead were forbidden. And it is observable, that the very same day that Images were pulled down at *London*, the great overthrow was given to the *Scots* at *Musselborough*. Also at this time, by the Archbishop *Cranmers* means, divers learned Protestants came over into *England*, and had here entertainment, as *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*: of whom *Peter Martyr* was sent to read a Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*, *Bucer* and *Fagius* in *Cambridge*. In this Kings fourth year all Altars in Churches were commanded to be taken down, and Tables placed in their rooms. In his fifth year the Book of Common-Prayer was established.

The Book of Common-Prayer established.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN his second year S. *Annes* Church within *Aldersgate* was burnt. In his fifth year a Sweating-sickness infested first *Shrewsbury*, and then the North parts, and afterwards grew most extreme in *London*, so as the first Week there died eight hundred persons; and was so violent, that it took men away in four and twenty hours, sometimes in twelve, and sometimes in less. Amongst others of Account that died of this Sickness, were the two Sons of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, who died within an hour after one another, in such order that both of them died Dukes. This Disease was proper to the *English* Nation, for it followed the *English* wheresoever they were in forein Parts, but seized upon none of any other Country. In this year one Mr. *Arden* of *Kent*, by procurement of his Wife, was murthered in his own house; being dead, his body was carried out and laid upon the ground in a Close hard by: where this is memorable, that for two years after, the ground where his body lay bore no grass, but represented still as it were a Picture of his body, only in the space between his legs and arms there grew grass; but where any part of his body touched, none at all. Yet this Miraculous Accident was not so much for the Murther, as for the Curses of a Widow-woman, out of whose hands the said Master *Arden* had uncharitably bought the said Close, to her undoing. And thus the Divine Justice, even in this World oftentimes, works Miracles upon Offenders, for a merciful warning to men, if they would be so wise to take it. In his sixth year, the third of *August*, at *Middleton-stony*, eleven miles from *Oxford*, a woman brought forth a Child which had two perfect bodies from the navel upward, the legs for both the bodies grew out at the midst where the bodies joyned, and it had but one issue for the Excrements of them both: they lived eighteen days, and were Women-children. This year also were taken at *Quinborough* three Dolphins, and at *Black-Wall* six more, the least of which was bigger than any Horse.

A Sweating-sickness proper only to the *English* Nation.

A miraculous effect of a murther.

A monstrous Birth.

Dolphins taken at *Black-Wall*.

Works of Piety done by him, or others in his time.

THis King gave three Houses to the Relief of the Poor. First, for the Fatherless and Beggars Children, he gave the late *Gray-Fryers* in *London*, which is now called *Christs Hospital*. Then for lame and diseased persons, he gave the *Hospital* of S. *Thomas* in *Southwark*, and S. *Bartholomews* in *West-Smithfield*. Thirdly, for riotous and idle persons, he gave his House of *Bridewell*. And for their Maintenance, he took six hundred pounds a year land from the House of the *Savoy*, (which had been long abused) and bestowed it upon these Houses; to which

Christs Hospital, St. *Thomas Hospital*, St. *Bartholomews*, & *Bridewell*, given by this King to Charitable uses.

which he added four thousand Marks a year more. By his example, Sir *William Chester* Alderman of *London*, and *John Calsbrop* Draper, at their own Costs, made the Brick-walls and Way on the Back side that leadeth to the Hospital of St. *Bartholomews*, and also covered and vaulted the Town-Ditch, which before was very noysome. In the second year of this King, Sir *John Gresham*, then Mayor of *London*, founded a Free-School at *Holt* in *Norfolk*. Also at his decease he gave to every Ward in *London* ten pounds, to be distributed amongst the Poor; and to Maids Marriages two hundred pounds. In his third year, Sir *Rowland Hill*, the then Lord Mayor of *London*, caused to be made a Cawsey, commonly called *Overlane* Pavement, in the High-way from *Stone* to *Nantwich*, in length four miles, for the ease of Horse and Man. He caused also a Cawsey to be made from *Dun-Church* to *Bransen* in *Warwick-shire*, more than two miles in length; and gave twenty pounds towards the making of *Roiston* Bridge, three miles from *Coventry*. He made likewise the High-way to *Kilburne*, near to *London*: Also four Bridges, two of them of Stone, containing eighteen Arches in them both; the one over the River of *Severn*, called *Acham* Bridge, the other *Terne* Bridge; and two other of Timber at *Stoke*, where he built also a good part of the Church. A Free-School likewise he built at *Drayton* in *Shropshire*, with Master and Usher, and gave sufficient Stipends to them both. Also he purchased a free Fair to the said Town, with a free Market weekly; and every fourteen days a free Market for Cattel. Besides all this, he gave to the Hospital of *Christ-Church* in *London* in his life-time five hundred pounds, and at his death a hundred. In this Kings fourth year, Sir *Andrew Jud*, Mayor of *London*, founded a notable Free-School at *Tunbridg* in *Kent*; and gave threescore pounds land a year to the Skinners of *London*, for which they be bound to pay twenty pounds to the School-Master, and eight pounds to the Usher of his Free-School at *Tunbridg* yearly for ever. In his sixth year, Sir *George Barnes*, who was Mayor of *London*, gave a wind-Mill in *Finsbury-Fields* to the Haberdashers of *London*, the profits thereof to be distributed to the poor of that company: also to St. *Bartholomews* the Little, certain Tenements to the like use.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

COncerning his Personage, it is said he was in Body beautiful, of a sweet aspect, and specially in his eyes, which seemed to have a starry liveliness and lustre in them. Concerning his Conditions, in matter of Fact, there is not much to be said; but in matter of Disposition and Inclination very much, even to admiration. For though his Tree was not yet come to the maturity of bearing Fruit, yet it was come to the forwardness to bear plenty of Buds and Blossoms. For proof of his Merciful Disposition, this one example may be sufficient: when one *Joan Butcher* was to be burned for Blasphemy and Heresie, all the Council could not get him to sign the Warrant, till the Archbishop *Cranmer*, with much importunity, perswaded him; and then he did it, but not without weeping. For his pregnancy of Wit, and knowledg in all kinds of Learning, we shall need but to hear what *Cardan* (who coming into *England*, had often conference with him) reporteth of him; That he was extraordinarily skilful in Languages and in the Politicks, well seen in Philosophy and in Divinity, and generally indeed a very Miracle of Art & Nature. He would answer Embassadours sometimes upon the sudden, either in *French* or *Latine*. He knew the state of Forein Princes perfectly, and his own more. He could call all Gentlemen of account through his Kingdom by their names. And all this when he had scarce yet attained to the age of fifteen years, and died before sixteen; that from hence we may gather, It is a sign of no long life, when the Faculties of the Mind are ripe so early.

His pregnancy of Wit and Learning.

King *Edward's* pitifull Disposition.

Of his Death and Burial.

IN the sixth year of his Reign, which was the year before he died, he fell sick of the Measels; and being well recovered of them, he fell soon after into the Small pox; and of them also was so well recovered, that the Summer following he rode a Progress with a greater Magnificence than ever he had done before, having in his Train no fewer than four thousand Horse. In *January* following (whether procured by sinister practice, or growing upon him by natural infirmity) he fell into an indisposition of body, which soon after grew to a Cough of the Lungs. Whereupon a rumour was spred abroad by some, that a Nosegay had been given him at New-years-tide, which brought him into this slow, but deadly Consumption: by others, that it was done by a Clyster. However it was, he was brought at last to so great extremity, that his Physicians despaired of his life: and when physicians could do him no good, a Gentlewoman (thought to be prepared for the purpose) took him in hand, and did him hurt; for with her applications his Legs swelled, his Pulse failed, his Skin changed colour, and many other symptomes of approaching death appeared. The hour before his death, he was over-heard to pray thus by himself; *O Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy Chosens sake, if it be thy will, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O Lord God. save thy chosen people of* England, *and defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my People may praise thy Holy Name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake.* So turning his face, and seeing some by him, he said, *I thought you had not been so nigh.* Yes, said Doctor *Owen*, we heard you speak to your self. Then said the King, *I was praying to God. O I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and receive my spirit:* and in so saying, he gave up the Ghost, the sixth day of *July*, in the year 1553. and the sixteenth year of his age, when he had Reigned six years, five months, and nine daies. It is noted by some, that he died the same month, and the same day of the month, that his Father King *Henry* the Eighth had put Sir

Suspected to be poysoned.

His Piety at the time of his death.

Thomas Moor to death. His Body was buried upon the ninth of *August*, in the Chappel of St. *Peters* Church in *Westminster*, and laid near to the Body of King *Henry* the Seventh, his Grandfather. At his Funeral, which was on the tenth of *August* following, his Sister Queen *Mary* shewed this respect to him, that though Doctor *Day*, a Popish Bishop, preached, yet all the Service with a Communion was in *English*.

Men of note in his time.

THis King's Reign being short, and having but small Wars, had not many Sword-men famous for any Acts they did. Gown-men there were some: as, *Edward Hall*, a Counsellour in the Law, who wrote a notable Chronicle of the Union of the Two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, *William Hugh*, a *York-shire* man, who wrote a notable Treatise, called *The Troubled man's Medicine*; *Thomas Sternhold*, born in *Southampton*, who turned into *English* Meeter seven and thirty of *David's* Psalms.

The Interregnum *between the death of King* Edward, *and the Proclaiming at* London *of Queen* Mary.

1553.

The Duke of *Northumberland* bears all the sway.

KIng *Edward* being dead, the Duke of *Northumberland* took upon him to sit at the Stern, and ordered all things at his pleasure. So two days after, he, with others of the Council sent to the Lord Mayor, that he, with six Aldermen, and twelve principal Commons, should repair presently to the Court: to whom, when they came, it was signified that King *Edward* was dead; and that by his last Will, to which all the Nobility and Judges had given assent, he had appointed the Lady *Jane*, Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, to succeed him, his Letters Patents whereof were shewed them: and thereupon they were required to take their Oaths of Allegiance to the Lady *Jane*, and to secure the City in her behalf; which, whether dissemblingly, or sincerely, whether for love, or fear, yet they did, and departed. The next day, the Lady *Jane* in great State was brought to the Tower of *London*, and there declared Queen; and by Edict with the sound of Trumpet proclaimed so through *London*. At which time, for some words seeming to be spoken against it, one *Gilbert Pot*, a Vintners servant, was set in the Pillory, and lost both his Ears. Before this time, the Lady *Mary*, having heard of her Brothers death, and of the Duke of *Northumberlands* designs, removed from *Hoxedon* to her Mannour of *Keninghall* in *Norfolk*, and under pretence of fearing infection, (having lately lost one of her Houshold-Servants of the Plague) in one day she rode forty miles, and from thence afterward to her Castle of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*, where taking upon her the name of *Queen*, there resorted to her the most part of all the Gentlemen both of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, offering their Assistance; but upon condition, she would make no alteration in Religion: to which she condescended. And thereupon, soon after came to her the Earls of *Oxford*, *Bath*, and *Sussex*, the Lord *Wentworth*, *Thomas Wharton*, and *John Mordant*, Barons eldest Sons; and of Knights, *Cornwallis*, *Drury*, *Walgrave*, *Shelton*, *Beningfield*, *Jerningham*, *Sulliard*, *Freston*, and many others. The Lady *Mary* being thus assisted, wrote her Letter, signed the 9th of *July*, to the Lords of the Council; wherein she claimed the Crown, as of right belonging to her, and required them to proclaim her *Queen* of *England* in the City of *London*, as they tendred her displeasure.

Who is proclaimed Queen.

The Lady *Mary* rides post into *Norfolk*.

Takes upon her the name of Queen, and is assisted by the *Norfolk*-men, upon her promise not to alter Religion.

She writes to the Lords, and claimeth the Crown.

To this Letter of hers the Lords answered, That for what they did they had good Warrant, not only by King *Edwards* last will, but by the Laws of the Land, considering her Mothers Divorce, and her own Illegitimation: and therefore required her to submit her self to *Queen Jane*, being now her Sovereign. This Letter was written from the Tower of *London*, under the hands of these that Follow, *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Ely* Chancellour, *William* Marquess of *Winchester*, *John* Earl of *Bedford*, *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk*, *Francis* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Thomas* Lord *Darcey* Lord Chamberlain, *Cobham*, *Rich*, *Huntington*, *Cheyney*, *John Gates*, *William Peter*, *William Cecil*, *John Clerk*, *Mason*, *Edward North*, and *Robert Bowes*. The quarrel on both sides being thus begun by Letters, is prosecuted by Arms; and the Lords for their General made choice of the Duke of *Suffolk*, as a man most likely to be firm and sure in the employment. But the *Queen* his Daughter cannot miss his presence, and besides, is not willing to hazard his person; and thereupon, she by intreaties, and the Lords by perswasions, prevail with the Duke of *Northumberland* to undertake the charge: who, before his gowing, having conference with the Lords, let them know how sensible he was of the double danger he underwent in this enterprize, both in respect of the Lady against whom he went, and in respect of them whom he left behind him: for if they in his absence should by any accident be drawn to waver in their resolution, they might work their own safety with his destruction, and make themselves seem innocent in his guiltiness. To which one of the Lords replied and said, Your Grace makes a doubt of that which cannot be, for which of us all can wash his hands clean of this business? And thereof it behoves us to be as resolute as your self. And the Earl of *Arundel*,

The Lords Answer.

Against whom the Duke of *Northumberland* is sent with an Army.

Arundel, to teſtifie his reſolution in the matter, ſaid, He was ſorry it was not his chance to go with him, at whoſe feet he could find in his heart to ſpend his bloud. So the Duke, with the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Lord *Gray*, and divers others of account, on the fourteenth of *July* ſet forward on the Journey with eight thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe; and paſſing through *Shoreditch*, the Duke ſaid to the Lord *Gray*, See how the people preſs to ſee us, but not one of them ſaith, God ſpeed you. The Duke had every days march how far he ſhould go appointed him by Commiſſion: which being very ſlow, whether it were done of purpoſe by ſome that favoured the Lady *Mary*'s ſide, was certainly a great help to her proceedings; for by this means ſhe had the longer time to make her preparations. And indeed in this time two Accidents happened of great benefit to her. One, that *Edward Haſtings*, the Earl of *Huntington*'s Brother, having an Army of four thouſand Foot committed to him by the Duke of *Northumberland*, he now left his Party, and went to the Lady *Mary*. The other, that ſix great Ships which lay before *Yarmouth*, to intercept the Lady *Mary*, if ſhe ſhould attempt to fly, now at the perſwaſion of Maſter *Jerningham* came to her aid. Which two revolts ſo terrified the *Londoners*, that though Doctor *Ridley*, Biſhop of *London*, on the ſixteenth of *July*, at *Pauls Croſs*, preached a Sermon, wherein he invited the people to ſtand firm to Queen *Jane*, whoſe cauſe he affirmed to be moſt juſt, yet few or none were perſwaded by him; ſo as the Lords themſelves fell off from the ſide; who aſſembling at *Baynards-Caſtle*, firſt the Earl of *Arundel*, then the Earl of *Pembroke* fell to Invectives againſt the Duke of *Northumberland*; and then all the Lords joyning in Opinion with them, they called for the Mayor, and in *London* Proclaimed the Lady *Mary* Queen; as likewiſe the Lord *Windſor*, Sir *Edmund Peckham*, Sir *Robert Drurie*, and Sir *Edward Haſtings*, did in *Buckinghamſhire*; Sir *John Williams* of *Tame*, and Sir *Leonard Chamberlain* in *Oxfordſhire*, and Sir *Thomas Treſham* in the County of *Northampton*. All this came ſoon to the knowledge of the Duke of *Northumberland*, being then at *Bury*; who thereby ſeeing how the World went, thought it his beſt courſe to turn with the ſtream: and thereupon returning to *Cambridge*, he took the Mayor of the Town with him into the Market-place, and there himſelf, for want of a Herald, Proclaimed the Lady *Mary* Queen, and in ſign of joy threw up his Cap. Which yet ſerved not his turn: for the next morning, *Henry Fitz-Allen*, Earl of *Arundel*, came into *Cambridge* from Queen *Mary*; who entring his Chamber, the Duke at his feet fell on his knees, deſiring him for Gods love to conſider his caſe, that had done nothing but by the Warrant of him and the Council. My Lord, (ſaith the Earl) I am ſent hither by the Queen, to Arreſt you. And I (ſaid the Duke) obey your Arreſt; yet I beſeech your Lordſhip to uſe mercy towards him, whoſe acts have been no other than were enjoyned by Commiſſion. You ſhould have thought of that ſooner, (ſaid the Earl:) and thereupon committed him to a Guard, and left him to the Queens mercy. Thus ended all this great Dukes deſigns in his own deſtruction, and brought him to fall on his knees to them, who had often before bowed their knees to him: and the Earl, who at the Dukes going out could have been contented to ſpend his bloud at his feet, was now contented to be made an Inſtrument of his fall. So ſudden are the turns of mens Affections, and ſo unſtable is the building upon their Aſſeverations: at leaſt, no man muſt look to have his caſe be of any weight againſt him, who hath his own caſe put in the Balance. Together with the Duke, his three Sons, *John*, *Ambroſe*, and *Henry*, the Earl of *Huntington*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the two *Gates*, *John* and *Henry*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Doctor *Sands*, were conveyed towards *London*, and brought to the *Tower*; and the next day the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Lord *Robert Dudley*, and Sir *Robert Corbet*. Before which time, the Duke of *Suffolk*, entring his Daughters the Lady *Jane*'s Chamber, told her, She muſt now put off her Royal Robes, and be contented with a private life. To which ſhe anſwered, She would much more willingly put them off, than ſhe had put them on; and would never have done it, but in obedience to him and her Mother. And this was the end of the Lady *Jane*'s Ten Days Reign.

But ſoon after the Lords that ſent him, fell off from the ſide, and Proclaimed Queen *Mary*.

Which the Duke of *Northumberland* hearing, he alſo at *Cambridge* Proclaimed Queen *Mary*.

Yet is arreſted by the Earl of *Arundel*.

And with him divers more.

The Lady *Jane* hearing hereof, was nothing troubled at it. And thus ended her ten days Reign.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *John Greſham* was Mayor.
Thomas White, *Robert Chertſey*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Henry Amcoats was Mayor.
William Lock, Sir *John Ayleph*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Rowland Hill* was Mayor.
John Yorke, *Richard Turk*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *Andrew Jud* was Mayor.
Auguſtin Hinde, *John Lion*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *Richard Dobbes* was Mayor.
John Lambert, *John Cowper*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
Sir *George Barne* was Mayor.
William Garret, or *Gerard*, *John Mainard*, Sheriffs.

The Reign of QUEEN MARY.

1553.

The Lady *Mary* having been proclaimed Queen, comes to *London*, and so to the *Tower*.

THE Lady *Mary*, having been Proclaimed Queen in *London*, and other parts of the Realm; removed from her Castle of *Framlingham* towards *London*; and being come to *Wansted* in *Essex*, on the thirtieth of *July*, the Lady *Elizabeth* her Sister, with a Train of a thousand Horse, rode from her Place in the Strand to meet her. On the third of *August* the Queen rode through *London* to the *Tower*; where at her Entrance were presented to her *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Edward* Lord *Courtney*, *Stephen Gardiner*, late Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Dutchess of *Somerset*, who all kneeling down, she kissed them, and said, *These be my Prisoners*, and then caused them presently to be set at liberty. The next day she restored the Lord *Courtney* to the Marquisate of *Exeter*; and the same day also she not only restored *Stephen Gardiner* to his Bishoprick of *Winchester*, but a few days after made him Chancellour of *England*: Yet this was the Man that had subscribed to her Mothers divorce, and had written books against the lawfulness of her Marriage. The fifth of *August*, *Edmund Bonner*, late Bishop of *London*, Prisoner in the *Marshalsey*, and *Cuthbert Tonstal*, the old Bishop of *Durham*, Prisoner in the *Kings Bench*, had their Pardons, and were restored to their Sees. Shortly after, all the Bishops which had been deprived in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth, were restored to their Bishopricks, and the new removed: as *Ridley* was removed from *London*, and *Bonner* placed; *Scory* from *Chichester*, and *Day* placed; *Miles Coverdale* from *Exeter*, and *West* placed; *John Hooper* from *Worcester*, and *Heath* placed. Also all Beneficed men that were married, or would not renounce their Religion, were put out of their Livings, and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms.

Where she sets divers Lords at liberty.

And restores the Bishops who had been deprived.

On the thirteenth of *August*, one Master *Bourne* a Canon of *Pauls*, preaching at *Pauls*-Cross, not only prayed for the dead, but also declared, that Doctor *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, (late restored, and there in presence) for a Sermon by him made four years before, in the same place, and upon the same Text, had unjustly been cast into the vile Prison of the *Marshalsey*. Which Speech so offended some of the Auditory that they cried, *Pull him down, Pull him down*; and had certainly done him violence, (for a Dagger was thrown at him) if Master *Bradford*, a Protestant Preacher, had not stept into his place, and appeased the Tumult, and Master *Rogers*, another Protestant Minister, (who were both afterward burnt for Religion) had not shifted away *Bourne* into *Paul's* School.

Hitherto Queen *Maries* Reign had been without bloud, but now the Cataracts of severity will be opened, that will make it rain blond: for now, on the eighteenth of *August*, *John Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland*, *William Parre* Marquess of *Northampton*, and *John* Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to the Duke, were arraigned at *Westminster-Hall*, before *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* as High Steward of *England*. Where the Duke of *Northumberland*, after his Indictment read, required the opinion of the Court in two Points. First, Whether a man doing any Act, by authority of the Princes Council, and by Warrant of the Great Seal of *England*, might for any such Act be charged with Treason. Secondly, Whether any such persons as were equally culpable, and by whose Commandments he was directed, might be his Judges, and pass upon his Trial. Whereunto was answered, That concerning the first, the Great Seal, which he alledged for his Warrant, was not the Seal of the lawfull Queen of the Realm, but of an Usurper, and therefore could be no warrant for him. And as to the second, it was resolved, That if any were as deeply to be touched in the Case as himself, yet so long as no Attainder were of Record against them, they were persons able in Law to pass upon his Trial, and not to be challenged but at the Prince's pleasure. After which Answers, the Duke used few words, but confessed the Indictment, and accordingly had Judgment to die. By whose example, the other Prisoners arraigned with him confessed the Indictments, and thereupon had Judgment. The nineteenth of *August*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *John* and Sir *Henry Gates*, Brethren, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Knights, were Arraigned at *Westminster*; who confessing their Indictments, had Judgment, which was pronounced by the Marquess of *Winchester*, Lord High Treasurer, sitting that day as Chief Justice. After these Condemnations followed the Executions: for on the two and twentieth of *August*, *John* Duke of *Northumberland* was brought to the *Tower-Hill*, and there beheaded. Being upon the Scaffold in a Gown of green-coloured Damask, he put it off, and then made a long Speech, wherein he asked the Queen forgiveness,

The Duke of *Northumberland* is arraigned.

And beheaded.

neſs, whom he acknowledged to have grievouſly offended: and then making profeſſion of his Faith, that he died a true Catholick, (meaning a Papiſt) he ſaid the Pſalms of *Miſerere* & *De Profundis*, the *Pater noſter*, and ſix of the firſt verſes of the Pſalm *In te domine ſperavi*, ending with this ver. *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*. And this ſaid, he looked about him, as looking for a Pardon; but none coming, he laid his head down upon the Block, and at one blow had it ſtricken off. His Body with the Head was buried in the Tower, by the body of *Edward* late Duke of *Somerſet*, (mortal enemies while they lived, but now lying together as good friends:) ſo as there lieth before the high Altar in St. *Peters* Church, two Dukes between two Queens, namely, the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Duke of *Northumberland*, between Queen *Anne* and Queen *Katharine*, all four beheaded. Of what Religion this Duke was, may well be doubted, ſeeing at his death he profeſſed himſelf a Papiſt, when lately before he had importuned King *Edward* to make the Lady *Jane* his Succeſſour, leſt the Papal Religion ſhould be reſtored. It ſeems he was not greatly of either, but for other ends: a Proteſtant then, when it was to make his Daughter-in Law Queen; now a Papiſt, when it was to ſave his life, (for it was thought he had a Pardon promiſed, if he would recant.) At the ſame time and place were beheaded Sir *John Gates* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, who were no ſuch Temporizers, but perſiſted and died in the Proteſtant Religion, which they had always profeſſed.

After this, a ſprinkling of Mercy came from the Queen: for on the third of *September* the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, the two Chief Juſtices, Sir *Roger Cholmely* and *Mountague*, Sir *John Cheek*, and others were delivered out of the Tower, whither they had been committed. But a ſhowr of ſeverity followed ſoon after: for on the fifteenth of *September* Maſter *Latimer*, and Doctor *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, were ſent to the Tower; and on the third of *November* following, the ſaid Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Lady *Jane*, (late Queen) and the Lord *Guilford* her Husband, with the Lords *Ambroſe* and *Henry*, Sons to the late Duke of *Northumberland* were all arraigned at the *Guildhall*, found guilty, and had Judgment to die.

Latimer & Cranmer ſent to the Tower.

Cranmer and the late Queen Jane, with the Sons of the Duke of Northumberland, arraigned and condemned.

All this while Queen *Mary* had contented her ſelf to be Queen by proclamation; but now that things were ſomething ſettled, ſhe proceeds to her Coronation: for on the laſt of *September* ſhe rode in her Chariot through *London* towards *Weſtminſter* in this order. Firſt rode a number of Gentlemen and Knights, then Doctors, then Judges, then Biſhops, then Lords, then the Council; after whom followed the Knights of the *Bath*, thirteen in number, in their Robes, then the Biſhop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellour, and the Marqueſs of *Winchester* Lord High Treaſurer: next came the Duke of *Norfolk*, and after him the Earl of *Oxford*, who bore the Sword, then the Mayor of *London* in a Gown of Crimſon Velvet, who bore the Scepter of Gold: after came the Queens Chariot, and then followed another Chariot, wherein ſate the lady *Elizabeth* her Siſter, and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, and then came Ladies and Gentlewomen riding on Horſes, trapped with red Velvet, &c. In this order they came through *London* to *Weſtminſter*, where in many places by the way were Pageants and ſtately Shews, and many rich Preſents given to the Queen. The next day ſhe went by Water to the old Palace, and remained there till eleven of the clock, and then went on foot upon blue cloth, being railed on either ſide, to St. *Peters* Church, where ſhe was Crowned and Anointed by the Biſhop of *Winchester*, the two Archbiſhops being then in the *Tower*, with all Rites and Ceremonies of old accuſtomed.

Queen Mary is Crowned, and in what order.

After her Coronation, a general Pardon was publiſhed in her name, but interlaced with ſo many exceptions of matters and perſons, that very few took benefit by it: for after the Pardon publiſhed, there were Commiſſioners aſſigned to compound with ſuch perſons as were excepted; from ſome of whom they took away their Fees and Offices, ſome they fined, and ſome they deprived of their Eſtates and Livings.

A Pardon granted, but full of exceptions.

About this time, Sir *James Haleſ*, one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas, who in the time of King *Edward* had refuſed to ſign a Writing for diſinheriting the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, (a fact worthy at leaſt of a kind of remembrance from the Lady *Mary* now Queen) yet now, for that at a Quarter-Seſſions in *Kent* he gave charge upon the Statutes of King *Henry* the Eighth and King *Edward* the Sixth, in derogation of the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*, he was firſt committed to the *Kings-Bench*, then to the *Counter*, and laſtly to the *Fleet*; where he grew ſo troubled in mind, that he attempted with a Pen-knife to kill himſelf: and being afterward recovered of that hurt, and brought to the Queens preſence, who gave him very comfortable words, yet could he never come to be quiet in his mind; but in the end drowned himſelf in a River not half a mile from his houſe, the River being ſo ſhallow, that he was fain to lie groveling before he could diſpatch himſelf of life.

Sir James Hales Juſtice of the Common Pleas drowns himſelf, and why.

And now another ſprinkling of Mercy came from the Queen; for the Marqueſs of *Northampton* and Sir *Henry Gates*, lately before condemned to die, were now pardoned, and ſet at liberty. The Lady *Jane* alſo was allowed the liberty of the Tower, not without hope of life and liberty all together, if her Father the Duke of *Suffolk* had not the ſecond time been cauſe of her deſtruction.

The Lady Jane, though condemned, is allowed the liberty of the Tower.

About this time alſo a Synod was aſſembled, for conſulting about matters of Religion, and the point ſpecially of the Real Preſence in the Sacrament. The Prolocutor was Doctor *Weſton*; and of the Proteſtant ſide were *John Aylmer* and *Richard Cheney*, both Biſhops afterward in Queen *Elizabeths* time, alſo *John Philpot*, afterward burnt, *James Haddon*, and others. After long Diſputation, where reaſons were not ſo much weighed, as voices numbred, the Papal ſide, as having moſt voices, carried it: and thereupon was that Religion again reſtored, and the Maſs commanded in all Churches to be celebrated, after the ancient manner.

Upon a conference about Religion, the Maſs is again reſtored.

It was now the year 1553. when Queen *Mary* was come to the age of ſeven and thirty years, and therefore high time now to think of Marriage,

Marriage, at leaſt if ſhe meant to have Iſſue of her body: but a hard matter it was to find a Husband in all points fitting for her: yet three at this time (in common fame at leaſt) were taken into conſideration. One was the Lord *Courtney*, Marqueſs of *Exeter*, a goodly Gentleman, and of Royal bloud: but there was an exception againſt him, becauſe inclineing (as was thought) to *Lutheraniſm*. Another was Cardinal *Poole*, of a dignity not much inferiour to Kings, and by his Mother deſcended from Kings: but there was exception againſt him alſo, becauſe four and fifty years old, (as old a Batchelour as Queen *Mary* was a Maid) and ſo the leſs hope of Iſſue between them. But the third (if he might be had) was without exception, and this was *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, the Emperour *Charles* his eldeſt Son, with whom, being a *Spaniard*, ſhe was the fitter matched, as being by the Mother a *Spaniard* her ſelf. And now very opportunely came in the beginning of *January* Embaſſadours into *England* about it; amongſt others, the Count of *Egmond*, Admiral of the *Low-Countries*, and *John* of *Memorancy* Lord of *Curryers*: whoſe Meſſage was ſo kindly entertained, that the Marriage in ſhort time was abſolutely concluded; though it ſeemed ſomething ſtrange to many, that ſhe ſhould now be the Wife to the Son, who thirty years before ſhould have been Wife to the Father. But ſo it is, Queens are never old ſo long as they are within years of bearing Children. And indeed the Match was concluded with Conditions of far more advantage to Queen *Mary* than they were to King *Philip*, as on the fourteenth of *January Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Chancellour of *England*, openly in the Preſence-Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, declared to all the Lords and Gentlemen there preſent. For it was agreed, that after the Marriage, King *Philip* ſhould have the Title of all the Queens Dominions, and be aſſumed into fellowſhip of the Government; but yet with reſervation to the Queen of all Priviledges and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, and free diſpoſition of all Offices and Honours. As likewiſe the Queen would be aſſumed into the fellowſhip of all the Kings Dominions, and ſurviving him, ſhould have a Joynture of two hundred thouſand pounds a year. Then for the Iſſue between them, if ſhe had a Son, that he ſhould inherit the *Low-Countries* and *Burgundy*; and King *Philip*'s Son *Charles*, which he had by a former Wife, ſhould inherit all his Dominions in *Italy* and *Spain*: but if his Son *Charles* ſhould fail without Iſſue, then the Son he ſhould have by Queen *Mary* ſhould inherit his Kingdom of *Italy* and *Spain* alſo. And the like good proviſion was alſo made for Daughters. But notwithſtanding theſe great advantages of the Match, yet ſuch was the precipitant raſhneſs of ſome, that thinking themſelves wiſer than the Queen and the Council, they ſought by all means to oppoſe the match; giving out, that it tended to bring *England* under the yoke of *Spain*, and to make the Country a ſlave to ſtrangers. This was the general murmuring of people: but the firſt that ſhewed himſelf in Arms, was Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Kent*, who having communicated the matter with the Duke of *Suffolk* the Lady *Janes* Father, with *Peter Carue* a Knight of *Devonſhire*, and divers others, intended only to make ſecret proviſion, but not to ſtir till Prince *Philip* ſhould be come, that ſo their cauſe of taking Arms might have the better colour. On the fifteenth of *January*, *Robert Dudley*, Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, was arraigned at the *Guild-Hall* of high Treaſon; who confeſſed the Indictment, and had Judgment given by the Earl of *Suſſex*, to be drawn, hanged, bowelled and quartered.

But now in Counſels communicated to many, it is a hard matter to have counſel kept; and Sir *Peter Carue* finding that their Plot was diſcovered, fled privily into *France*, where lurking for a time, he was afterward taken at *Bruxells*, and brought Captive into *England*: as likewiſe at the ſame time and place Sir *John Cheek* King *Edward*'s School-Maſter, was taken; who being drawn by terrours to embrace the Papal Religion, with very grief afterward of his error pined away and died. Sir *Peter Carue* lived many years after, and died in *Ireland*; though it be falſly recorded, they were both burnt for Religion in *June* this year. *Wyat* hearing of Sir *Peter Carue*'s flight, and that all their purpoſe was diſcovered, was driven before his time to enter into Arms, giving out for the Cauſe, that it was not to attempt any thing againſt the Queen, but only to remove ill Councellours, and chiefly to repel Prince *Philip*, leſt by his Marriage the Kingdom ſhould come in ſubjection to the *Spaniard*. With *Wyat* were joyned Sir *Henry Iſle*, Sir *George Harper*, *Anthony* and *William Knevet*, and divers other Gentlemen of the County. Againſt him were the Lord *Abergavenny*, Sir *Thomas Cheiney* Lord Warden of the Ports, Sir *Robert Southwell* Sheriff of *Kent*, Sir *Warham Sentleger*, Sir *Thomas Kemp*, Sir *Thomas Moyle*, Sir *Thomas Finch*, with divers other; yet all theſe great men had ſuch doubt of the people, that they durſt not proceed but very warily. The five and twentieth of *January* news came to *London* of *Wyats* riſing; againſt whom was preſently ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* with Sir *Henry Jerningham* Captain of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray*, Sir *John Fogge*, *John Covert*, *Roger Appleton* Eſquires and five hundred Souldiers out of *London* appointed to go after him, under the leading of Captain *Bret*. And now ſee in times of Sedition how uncertain a thing it is to truſt to the people; for before *Bret* could overtake the Duke, Sir *George Harper* was ſecretly got to him, who ſo perſwaded him, that he and his five hundred Souldiers left the Duke, and went all to *Wyat*; which made the Duke and thoſe with him preſently to flie, and put ſuch boldneſs into *Wyat*, that now he marched with great confidence towards *London*, with ſo great terrour to all ſorts of people, that at *Weſtminſter-Hall* the Serjeants and other Lawyers pleaded in harneſs.

In the mean time the Duke of *Suffolk* was perceived in *Warwick-ſhire* to be raiſing of Forces in aſſiſtance of *Wyat*: againſt whom was preſently ſent the Earl of *Huntington*; and the Duke finding himſelf unable to make reſiſtance,

Matches propounded for Queen *Mary*.

The Match is concluded with *Philip* Prince of *Spain*.

With greater Conditions of advantage to her than to him.

Yet is oppoſed by divers, eſpecially Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Kent*.

The Lord *Robert Dudley* is arraigned and condemned.

Wyat with his Army marcheth towards *London*.

The Duke of *Suffolk* raiſeth Forces to aſſiſt *Wyat*.

stance, having with all his industry gotten together but only fifty men he betook himself to a Tenant of his, one *Underwood*, with whom he hoped, and had promise, to remain undiscovered, till he might have opportunity to escape, as some say; as others, to a Keeper of his Park, called *Nicholas Lawrence*, who kept him in a hollow Oak in the said Park for two or three dayes. But whether *Underwood* or *Lawrence*, either out of fear, or out of hope of reward, he betrayed him to the Earl, by whom he was taken, and under a strong Guard carried to the Tower. Upon this, Queen *Mary* her self came into *London*, where calling the Mayor and chief of the City together, she made an Oration, wherein she shewed the insolency of *Wyat*; who though he pretended but only the crossing of the Marriage, yet was now grown to such presumption, that he required to have the Custody of her Person, and to have Counsellors retained or removed at his pleasure. And as for her Marriage, she there affirmed she had done nothing in it but by the advice of her Council; and for her self, that she was not so longing for a Husband, but that if it were not more for the good of the Kingdom, than for her own Satisfaction, she would never once think of entertaining it. Having by her Speech confirmed the minds of the Citizens, Forces were presently raised and placed about the Bridg, and other fit places of the Cty. The third of *February*, *Wyat* with an Army of three or four thousand came to *London*, hoping of present entrance; but finding the Bridge broken, and Souldiers placed to resist him, after two dayes stay in *Southwark*, he removed to *Kingstone*, where he found likewise the Bridge broken; yet with great industry suddenly repairing it, he passed over his men, and meant with all speed to get to the Court, before the Queen should have notice of his coming: and had done so indeed, if a mischance, and an errour upon that mischance had not hindred him. For being come within six miles of *London*, the Carriage of one of his great Ordnance brake; in mending whereof so much time was spent, (and *Wyat* by no perswasions would go forward without it) that the time was past in which his Friends at *London* expected his coming: which disappointment made many in those parts to fall off, and being perceived by those about him, many of them also; so as one half of his Army was suddenly gone and left him; amongst other, Sir *George Harper*, the most intimate of all his Council, went to the *Queen*, and discovered all his purposes. Whereupon the Earl of *Pembroke*, with a Company levied upon the sudden, was sent against him, wch made *Wyat* slack his pace, so as it was Noon before he came to the Suburbs of the City; and then placing his Ordnance upon a Hill, and leaving there the greatest part of his Army, he only with five Ensigns marched towards *Ludgate*, and being encountred at *Charing-Cross* by the Lord Chamberlain and Sir *John Gage*, after a small fight put them to flight in such sort, that word was carried to the *Queen*, how near *Wyat* approached, and how wonderfully he prevailed all the way he came. With which nothing dismayed, Well then (said she) I will go in person against him my self; and was preparing to do so indeed, (so much was her Father's Valour running in her veins) but it needed not; for by this time Sir *Henry Jerningham* Captain of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray* Master of the Ordnance, and Sir *Philip Paris* had given him Battel, and slain many of his men. And that which was more, coming to *Ludgate*, he was denied entrance; and then thinking to retire, he heard the Earl of *Pembroke* with his Forces was behind at *Charing-Cross*: so as neither able to go forward, nor yet back-ward, he was at a stand and in amazement, and then leaning a while upon a Stall by the *Bell-Savage*, after a little musing, he returned towards *Temple-Gate*: where *Clarenceaux* the Herald meeting him, fell to perswade him, not to be a cause of more effusion of bloud, nor by persisting in obstinacy to exclude all hopes of the *Queens* mercy. The Soldiers of *Wyat* were earnest with him to have stood it out: but *Wyat* as sillily ending, as he had unadvisedly begun, yielded himself to Sir *Maurice Berkley*, and getting up upon his horse behind him in that manner rode to the Court; where he had not the entertainment he expected, for without more adoe he was presently sent away to the Tower. The Captain taken, the rest made no resistance, few fled, and of the other many were taken and laid in prison: and this was done the sixth of *February*. And now consultation was held what Delinquents should be punished: where the first that was thought on was the Lady *Jane*, in whom was verified, *The Fathers have eaten sour Grapes, and the Childrens teeth are set on edge*; the innocent Lady must suffer for her Fathers fault: for if her Father the Duke of *Suffolk* had not this second time made shipwrack of his Loyalty, his daughter perhaps had never tasted the salt-waters of the Queens displeasure: but now, as a Rock of offence, she is the first that must be removed; and thereupon is Doctor *Feckham* sent to acquaint her, That she must prepare her self to die the next day. Which Message was so little unpleasing unto her, that she seemed rather to rejoyce at it, as whereby she should at last be set at liberty. And the Doctor being earnest with her to leave her new Religion, and to embrace the old; she answered, She had now no time to think of any thing but of preparing her self to God by Prayer. *Feckman* thinking she had spoken this, to the end she might have some longer time of life, obtained of the Queen three days longer, and then came and told so much to the Lady *Jane*, whereat she smiling said, You are much deceived, if you think I had any desire of longer life; for I assure you, since the time you went from me, my life hath been so tedious to me, that I long for nothing so much as death; and since it is the Queens pleasure, I am most willing to undergoe it. Before she was brought to Execution, her Husband, the Lord *Guilford*, had made suit, and obtained to see her, and have some conference with her: but she refused it, saying, These were rather augmenters of grief, than comforts of death; she made no doubt, but they should shortly meet in a better place, and in a better condition of society. So on the twelfth of *February*

But is taken, and carried to the Tower.

Queen *Mary* protests her Marriage for the good of the Kingdom.

Wyat being denied Entrance at *Ludgate*, retires, and at last yields himself to Sir *Maurice Berkley*, and is sent to the Tower.

The Lady *Jane* hath word sent her to prepare her self to die. Whereat she seemed to rejoyce.

She is beheaded.

February her Husband the Lord *Guilford* first, and then ſhe, an hour or two after, was beheaded within the Tower; where ſhe acknowledged her ſelf to have deſerved death, not for ſeeking the Crown, but for not refuſing it being offered. And after Prayers to God, unclothing her ſelf, and putting a Handkerchief before her eyes, ſhe laid her Head down upon the Block, and patiently ſuffered death, more grievous to the beholders than to her ſelf. This end had the Lady *Jane Gray*, a Lady of incomparable Piety, and (for her years) of incomparable Learning; for being not paſt ſeventeen years of age, ſhe underſtood perfectly the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, and was ſo ready in Points of Divinity, as if ſhe knew them by inſpiration rather than by inſtruction: no leſs a Miracle in this kind than King *Edward*; and therefore no marvel if he appointed her to ſucceed him in the Kingdom, who in the endowments of Mind was ſo like unto him, that whileſt ſhe reigned, it might be thought he continued to reign himſelf, at leaſt no more differing but only the Sex. It may not be forgotten, that Judge *Morgan*, who at her Arraignment gave the ſentence againſt her, ſhortly after fell mad, and in his raving, cried continually to have the Lady *Jane* taken away from him, and ſo ended his life.

Her Piety and Learning.

Judge *Morgan* who had given Sentence upon her, falls mad.

Two days after the Execution of the Lady *Jane*, namely, the fourteenth and fifteenth of *February*, twenty pair of Gallows were ſet up in divers places of the City, whereon were hanged fifty of *Wyat*'s Faction. On the eighteenth of *February Bret* was hanged at *Rocheſter* in Chains: Sir *Henry Iſle*, who had been taken in an old freez Coat and an old pair of Hoſe, with his Brother *Thomas Iſle*, and *Walter Mantell*, were hanged at *Maidſtone*: *Anthony Knevet*, and his Brother *William*, with another of the *Mantells*, were executed at *Sevenock*. But then on the twentieth of *February*, a ſprinkling of mercy came, for four hundred of *Wyat*'s followers, being brought before the Queen with halters about their necks, were all pardoned and ſet at liberty. But then ſeverity ſoon after began again, for on the three and twentieth of *February* the Lord *Henry Gray*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and Father to the Lady *Jane*, who the week before had been arraigned and condemned, was on the Tower-Hill beheaded; and on the eleventh of *April* in the ſame place was beheaded (the Author of all this miſchief) *Wyat* himſelf, whoſe quarters were ſet up in divers places of the City, his Head upon the Gallows at *Hay-hill*, beſides *Hide-Park*. This man, in hope of life, having before accuſed the Lord *Courtney*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Queens Siſter, to be privy to his Conſpiracy, yet at his death he cleared them, and proteſted openly, that they were altogether innocent, and never had been acquainted with his proceedings. Yet was this matter ſo urged againſt them by *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Winchester* and Lord Chancellour, that both of them in *March* before had been committed to the Tower, though in *May* following they were both again releaſed; but yet confined, the Lady *Elizabeth* to *Woodſtock*, under the cuſtody of Sir *Henry Bedingfield* of *Oxenborough* in the County of *Norfolk*; the Lord *Courtney* to *Fotheringhay*, under the cuſtody of Sir *Thomas Treſham*, who after ſome time was ſet at liberty, and going into *Italy* there died. It is memorable, what malice this Biſhop *Gardiner* bore to the Lady *Elizabeth*, by whoſe only procurment, not only ſhe was kept in moſt hard durance, but a Warrant was at laſt framed under certain Counſellours hands, to put her to death: which had been done, but that Mr. *Bridges*, Lieutenant of the Tower, pitying her caſe, went to the Queen to know her pleaſure, who utterly denied that ſhe knew any thing of it; by which means her life was preſerved. Indeed the Biſhop would ſometimes ſay, how they cut off boughs and branches, but as long as they let the root remain, all was nothing: and it is not unworthy the remembring what trains were laid to enſnare her. The common Net at that time for catching of Proteſtants, was the Real Preſence, and this Net was uſed to catch her: for being asked one time, what ſhe thought of the words of Chriſt, *This is my Body*, whether ſhe thought it the true Body of Chriſt that was in the Sacrament; it is ſaid, that after ſome pauſing, ſhe thus anſwered,

Stephen Gardiner practiſes againſt the Lady *Elizabeth*.

He procures a Warrant to put her to death. And how ſhe was preſerved.

> *Chriſt was the Word that ſpake it:*
> *He took the Bread, and brake it:*
> *And what the Word did make it,*
> *That I believe, and take it.*

Which though it may ſeem but a ſlight expreſſion, yet hath it more ſolidneſs than at firſt ſight appears; at leaſt it ſerved her turn at that time to eſcape the Net, which by direct anſwer ſhe could not have done.

On the ſevententh of *February*, *Thomas* Lord *Gray*, the Duke of *Suffolks* Brother was beheaded, the laſt, and indeed the leaſt, in Delinquency, that ſuffered for having any hand in *Wyat*'s Conſpiracy. There remained yet a fagg-end, and was indeed but a fagg-end, as nothing worth: for on the ſame day Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, being accuſed to have been a party in *Wyat*'s Conſpiracy, was at the *Guild-Hall* arraigned before Sir *Thomas White* Lord Mayor, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Derby*, Sir *Thomas Bromley* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, Sir *Nicholas Hare* Maſter of the Rolls, Sir *Francis Engleſield* Maſter of the Wards, Sir *Richard Southwell* and Sir *Edward Walgrave* Privy Counſellours, Sir *Roger Cholmely*, Sir *William Portman*, one of the Juſtices of the Kings Bench, Sir *Edward Sanders*, one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas, Mr. *Stanford* and Mr. *Dyer* Serjeants at Law, Mr. *Edward Gryffin* Atturney-General, Mr. *Sendal* and *Peter Tichborne* Clerks of the Crown; where the ſaid Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* ſo fully and diſcreetly anſwered all Objections brought againſt him, that he was found by the Jury Not guilty and was clearly acquitted. But the Jury notwithſtanding was afterward troubled for acquitting him, and ſent Priſoners, ſome of them to the *Tower*, and ſome to the *Fleet*, and afterward fined to pay a thouſand Marks apiece at leaſt, and ſome two thouſands pounds; though theſe Sums were afterward ſomething mitigated.

Thomas Lord *Gray*, the Duke of *Suffolks* brother beheaded. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* arraigned, and by the Jury acquitted.

The Duke of *Suffolk* is beheaded.

Wyat is beheaded.

More

Divers of *Wyats* Complices pardoned.

More of *Wyat*'s Complices had been taken, arraigned, and adjudged to die; but in Judgment the Queen remembred Mercy, and gave them their Pardons: of which number were Master *Rudston* of *Kent*, Sir *James a Crofts*, the Lord *John Gray* Brother to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and some others.

Divers Lords created.

About this time, a little before and after, were advancements in Honour: the Lord *William Howard*, Lord Admiral of *England*, was created Baron *Howard* of *Effingham*; Sir *John Williams* was created Baron of *Tame*; Sir *Edward North* was Created Baron of *Chartleigh*; Sir *John Bridges* was created Baron *Chandoys* of *Sudely*; *Gerard Fitz-Garret*, Earl of *Kildare*, and Baron of *Ophelley*; and not long after Sir *Anthony Brown*, Master of the Horse, was created Viscount *Mountague*.

The Imposture of *Elizabeth Croft*, called the Spirit in the Wall.

It is scarce worth remembring, that in the end of this first year of the Queens Reign, one *Elizabeth Croft*, a Wench of eighteen years old, was by practice put into a Wall, and thereupon called *The Spirit in the Wall*, who, with a Whistle made for the purpose, whistled out many seditious words against the *Queen*, the Prince of *Spain*, the Mass, Confession, and such other points; for which she did Penance, standing upon a Scaffold at *Paul*'s Cross all the Sermon-time, where she made open confession of her fault.

Cranmer, *Ridley* and *Latimer* adjudged Hereticks, and condemned to die.

There had been good store of Lay-mens bloud shed already, & now the time is coming to have Clergy-mens shed: and for a preparative to it, on the tenth of *April*, *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Ridley* late Bishop of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* late Bishop of *Worcester*, are conveyed from the Tower to *Oxford*, there to dispute with *Oxford* and *Cambridge*-men in Points of Religion, but especially of the Eucharist. The *Oxford*-men were *Cole*, *Chadsey*, *Pye*, *Harpsfield*, *Smith*, and Doctor *Weston* Prolocutor: the *Cambridg*-men, *Young*, *Seaton*, *Watson*, *Atkinson*, *Feckenam*, and *Sedgewick*. The Disputation ended, which (we may well think as the matter was carried) went against the Prisoners, on the twentieth of *April* they were brought again on the Stage; and then demanded, whether they would persist in their Opinion, or else recant. And affirming they would persist, they were all three adjudged Hereticks, and condemned to the Fire: but their Execution we must not look for till a year or two hence. But in the mean time we have *John Rogers*, the first Martyr of these Times, burnt at *London* the fourth of *February*: after whom, the ninth of *February*, *John Hooper*, late Bishop of *Worcester*, burnt at *Gloucester*: after him *Robert Ferrar*, Bishop of *Man*, burnt at *Carmarthen*: after him, *John Bradford*, with many others; and then the two famous men, *Ridley* and *Latimer*, no less famous for their constant deaths than their Religious lives, both burnt at *Oxford* the sixteenth of *October*.

The first that suffered for Religion in Queen *Mary*'s time.

This Rising of *Wyat* had been a *Remora* to the Queen's Marriage; and now to avoid all such obstacles hereafter, the Queen in *April* called a Parliament, wherein were propounded two things; one for Confirmation of the Marriage, the other for restoration of the Popes Primacy. This latter was not assented to but with great difficulty; for the six years Reign of King *Edward* had spread a plantation of the Protestant Religion in the hearts of many: but the Proposition for the Marriage was assented to readily, but yet with the adding of some conditions, which had not been thought of in the former Articles. 1. That King *Philip* should admit of no Stranger in any Office, but only Natives. 2. That he should innovate nothing in the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom. 3. That he should not carry the *Queen* out of the Realm, without her consent, nor any of her Children, without consent of the Council. 4. That surviving the Queen, he should challenge no right in the Kingdom, but suffer it to descend to the next Heir. 5. That he should carry none of the Jewels of the Realm out of the Kingdom, nor suffer any Ships or Ordnance to be removed out of the Realm. And lastly, That neither directly nor indirectly, he should cause the Realm of *England* to be intangled with the War between *Spain* and *France*.

The Conditions of the Queens Marriage with Prince *Philip*.

All things being thus agreed on, the Earl of *Bedford* Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord *Fitz-waters*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, are sent into *Spain*, to fetch over Prince *Philip*; who arrived at *Southampton* the twentieth of *July*, in the year 1554. and the three and twentieth came to *Winchester*, where the Queen met him, and the five and twentieth the Marriage between them there was openly solemnized: (the disparity of years, as in Princes, not much regarded, though he were then but seven and twenty years of age, she eight and thirty.) At which time the Emperours Embassadours being present, openly declared, that in Consideration of that Marriage, the Emperour had given to Prince *Philip* his Son, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Hierusalem*. And thereupon (the solemnity of Marriage being ended) *Garter* King of Heralds openly in the Church, in the presence of the King, the Queen, and the Lords both of *England* and *Spain*, solemnly proclaimed the Title and Style of these two Princes, as followeth: *Philip* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, *Hierusalem*, and *Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of *Spain*, and *Sicily*; Arch-Dukes of *Austria*; Dukes of *Millain*, *Burgundy*, and *Brabant*; Counts of *Habspurg*, *Flanders*, and *Tyroll*. After this, the King and Queen by easie journeys came to *Windsor* Castle, where the King was installed Knight of the Garter, and the Earl of *Sussex* with him. The eleventh of *August* they removed to *Richmond*, the seven & twentieth to *Suffolk-Place* in *Southwark*, and the next day to *London*, (where the stately Shews that were made may well enough be conceived without relating:) from hence after four days they removed again to *Richmond*, where all the Lords had leave to depart into their Countries: and indeed so many departed, that there remained not an *English* Lord at the Court but the Bishop of *Winchester*. From *Richmond* they removed to *Hampton-Court*, where the Hall door within the Court was continually kept shut, so as no man might enter, unless his errand were first known; which might perhaps be the fashion of *Spain*, but to *Englishmen* seemed very strange.

1554.

The Earl of *Bedford* is sent into *Spain*, to fetch over Prince *Philip*.

The Marriage between him and the Queen is solemnized.

Their Style.

A hate and close Court.

About this time Cardinal *Poole*, sent for by

T the

Cardinal *Pole* is sent for by the King and Queen to come into *England*.

the King and Queen, came over into *England*, and had come sooner, but that the Emperour, fearing he might prove a Corrival with his Son *Philip*, had used means to stop his passage; but now that his Son's Marriage was past, he was content to let him pass: who though he came from *Rome* with the great authority of a Legate *à Latere*, yet he would not but come privately into *London*, because his Attainder was yet upon Record. An act therefore was presently passed to take it off, and to restore him in bloud. For passing of which Act, the King & Queen in Person came to the Parliament-House, whither a few days after the Cardinal came himself; which was then kept in the great Chamber of *White-hall*, because the Queen, by reason of sickness, was not well able to go abroad. And here the King and Queen sitting under the Cloath of Estate, and the Cardinal on their right hand, all the Lords, Knights and Burgesses being present, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellour, made a short Speech unto them, signifying the presence of the Lord Cardinal, and that he was sent from the Pope as his Legate *à Latere*, to do a Work tending to the glory of God, and the benefit of them all; which (saith he) you may much better hear from his own mouth. Then the Cardinal rose up, and made a long solemn Oration, wherein he first thanked them for his restoring, by which he was enabled to be a Member of their Society: Then exhorting them to return into the bosome of the Church, for which end he was come; not to condemn, but to reconcile; not to compel, but to call and require. And for their first work of Reconcilement, requiring them to repeal and abrogate all such Laws as had formerly been made in derogation of the Catholick Religion. After which Speech, the Parliament, going together, drew up a Supplication, which within two dayes after they presented to the King and Queen; wherein they shewed themselves to be very penitent for their former Errors, and humbly desired their Majesties to intercede for them to the Lord Cardinal and the See Apostolick, that they might be Pardoned of all they had done amiss, and be received into the bosome of the Church, being themselves most ready to abrogate all Laws prejudicial to the See of *Rome*. This Supplication being delivered to the Cardinal, he then gave them Absolution in these words; [We, by the Apostolick Authority given unto Us, by the most Holy Lord Pope *Julius* the Third, (Christs Vicegerent on Earth) do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realm and Dominions thereof, from all Heresie and Schism, and from all Judgments, Censures, and Pains for that cause incurred. And also We do restore you again to the Unity of our Mother the Holy Church.] The report hereof coming to *Rome*, was cause that a solemn Procession was made for joy of the Conversion o *England* to the Church of *Rome*. And now the Queen had a great desire to have King *Philip* Crowned, but to this the Parliament would by no means assent.

Being come, he makes a solemn speech to the Parliament, exhorting them to return to the bosom of the Church.

The Parliament desires Pardon of their former Errors.

And thereupon the Cardinal gives the whole Realm Absolution.

The Parliament will not yield that King *Philip* should be Crowned

In *October* this second year of her Reign a rumour was spread of the Queens being with child, and so forward, that she was quick; and thereupon were Letters sent from the Lords of the Council to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, that Prayers of Thanksgiving should be made in all Churches; and the Parliament it self was so credulous of it, that they entred into consideration of the Education of the Child, and made an Act, desiring the King, (out of the confidence they had in him) that if the Queen should fail, he would be pleased to take upon him the Rule and Government of the Child. But after all this, in *June* following, it came to be known that it was but a Tympany; or at least the Queen so miscarried, that there was no Child, nor the Queen likely ever after to have any. But howsoever, in hope of the joy that was expected, in *January* this year, divers of the Council, as the Lord Chancellour, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Controller of the Queens House, Secretary *Bourne*, and Sir *Richard Southwell* Master of the Ordnance, were sent to the Tower, to discharge and set at liberty a great part of the Prisoners in the Tower; as namely, the late Duke of *Northumberland*'s Sons, *Ambrose*, *Robert*, and *Henry*, also Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Sir *John Rogers*, Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, Sir *George Harper*, Sir *Edward Warner*, Sir *William Sentlow*, Sir *Gowen Carow*, *William Gybbs* Esquire, *Cuthbert Vaughan*, and some others.

The Queen is preached to Churches to be with child, and prayers made for her safe delivery; but proved no such thing.

Divers that were in the Tower condemned are set at liberty.

About this time one *William Fetherstone*, a Millers Son, of the age of eighteen years, named and bruited himself to be King *Edward* the Sixth: for which being apprehended and examined, he answered as one Lunatick, and thereupon was whipped at the Carts tail, and banished into the North. But the year after, spreading abroad again that King *Edward* was alive, and that he had talked with him, he was arraigned and condemned of Treason, and at *Tyburn* hanged and quartered.

One *Fetherstone*, a Millers Son, takes upon him to be King *Edward* the Sixth.

Is taken and hanged at *Tyburn*.

In the month of *March* the Queen was taken with a fit of Devotion, and thereupon called unto her four of her Privy Council, namely, *William* Marquess of *Winchester* Lord Treasurer, Sir *Robert Rochester* Controller, Sir *William Peter* Secretary, and Sir *Francis Englefield* Master of the Wards, and signified unto them, That it went against her Conscience to hold the Lands and Possessions, as well of Monasteries and Abbeys, as of other Churches, and therefore she did freely relinquish them, and leave them to be disposed as the Pope and the Lord Cardinal should think fit; and thereupon charged them to acquaint the Cardinal with her purpose. And shortly after, in performance hereof, *John Feckham*, late Dean of *Pauls*, was made Abbot of *Westminster*, and had possession delivered him, and with him fourteen Monks received the Habit at the same time: and on the twentieth of *November*, Sir *Thomas* was instituted Lord of St. *Johns* of *Hierusalem*, and was put in possession of the Lands belonging unto it. And when it was told her, that this would be a great diminution of the Revenues of her Crown; she answered, She more valued the salvation of her Soul, than a thousand Crowns. A most religious speech, and enough, if there were but this, to shew her to be a most Pious Prince.

The Queen delivers up all the Lands of Monasteries that were in her hands.

The

King *Philip* goes into *Flanders*, where he stays eighteen months.

The fourth of *September* this year King *Philip*, waited on with the Earl of *Arundel* Lord Steward, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Huntington*, and others, went over to *Callice*, and from thence to *Brussels* in *Brabant*, to visit the Emperour his Father; who delivering him possession of the *Low-Countries*, in *March* following he returned into *England*; but on the sixth of *July* following, by reason of Wars with *France*, he passed again over to *Callice*, and so into *Flanders*, from whence he returned not till eighteen months after. Which made great muttering amongst the Common people, as though he took any little occasion to be absent, for the little love he bore to the Queen.

1556.

In the third year of the Queen died *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, at his house in *Southwark*. Of whose death it is memorable, that the same day in which Bishop *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer* suffered at *Oxford*, he would not go to Dinner till four a clock in the afternoon, though the old Duke of *Norfolk* was come to dine with him: the reason was, because he would first hear of their being burnt; and as soon as word of that was brought him, he presently said, Now let us go to Dinner; where sitting down, and eating merrily, upon a sudden he fell into such extremity, that he was fain to be taken from the Table and carried to his Bed; where he continued fifteen days, without voiding any thing either by Urine or otherwise; which caused his Tongue to swell in his mouth, and so he died. After whose death, *Nicholas Heath* Archbishop of *York* was made Lord Chancellour.

Stephen Gardiner Bishop of *Winchester* dies a strange death.

Bishop *Cranmer* upon hope of life recants.

And now comes the time of Archbishop *Cranmer*'s Execution, who the year before had been condemned, and degraded by Commission from the Pope: after which, being by the subtilty of some put in hope of life, out of frailty he subscribed to a Recantation, which yet did him no good; for whether it were that Cardinal *Poole* would no longer be kept from being Archbishop, (which he could not be as long as he lived) or that the Queen could not be gotten to forget his being the chief Instrument of her Mothers Divorce, his Execution was resolved to be the fourteenth of *February*, in the same place at *Oxford*, where *Ridley* and *Latimer* five months before had died. Before the Execution, Doctor *Cole* preached, who, to make use of *Cranmer*'s Recantation, told the people, they should do well to hearken to this Learned mans Confession, who now at his death, and with his death, would testifie which was the true Religion; never thinking that *Cranmer* would have denied his former Recantation. But *Cranmer* being brought to the Stake, (contrary to expectation) acknowledged, that through frailty he had subscribed it, praying God heartily to forgive it; and now for a punishment, that Hand which had done it should first suffer: and therewithall thrusting his right Hand into the fire, he there held it, till it first, and then his whole body was consumed; onely (which was no smal miracle) his heart remained whole, and not once touched with the fire. The same year also, no fewer then eighty four of both Sexes were burnt for Religion. And it was a cruelty very far extended, that the bones of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, some time before dead and buried, were taken up, and publickly burnt in *Cambridge*. No sooner was *Cranmer* dead, but the very same day was Cardinal *Poole* made Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Yet is brought to the stake and burnt: where he burns his hand first. When his whole body was burnt, his heart remained untouche of the fire.

1557.

In the fourth year of the Queen, exemplary Justice was done upon a great Person: for the Lord *Stourton*, a man much in the Queens favour, as being an earnest Papist, was for a Murther committed by him arraigned and condemned, and he (with four of his Servants) carried to *Salisbury*, was there in the Market-place hanged, having this favour, to be hanged in a silken Halter; his Servants in places near adjoyning to the place where the Murther was committed.

The Lord *Stourton* for a Murther is hanged in a silken halter.

The four and twentieth of *April*, *Tho. Stafford*, second Son to the Lord *Stafford*, with others to the number of two and thirty persons, (set on by the *French* King) attempted to raise Sedition against the Queen, for marrying with King *Philip*; and coming out of *France*, arrived at *Scarborough* in *Yorkshire*, where they took the Castle, but within two days were driven out by the Earl of *Westmorland*, and then taken and arraigned. The eight and twentieth of *May*, *Stafford* was beheaded on the *Tower-Hill*; and the next day three of his Associates, *Strelly*, *Bradford*, and *Proctor* were drawn from the *Tower* to *Tyburn*, and there executed. The first of *May*, *Thomas Percy* was first made Knight, after Lord, and the next day was created Earl of *Northumberland*, to whom the Queen gave all the Lands that had been his Ancestors.

Thomas Stafford for raising Sedition arraigned and beheaded.

Thomas Percy made Earl of *Northumberland*.

At this time the Queen intangled her self (contrary to her promise) in her Husbands Quarrel; sent a defiance to the *French* King, by *Clarenceaux* King at Arms; and after on the Monday in the Whitsun-week, by sound of Trumpet, proclaimed open War against him in *Cheapside*, and other places of the City; and shortly after, caused an Army of a thousand Horse, and four thousand Foot, to be transported over, to the aid of her Husband King *Philip*, under the leading of the Earl of *Pembroke* Captain-General, Sir *Anth. Brown* Viscount *Mountague* Lieutenant-General, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* Lord Marshal, the Earl of *Rutland* General of the Horse, the Earl of *Lincoln* Colonel of the Foot, the Lord *Robert Dudley* Master of the Ordnance, the Lord *Tho. Howard*, the Lord *De la Ware*, the Lord *Bray*, the Lord *Chandoys*, the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, with divers Knights and Gentlemen; who joyning with King *Philip*'s Forces, they all set down before S. *Quintins*, a Town of the *French* Kings of great importance. To the rescue whereof, the *French* King sent an Army, under the leading of the Constable of *France*, which consisted of nine hundred men at Arms, with as many light Horse, eight hundred Reyters, two and twenty Ensigns of Lancequenets, and sixteen Ensigns of *French* Footmen. Their purpose was, not to give battel, but to put more Succours into the Town; which the *Philippians* perceiving, encountred them, and in the fight slew *John* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Anguine*, the Viscount of *Torrain*, the Lord of *Chadenier*, with many Gentlemen of account. They took prisoners the Duke of *Memorancy* Constable of *France*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, Duke *Longueval*,

Queen *Mary* sends aid to King *Philip*, with which he besieges and takes S. *Quintins*.

the Marſhall of *Saint Andrews*, the Lord *Lewis* Brother to the Duke of *Mantoua*, the Baron of *Courton*, the *Rhinegrave* Colonel of the *Almanes*, Monſieur *d' Obigny*, Monſieur *de Biron*, and many others; and then purſuing the Victory, under the Government of the Earl of *Pembroke*, on the ſeven and twentieth of *Auguſt*, they took the Town of *S. Quintins*: in the aſſault whereof, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, youngeſt Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, was with a piece of great Ordnance ſlain, and ſome other of account. The Saccage of the Town K. *Philip* gave to the *Engliſh*, as by whoſe valour chiefly it was won.

The joy was not ſo great for this winning of *S. Quintins*, but there will be a greater ſorrow preſently for other loſſes. Many of the Garriſon of *Callice* had been drawn from thence for ſervice of *S. Quintins*, and no new ſupply ſent: which being perceived by the *French* King, a Plot is laid how to ſurpriſe it; which yet was not ſo ſecretly carried, but that the Officers of *Callice* had intelligence thereof; who thereupon ſignified it to the Council of *England*, requiring ſpeedy Succours, without which againſt ſo great an Army as was raiſed againſt them, they ſhould not be able to hold out. But whether they gave no credit to their relations, or whether they apprehended not the danger ſo imminent as indeed it was, they neglected to ſend Supplies till it was too late. For the Duke of *Guiſe*, with no leſs ſpeed than Policy, took ſuch a courſe, that at one and the ſame time he ſet both upon *Newnham*-Bridge, and alſo upon *Ricebank*, (the two main *Sconces* for defence of the Town) and took them both; and then fell preſently to batter the Wall's of the Caſtle it ſelf, and that with ſuch violence of great Ordnance, that the noiſe was heard to *Antwerp*, being a hundred miles off. But having made the Walls aſſaultable, the *Engliſh* uſed this Stretagem, they laid trains of Powder to blow them up, when they ſhould offer to enter: but this Strategem ſucceeded not; for the *French* in paſſing the Ditch had ſo wet their cloths, that dropping upon the Train, the Powder would take no fire, (ſo all things ſeemed to concur againſt the *Engliſh*.) And thereupon the Caſtle was taken alſo; and with it the Town alſo had been taken, but that Sir *Anthony Ager*, with the loſs of his own life, and his eldeſt Sons, valiantly defended it, and for that time repelled the *French*. But their numbers increaſed ſo faſt upon the Town, that the Lord *Wentworth* the Deputy, ſeeing no other way of ſafety, demanded Parlee; where a Compoſition was made, That the Town ſhould preſently be yielded to the *French* King, the lives of the Inhabitants onely ſaved, and ſafe conduct to paſs away, ſaving the Lord Deputy, with fifty other, ſuch as the Duke ſhould name. And here to be quit with the *Engliſh* for their hard uſage at *S. Quintins*, the Duke cauſed Proclamation to be made, that all and every perſon of the Town ſhould bring their Money, Jewels and Plate, to the value of a Groat, and lay it down upon the high Altar of the Church: by which means, an ineſtimable ſum of treaſure was there offered, enough to enrich an Army, which had before enriched a Town. And now to make it appear how unable the Town was to hold out againſt ſo great an Army, it is ſaid, there were in it but onely five hundred Souldiers of ordinary, and ſcarce two hundred more of able fighting men; but of other people, men, women and children, four thouſand and two hundred: all which were ſuffered to depart, ſaving the Lord *Wentworth* the Deputy, Sir *Ralph Chamberlain* Captain of the Caſtle, *John Hurleſtone* Captain of *Ricebanke*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captain of *Newnham-bridge*, *Edward Grimſton* the Controller, *John Rogers* the Surveyor, with others to the number of fifty, who were all carried priſoners into *France*. And thus *Callice*, which had been in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* above two hundred years, was won from the *Engliſh* in eight days, which King *Edward* the Third had not won from the *French* in leſs then a year. The Lord *Wentworth* was ſuſpected, and in Queen *Elizabeths* time arraigned for betraying it; but was acquitted by his Peers. *Callice* thus won, the Duke with his Army marched to *Guiſnes*, five miles diſtant, whereof was Captain the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, who held out the ſiege and batteries five or ſix days, with ſo great valour and reſolution, that he appeared in nothing inferiour to the Enemy but in multitude: yet at laſt overlaid with their numbers, and importuned by his Souldiers, much againſt his own will, he made compoſition, that the Town and Caſtle ſhould be wholly rendred, himſelf and all Officers remain priſoners, all other to depart with their Armour and Baggage. The Lord *Gray* was afterward ranſomed for four and twenty thouſand Crowns. And now the Duke of *Guiſe* conſidering that *Guiſnes* would be too coſtly a Caſtle to be kept, and too dangerous a Neighbour to *Callice*, if it ſhould be recovered, razed it with the Bulwarks and Fortifications to the ground. *Guiſnes* thus won, there remained nothing within the *Engliſh* Pale, but the little Caſtle of *Hammes*, whereof was Captain the Lord *Edward Dudley*; who conſidering, that though it were naturally ſtrongly ſituate, as being invironed with Fens and Marſhes, yet it had but little helps by Art of Fortifications, and being aſſured that the Duke of *Guiſe* would ſpeedily come upon him, he ſecretly in the night with all his Garriſon departed into *Flanders*; ſo as the Caſtle was not won, but taken by the Duke of *Guiſe*; and with the loſs of this Caſtle, the *Engliſh* loſt all their footing in *Terra Firma*, and the Kings of *England* all the reality of their Title in *France*, having nothing left but *nudum nomen*.

The cauſes and means of loſing *Callice*.

1558.

Guiſnes alſo won by the *French*.

And ſo the *Engliſh* loſt all their footing in *France*.

Preſently after this, the *French* King cauſed the Marriage between his eldeſt Son *Francis* the Dauphin, and *Mary Stuart*, ſole Heir of *James* the Fifth King of *Scotland*, to be ſolemnized: whereupon great Wars enſued ſoon after between *England* and *Scotland*.

The Dauphin of *France* marries *Mary Stuart* Heir of *Scotland*.

Queen *Mary* being infinitely troubled in mind for the loſs of *Callice*, ſent preſently forth her Admiral the Lord *Clinton*, with a Fleet of more than a hundred Sail, to recover at leaſt reparation in honour, by doing ſome exploit upon *France*; who not finding opportunity to ſet upon *Breſt*, as he was appointed, fell upon the Town of *Conqueſt*, which he took and burnt, and alſo divers Villages thereabouts, and then returned. In which mean time many great Conflicts having

An agreement of Peace between King *Philip* and the King of *France*; but only want of restitution of *Callice*. Queen *Mary* dies.

having been between King *Philip* and the King of *France*; at last, by mediation of the Dutchess of *Lorrain*, a Treaty of Peace is agreed on, where all things seemed to be well accorded, but only that King *Philip* by all means required restitution of *Callice*, to which by no means the *French* would assent. But whilst they stood upon these terms, it hapned that first the Emperor *Charles*, King *Philips* Father, died, and shortly after Queen *Mary*, and the day after Cardinal *Poole*, and shortly after Sir *John Baker* of *Sissinghurst* in *Kent*, who had been a Privy Counsellour to *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*. And so our Story hath no further relation to either War or Peace, between the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*.

Of her Taxations.

SHE began with a rare example; for in the first year of her Reign, was pardoned, by Proclamation, the Subsidy of four shillings the pound of Land, and two shillings the pound of Goods, granted in the last Parliament of King *Edward* the Sixth. In her second year, in a Parliament then holden, was granted to the King and Queen a Subsidy of the Laity, from five pounds to ten pounds, of eight pence in the pound; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, of twelve pence in the pound; and from twenty pounds upwards, sixteen pence in the pound: all Strangers double, and the Clergy six shillings in the pound. If this were all, then upon the matter, in all her time, there came no new charge upon her people; for one Subsidy remitted, and one received, made but even. In her last year she borrowed twenty thousand pounds of the City of *London*; and paid twelve pounds a year Interest for every hundred pound.

Laws and Ordinances in her time.

New Coins of Gold & Silver.

IN her first year, on the fourth of *September*, were proclaimed certain new Coins of Gold and Silver; a Sovereign of Gold of thirty shillings, the half Sovereign fifteen shillings, an Angel of ten shillings, the half Angel five shillings: of Silver, the groat, the half groat, and penny. All these Coyns to be current as before. In her second year, Proclamation was made, forbidding the shooting in Hand-guns, and bearing of weapons. The year in which she was married to King *Philip*, a strait charge was to all Victuallers, Taverners and Alehouse-keepers, that they should sell no meat nor drink, nor any kind of victuals, to any Serving-man whatsoever, unless he brought a testimonial to shew whose servant he was. Also in a Parliament holden this year, amongst other Acts, the Statute *Ex Officio* and other Laws made for the punishment of Heresies, were revived; but chiefly the Popes Bull of Dispensation of Abbey-Lands was there confirmed. In her second year, on *Michaelmas* even, the Prisoners that lay in the Counter in *Breadstreet* were removed to a new Counter made in *Woodstreet*, of the Citys purchase and building; the which removing was confirmed by the common Council of the City.

Meat and Drink forbidden to be sold to any Serving-man, without a Testimonial whom he served.

The Counter in *Woodstreet* first made a Prison.

Affairs of the Church in her time.

IN the first year of this Queen's Reign, all Bishops which had been deprived in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth were restored to their Bishopricks, and the new removed; also all beneficed men that were Married, or would not forsake their Opinion, were put out of their Livings, and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms. Also this year, on the seven and twentieth of *August*, the Service begun to be sung in *Latine* in *Paul's* Church. Also this year the Popes Authority was by Act of Parliament restored in *England*, and the Mass commanded in all Churches to be used. In her second year the Realm was Absolved, and reconciled to the Church of *Rome* by Cardinal *Poole*; and First-fruits and Tenths were restored to the Clergy; but this was soon revoked, the Council finding the necessity of it for the Queens support. In her fourth year Monasteries were bugun to be re-edified; of which number were that of *Westminster*, that of *Sheen* and *Sion*, that of the *Black-Fryers*, and the Fryers of *Greenwich*. Of the number of those that died for Religion in her time, there are recorded five Bishops, one and twenty Divines; and of all sorts of Men and Women, two hundred threescore and seventeen.

The number of those that died for Religion in Queen *Mary's* days.

Works of Piety done by her, or others, in her time.

THis Queen restored a great part of Abbey-lands that were in her possession, and if she had lived longer, very likely she would have restored more. In her first year, Sir *Thomas White*, then Mayor, erected a Colledge in *Oxford*, now called St. *Johns* Colledge; before, *Bernard* Colledge. He also erected Schools at *Bristow* and *Reading*, and gave two thousand pounds to the City of *Bristow* to purchase Lands, the profits whereof to be imployed for the benefit of young Clothiers for ten years, and after that to be imployed in like manner to the benefit of two and twenty other Shires and Cities. In her third year died Sir *John Gresham*, late Mayor of *London*, who founded a Free School at *Holt* in *Norfolk*, and gave to every Ward in *London* ten pounds to be distributed to the Poor; also to Maids Marriages two hundred pounds. *Cuthbert Tunstal* Bishop of *Durham* erected a goodly Library in *Cambridg*, storing it with many excellent both Printed and Written Books: he also bestowed much upon building at *Durham*, at *Alnewick*, and at *Tunbridge*.

S. *John's* Colledge in *Oxford* founded.

Casualties happening in her time.

IN her first year, on the seven and twentieth of *August*, the goodliest Ship in *England*, called *The Great Harry*, being of the burthen of a thousand Tun, was burnt at *Woolwich* by negligence of the Mariners. In her second year, on the fifteenth of *February*, appeared in the Skie a Rainbow reversed, the Bow turned downward, and the two ends standing upward; also two Suns shined at one time a good distance asunder:

asunder: which were taken for ill signs. This year also in the month of *August*, at a place in *Suffolk* by the Sea-side, all of hard stone and pebble, lying between the Towns of *Orford* and *Alborough*, where never grass grew, nor any earth was ever seen, there chanced suddenly to spring up, without any tillage or sowing, so great abundance of Peason, that the Poor gathered above a hundred quarters; yet there remained some ripe, and some blossoming, as many as were before. In her fourth year, hot burning Agues and other strange Diseases took away much people: so as between the twentieth of *October* and the last of *December* there died seven Aldermen, namely, *Henry Heardson*, Sir *Richard Dobbs* late Mayor, Sir *William Laxton* late Mayor, Sir *Henry Hobblethorn* late Mayor, Sir *John Champneys* late Mayor, Sir *John Aylepb* late Mayor, and Sir *John Gresham* late Mayor. In her fourth year, before Harvest, Wheat was sold for four Marks the quarter, Malt at four and forty shillings the quarter, and Pease at six and forty shillings and eight pence; where after Harvest, Wheat was sold for five shillings the quarter, Malt at six shillings eight pence, Rye at three shillings four pence the quarter. In the Country, Wheat was sold for four shillings the quarter, Malt at four shillings eight pence, and in some places a bushel of Rye for a pound of Candles, which was four pence. In her fifth year, within a mile of *Nottingham*, so marvellous a Tempest of thunder happened, that it beat down all the Houses and Churches in two Towns thereabouts, cast the Bells to the outside of the Church-yard, and some webs of Lead four hundred foot into the field, writhen as if it had been leather; the River of *Trent* running between the two Towns, the Water with the mud in the bottom was carried a quarter of a mile, and cast against Trees, with the violence whereof the Trees were pulled up by the Roots, and cast twelve score off: also a Child was taken forth of a mans hand, and carried two spears length high, and then let fall two hundred foot off, of which Fall it died: five or six men thereabouts were slain, and neither flesh nor skin perished: also there fell some Hail-stones that were fifteen inches about. This year also in Harvest-time was a great Mortality, and especially of Priests, so as many Churches were unserved, and much corn was lost in the field for want of Workmen; whereupon insued a great scarcity, so that Corn was sold for fourteen shillings a quarter, and Wood sold in *London* for thirteen shillings a thousand of Billets, and Coals ten pence a sack. Also this year, on the last of *September*, fell so great store of Rain, that *Westminster-Hall* was full of water, and Boats were rowed over *Westminster*-Bridg into *Kings*-Street.

Pease growing plentifully where never sowed.

The price of Wheat and Malt in a dearth and in a plenty.

A marvellous Tempest.

Of her Personage and Conditions.

OF her Personage we can make no particular description; only we may say, she was none of the most amiable, but yet without Deformity. But of her Conditions we may say, she was not without Deformity, and yet was very amiable. If we account her Religion a Deformity; yet her constancy and devotion in it we must needs count a beauty. If it were a Deformity to promise the *Suffolk*-men, not to alter the Religion which King *Edward* had established; yet it was certainly a pious dissembling, *Cretizare cum Cretensibus*; and Equivocation (will some say) was there a vertue, where she deceived them into truth, and did them good against their wills. And as for her Sister *Elizabeth*, if she did not love her, it was but a quality hereditary in her; for their Mothers did not love one another before: and indeed not without some cause in both; for as those upbraided each others Marriage, so these each others Birth. We shall not do her right, if we deny her to be of a merciful disposition, seeing oftentimes she pitied the person, where she shed the bloud. She could have found in her heart to have spared the Lady *Jane*'s life, if *Ragion di stato* had not been against it; and she did spare her Father the Duke of *Suffolks* life, till his second offence gave her just provocation. The goodness of her nature might be seen in the badness of her fortune, who took nothing so much to heart, as unkindness of friends; the revolt of *Callice*, and the absence of King *Philip*, being the two chief Causes that brought her to her end.

Of her Death and Burial.

THE Conceit of her being with child had kept Physicians from looking into the state of her body; so as her first Distemper at first neglected, brought her by degrees into a Dropsie, to which was added a burning Fever, brought upon her by a double grief, one for the long absence of King *Philip*, (who had now been away a year and a half) the other, and perhaps the greater, for the loss of *Callice*; as she forbore not to say to some about her, that if they looked into her Heart, being dead, they should find *Callice* there. She began to fall sick in *September*, and died at her Mannor of *Saint James* on the seventeenth of *November*, in the year 1558. when she had reigned five years, four months, and eleven dayes; lived three and forty years. Her Body was interred in a Chappel in the Minster of St. *Peters* Church at *Westminster*, without any Monument or other Remembrance.

Men of Note in her time.

OF Men of Valour in her time there were many, as may be seen in the Story of her Reign: but to name some for example, there was *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the chief assistant of King *Philip* in the winning of *St. Quintyns*; there was *William* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Captain of *Guysnes*, who though he yielded the Town, yet more out of tenderness to his Souldiers, than out of fear of his Enemies, which he never else would have yielded up: and to speak of one of a meaner rank, there was Sir *Anthony Ager*, who in defence of the Town of *Callice* lost his life, but not till he made the Enemy turn their backs and flie. Of Learned men also there were very many: as *John Rogers*, born in *Lancashire*, who translated the Bible into *English* with Notes; *Richard Moryson* Knight, born in *Oxfordshire*, who wrote divers

divers Treatiſes, *Robert Record*, a Doctor of Phyſick, who wrote a Book of Arithmetick; *Cuthbert Tunſtall*, of a Worſhipfull Family in *Lancaſhire*, though baſe born, whoſe Anceſtor came into *England* with the Conqueror as his Barber, and therefore hath three Combs his Arms, Biſhop firſt of *London*, and after of *Durham*, who wrote divers learned Works; *Richard Sampſon* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who wrote certain Treatiſes; *Lucas Shepheard*, born at *Colcheſter* in *Eſſex*, an *Engliſh* Poet; *Jane Dudley*, Daughter to *Henry Gray* Duke of *Suffolk*, wrote divers excellent Treatiſes; *William Thomas* a *Welſhman*, who wrote the Hiſtory of *Italy*, and other things; *James Brooks* and *John Standiſh*, both of them Writers in defence of the Pope's Doctrine; *William Peryn* a black Fryer, who wrote in defence of the Maſs, and alſo divers Sermons; *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, Son to *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, who, amongſt other things which he wrote, tranſlated a Book out of *Latin* into *Engliſh*, entituled *Utriuſque Poteſtatis Differentia*; which Book (as ſome think) was firſt compiled by *Edward Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*; *John Hopkins* who tranſlated divers of *Davids* Pſalms into *Engliſh* Metre, which are to be found amongſt thoſe appointed to be ſung in the Church.

Cuthbert Tunſtall Biſhop of *Durham*, whoſe Anceſtor was Barber to the Conqueror.

John Hopkins tranſlated divers of *Davids* Pſalms into *Engliſh* Metre.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in her Reign.*

In her firſt year,
Sir *Thomas White* was Mayor.
Thomas Offley, *William Hewet*, Sheriffs.

In her ſecond year,
Sir *John Lion* was Mayor.
David Woodroffe, *William Cheſter*, Sheriffs.

In her third year,
Sir *William Garret*, or *Gerrard*, was Mayor.
Thomas Lee, or *Leigh*, *John Machel*, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,
Sir *Thomas Offley* was Mayor.
William Harper, *John White*, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,
Sir *Thomas Curteis* was Mayor.
Richard Mallory, *James Altham*, Sheriffs.

In her ſixth year,
Sir *Thomas Lee*, or *Leigh*, was Mayor.
John Halſey, *Richard Champion*, Sheriffs.

The

The Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

1558. QUEEN *Mary* dying on Thurſday the ſeventeenth of *November*, in the Year 1558. her Siſter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, of the Age of five and twenty years, the onely ſurviving Child of King *Henry* the VIII. by undoubted Right ſucceeded her in the Crown: which happening in a time of Parliament, *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of *York*, and Lord Chancellour, ſent to the Knights and Burgeſſes in the Lower Houſe, to repair immediately to the Lords of the Upper Houſe; to whom he ſignified, that Queen *Mary* was that morning dead, and therefore required their Aſſents to joyn with the Lords in proclaiming Queen *Elizabeth:* which accordingly was done by the ſound of Trumpet, firſt at *Weſtminſter*, and after in the City of *London*. The Queen was then at *Hatfield*, from whence on Wedneſday the three and twentieth of *November* ſhe removed to the Lord *North*'s Houſe in the *Charter-Houſe*, where ſhe ſtayed till Monday the eight and twentieth of *November*, and then rode in her Chariot through *London* to the *Tower*; where ſhe continued till the fifth of *December*, and then removed to *Somerſet-Houſe* in the *Strand*; from whence ſhe went to her Palace at *Weſtminſter*, and from thence, on the twelfth of *January*, to the *Tower*, and on the fourteenth of *January* to *Weſtminſter* to her Coronation: whither as ſhe went, ſhe ſaid this Prayer.

Qu. *Elizabeth* is proclaimed.

O Lord, Almighty and everlaſting God, I give thee moſt hearty thanks, that thou haſt ſpared me to this joyfull day: and I acknowledge that thou haſt dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou didſt with thy faithfull Servant Daniel *whom thou deliveredſt out of the Den, from the cruelty of the raging Lions; even ſo was I overwhelmed, and onely by thee delivered. To thee therefore onely be thanks, honour and praiſe for ever.*

And it is incredible, what Pageants and Shews were made in the City as ſhe paſſed. On Sunday, the five and twentieth of *January*, ſhe was Crowned in the Abbey-Church at *Weſtminſter*, by Doctor *Oglethorp* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, with all Solemnities and Ceremonies in ſuch caſe accuſtomed. At this time, to honour her Coronation, ſhe conferred more Honour, than in all her time after. *William Parre*, degraded by Queen *Mary*, ſhe made Marqueſs of *Northampton*; *Edward Seymour*, whoſe Father had been Attainted, ſhe made Earl of *Hartford*; *Thomas Howard*, ſecond Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, ſhe made Viſcount *Bindon*; Sir *Henry Carie*, her Couſin-german, ſhe made Baron of *Hunſdon*; and Sir *Oliver Saint-John* ſhe made Baron of *Blemſoe*.

She is Crowned.

Divers Lords created.

And now the Queen, though ſhe were her ſelf very wiſe, yet would not truſt (and it was a great point of wiſdom that ſhe would not truſt) to her own wiſdom; and therefore ſhe choſe Counſellours to aſſiſt her. In which number ſhe took *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of *York*, *William Pawlet* Marqueſs of *Winchester*, Lord High Treaſurer, *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundell*, *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Edward Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Lord Admiral, and *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Sir *Thomas Cheiney*, Sir *William Peter*, Sir *Richard Sackvile*, and *Nicholas Winton* Dean of *Canterbury*; all which had been Counſellours to Queen *Mary*, and were of her Religion. But then to make a counterpoiſe of Counſellours of her own Religion, ſhe joyned with them, *William Parre* Marqueſs of *Northampton*, *Francis Ruſſell* Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Thomas Parrey*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambroſe Cave*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, and Sir *William Cecil*, late Secretary to King *Edward* the Sixth; and a little after Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, whom ſhe made Keeper of the Great Seal. And having thus provided for her State at home, ſhe ſeeks correſpondence with Princes abroad. To the Emperour *Ferdinand*, ſhe ſent in Embaſſage Sir *Thomas Chaloner*; to the King of *Spain* in the *Low Countries*, the

She makes of her Privy Counſel as well Papiſts as Proteſtants.

She ſends Ambaſſadors to all Princes abroad.

Lord *Cobham*; to the Princes of *Germany*, Sir *Henry Killigrew*, Sir *Armigill Waad* to the Duke of *Holstein*, and another Ambassador to the King of *Denmark*. There were also Ambassadours sent to the Pope, to the State of *Venice*, and to the *French* King; with whom at this time there was a Treaty of Peace holden at *Cambray*, between the Kingdoms of *France*, *England* and *Spain*: where for *England*, were imployed the Earl of *Arundell*, *Thursby* Bishop of *Ely*, and Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*; with whom *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* was joyned by a new Commission.

King Philip solicites Qu. *Eliz.* for Marriage.

As soon as King *Philip* heard of the death of his Wife Queen *Mary*, partly out of considerations of State, and partly out of affection of love, he solicited Queen *Elizabeth* by his Ambassadour, the Earl of *Feria*, to joyn in Marriage with himself; it being no more for two Sisters to have successively one Husband, than was done before, for two Brothers to have successively one Wife; and for this he promised to procure a Dispensation from the Pope. To which Motion the Queen, though she well knew, that to allow a Dispensation in this case to be sufficient, were to make her own Birth illegitimate; yet to so great a Prince, and who in her Sisters time had done her many favours, she would not return so blunt an Answer; but putting the Ambassadour off for the present in modest terms, she conceived there would be no better way to take him off clean from further suit, than by bringing in an alteration of Religion: which yet she would not do all at once, and upon the sudden, (as knowing the great danger of sudden changes,) but by little and little, and by degrees. As at first she permitted only Epistles and Gospels, the Ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the Creed, to be read to the people in the *English* Tongue; in all other matters they were to follow the *Roman* Rite and Custom, until order could be taken for establishment of Religion by Authority of Parliament; & a severe Proclamation was set forth, prohibiting all Points of Controversie to be meddled with. By which means, she both put the Protestants in hope, and put not the Papists out of hope. Yet privately she committed the correcting of the Book of Common Prayer, set forth in the *English* Tongue under King *Edw.* the Sixth, to the care and diligence of Dr. *Parker*, *Bill*, *May*, *Cox*, *Grindhall*, *Whitehead* and *Pilkington*, Divines of great Learning, with whom she joyned Sir *Thomas Smith*, a learned Knight: but the matter carried so closely, that it was not communicated to any, but to the Marques of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and Sir *William Cecill*. The two and twentieth of *March*, the use of the Lords Supper in both kinds was by Parliament allowed. The four and twentieth of *June*, the Sacrifice of the Mass was abolished, and the Liturgy in the *English* Tongue established; though, as some say, but with the difference of six Voices. In *July* the Oath of Supremacy was propounded to the Bishops and others: And in *August*, Images were removed out of Churches, and broken or burnt. By these degrees Religion was changed; and yet the Change, to the wonder of the world, bred no disturbance; which if it had been done at once, and on the sudden, would hardly, at least not without dangerous opposition, have been admitted.

Whom she puts off, by bringing in an alteration of Religion: which yet she doth by degrees.

The alteration of Religion by Parliament, by the difference only of six voices.

During this time, a Parliament had been summoned to begin at *Westminster* upon the fifteenth of *January*: and now the Queen for satisfaction of the People appointed a Conference to be held between the Prelates of the Realm, & Protestant Divines now newly returned, who had fled the Realm in the time of Queen *Mary*. For the Prelates were chosen *John White*, Bishop of *Winchester*; *Ralph Bayne*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*; *Thomas Watson*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; Doctor *Cole*, Dean of *Pauls*; Doctor *Langdell*, Archdeacon of *Lewis*; Doctor *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*; and Doctor *Chadsey*, Archdeacon of *Middlesex*. For the Protestant side were appointed Doctor *Scory*, Doctor *Cox*, Doctor *Sands*, Doctor *Whitehead*, Doctor *Grindall*, Master *Horne*, Master *Guest*, Master *Elmer*, and Master *Jewel*. The place was prepared in *Westminster-Church*; where, besides the Disputants, were present the Lords of the Queens Council, with other of the Nobility; as also many of the Lower House of Parliament. The Articles propounded against the Prelates and their Adherents, were these. First, That it is against the Word of God, and the Custom of the Ancient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People in Common Prayer, and in the Administration of the Sacrament. Secondly, That every Church hath Authority to appoint and change Ceremonies and Ecclesiastical Rites, so they be to edification. Thirdly, That it cannot be proved by the Word of God, that there is in the Mass a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the living and the dead. For the manner of their Conference, it was agreed it should be performed in Writing; and that the Bishops should deliver their Reasons in writing first. The last of *March* was the first day of their meeting; where, contrary to the Order, the Bishops brought nothing in Writing; but said, they would deliver their minds onely by Speech. This breaking of Order much displeased the Lords, yet they had it granted. Then rose up Doctor *Cole*, and made a large Declaration concerning the first Point. When he had ended, the Lords demanded if any of them had more to say: who answered, No. Then the Protestant Party exhibited a written Book, which was distinctly read by Master *Horn*. This done, some of the Bishops began to affirm, they had much more to say in the first Article. This again much displeased the Lords; yet this also was granted them, to do at their next meeting on Monday next; but when Monday came, so many other differences arose between them, that the Conference broke off, & nothing was determined. But in the Parliament there was better agreement; for there it was Enacted, That Queen *Elizabeth* was the lawful and undoubted Qu. of *England*, notwithstanding a Law made by her Father King *Henry* the Eighth, that excluded both her & her Sister *Mary* from the Crown, seeing, though the Law be not repealed, yet it is a principle in Law, That the Crown once gained taketh away all defects. Also in this Parliament, First-fruits & Tenths were restored to the Crown; and the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of *England* was confirmed to the Queen, with so universal consent, that in the upper House none opposed these Laws, but onely the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, Viscount *Mountague*:

1559.

A Conference of Papists and Protestants about matters of Religion.

But broken off, and why.

The Crown once gained, taketh away all defects.

The Title of Supreme Head of the Church is confirmed to the Queen.

Montague: and in the Lower House only some few of Papal inclination murmured, saying, that the Parliament was packt, and that the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Arundel*, & Sir *William Cecill*, for their own ends, had cunningly begged Voices, to make up their Party.

The Oath of Supremacy readily taken by all, but only some few, and who they were.

Supremacy thus confirmed to the Queen, the Oath was soon after tendred to the Bishops and others; of whom, as many as refused to take it, were presently deprived of their Livings. And that we may see how inclining the Kingdom at this time was to receive the Protestant Religion; it is said, that in the whole Realm (wherein are reckoned above nine thousand Spiritual Promotions) there were no more that refused to take the Oath, but only fourscore Parsons, fifty Prebendaries, 15 Masters of Colledges, twelve Archdeacons, twelve Deans, six Abbots, and fourteen Bishops, (indeed all that were at that time, except *Anthony* Bishop of *Landaffe*) as *Nicholas Heath* Archbishop of *York*, *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of *London*, *Cuthbert Tunstal* Bishop of *Durham*, *Thomas Thursby* Bishop of *Ely*, *Gilbert Bourn* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *John Christopherson* Bishop of *Chichester*, *John White* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas Watson* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Ralph Bayne* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Owen Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*, *James Turbervile* Bishop of *Exeter*, and *David Poole* Bishop of *Peterborough*; and with these, Dr. *Feckenam* Abbot of *Westminster*. All which were at first committed to prison, but soon after delivered to the custody of private Friends, excepting those two sawcy Prelates *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, who threatned to excommunicate the Queen. Three only, namely, *Cuthbert Scot* Bishop of *Chester*, *Richard Pate* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Thomas Goldwell* Bishop of *Saint Asaph*, changed their Religion of their own accord; as also did certain Noble Personages, namely, *Henry* Lord *Morley*, Sir *Francis Englefield*, and Sir *Robert Peckham*, (who had been Privy-Councellors to Queen *Mary*) Sir *Thomas Shelley*, and Sir *John Gage*.

Papal Bishops removed, and Protestants placed in their rooms.

In the Sees of the Prelates removed were placed Protestant Bishops: as *Matthew Parker* was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*; (who was consecrated by the Imposition of the hands of three that formerly had been Bishops; namely *William Barlow* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Job. Scory* of *Chichester*, and *Miles Coverdale* of *Exeter*) and being consecrated himself, he afterward consecrated *Edmund Grindall* Bishop of *London*, *Richard Cox* Bishop of *Ely*, *Edwin Sands* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Rowland Merick* Bishop of *Bangor*, *Thomas Young* Bishop of *Saint Davids*, *Nicholas Bullingham* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *John Jewell* Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Richard Davis* Bishop of *Saint Asaph*, *Edward Guest* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Gilbert Barkely* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Thomas Bentham* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *William Alley* Bishop of *Exceter*, *John Parkhurst* Bishop of *Norwich*, *Robert Horn* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Richard Cheiney* Bishop of *Gloucester*, *Edmund Scambler* Bishop of *Peterborough*, *William Barlow* Bishop of *Chichester*, *John Scory* Bishop of *Hereford*, *Young* Archbishop of *York*, *James Pilkington* Bishop of *Durham*, *John Best* Bishop of *Carlisle*, and *William Downham* Bishop of *Chester*.

Whilest these things were done in *England*, the Treaty of Peace at *Cambray* continued still; wherein King *Philip* stood for the restitution of *Callice* to the *English*, as firmly as if it had been his own Interest, and without it, would agree to no Peace with *France*. But when by Messages he understood that his suit for marriage with Queen *Elizabeth* was rejected, and that the Protestant Religion was established in the Kingdom, he then left Queen *Elizabeth*, seeing she would not be his, to her self: and though he became not presently a Foe, yet he became presently less than a Friend, and forbore to do any more good Offices in that business. Queen *Elizabeth*, thus left to her self, agreed with the *French* King, to conclude her own peace apart; and thereupon Delegates on both sides were appointed to meet at *Cambray*. For the Queen of *England* were *Thursby* Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord *Williams*, the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Chamberlain to the Queen, and Doctor *Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*: For the King of *France* were *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the first Peer of *France*, *Annas* Duke of *Memorancy*, *James Allon* Lord of *Saint Andrews*, *John Morvilliers* Bishop of *Orleans*, and *Claude Aubespine* Secretary to the Privy Council. The Commissioners meeting, the chief point in difference was the restitution of *Callice*; for which the *English* Commissioners, by the Queens appointment, offered to remit two millions of Crowns, that by just accompt were due from *France* to *England*: but the Queen was not more desirous to recover *Callice*, than the *French* King was to hold it. And thereupon at last it was concluded, that *Callice* should remain in possession of the *French* for the term of eight years; and those expired, it should be delivered to the *English*, upon forfeiture of five hundred thousand Crowns, for which Hostages were given. But all this notwithstanding, though the conditions were sealed and sworn to, & though Hostages were assigned to remain in *England*, till one or other were performed, yet all was frustrate, and came to nothing.

King *Philip* stood for restitution of *Callice*, till he understood of the alteration of Religion in *England*.

Queen *Elizabeth* left to her self, sends Ambassadors about Peace with *France*.

Where it was concluded, that *Callice* should be restored after eight years, but yet it came to nothing.

About this time, *Henry* King of *France* married his Daughter *Isabel* to *Philip* King of *Spain*, and his Sister *Margaret* to *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*: at the Solemnity of which Marriages he would needs be a Tilter himself, & thereupon commanded the Earl of *Montgomery* to run against him; who unfortunately breaking his lance upon the Kings Curiass, a splinter thereof (his Beaver being somewhat open) struck him so deep in the Eye, that within few days he ended his life. After whose death, *Francis* his Son, at the age of sixteen years, succeeded him in the Crown, having by the Marriage of Queen *Mary* the Title of *Scotland*, and upon ground thereof laying claim to the Crown of *England* also, & giving the Arms of *England*, as properly belonging to him.

Henry King of *France* unfortunately slain running at Tilt.

And now begins the game of Faction to be plaid, wherein the whole Estate of Queen *Elizabeth* lies at stake; a Game that will hold playing the most part of her Reign, and if not plaid well will put her in jeopardy of losing all, seeing all about her was against her. *Philip* of *Spain* hath a quarrel to her, for being rejected in his suit; the King of *France* hath a quarrel to her in right of his Wife, which is now his right; the Queen of *Scots* hath a quarrel to her, for detaining her Inheritance;

heritance; the Pope hath a quarrel to her, for excluding his Authority; the King of *Sweden* hath a quarrel to her, for slighting his Son in the way of Marriage. And all these being against her, whom hath she on her side, but only her own Subjects, Papists yesterday, and to day Protestants? who being scarce settled in their Religion, how shall they be settled in their Loyalty? and not being Loyal, where can she find to cast Anchor for her safety? But it is a true saying, *Nullum numen abest, si sit Prudentia*; Wisdom is a supply for all defects. And indeed, the Queen being very wise in her self, and having a wise Council about her, she passed all these difficulties, though not without danger, yet with little or no hazard.

Knox in Scotland preaches against the Prince's Authority.

It happned (if at least it happened, and were not rather plotted of purpose) that a Reformation of Religion was pretended in *Scotland*; but was indeed an incrochment upon the Prince's Authority: for at the preaching of *John Knox*, and other headstrong Ministers, not only Images and Altars were cast down and burnt, the Monasteries of *Saint Andrews*, of *Stone*, of *Striveling*, and of *Lynlithgow* were overthrown; but it was further put into the heads of the Nobility, that it pertained to them, of their own Authority to take away Idolatry, and by force reduce the Prince to the prescript of Laws. Whereupon there was presently a bandying of the Lords of *Scotland* against the Queen Dowager, Regent of the Country; and in this case each of them sought for aid. The Queen Dowager had aid out of *France*, the Lords of *Scotland* sent for aid to the Queen of *England*. But this was matter for consultation. It seemed a bad Example, for a Prince to give aid to the rebellious Subjects of another Prince. On the other side, it seemed no less then impiety, not to give aid to the Protestants of the same Religion. But most of all, it seemed plain madness, to suffer adversaries to be so near Nighbours, and let the *French* nestle in *Scotland*, who pretend Title to *England*. Upon such considerations, it was resolved to send them aid. And thereupon an Army of six thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, was sent under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* his Lieutenant General, Sir *James Crofts*, Assistant to him, the Lord *Scroop*, Lord Marshal, Sir *George Howard*, General of the men at Arms, Sir *Henry Piercy*, General of the Light Horse, *Thomas Huggens*, Provost Marshal, *Thomas Gower*, Master of the Ordnance, Master *William Pelham*, Captain of the Pioneers, and Master *Edward Randol*, Serjeant-Major, and divers others. These coming into *Scotland*, joyned with the *Scottish* Lords, and set down before *Leith*; where passed many small Skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Assaults: to whom, after some time, a new supply came of above two thousand Foot; whereof were Captains, Sir *Andrew Corbet*, Sir *Rowland Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Hesbith*, Sir *Arthur Manwaring*, Sir *Lawrence Smith*, and others. Yet with this new supply there was little more done then before; many light Skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Assaults; so long, till at last the young *French* King, finding these broyls of *Scotland* to be too furious for him to appease, he sent to the Queen of *England*, desiring that Commissioners might be sent to reconcile these differences. Whereupon were dispatched into *Scotland*, Sir *William Cecil*, her principal Secretary, with Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*; who concluded a Peace between *England* and *France*, upon these Conditions: That neither the King of *France*, nor the Queen of *Scotland*, should thenceforth use the Arms or Titles of *England* or *Ireland*; and that both the *English* and the *French* should depart out of *Scotland*; and a general Pardon should be enacted by Parliament, for all such as had been actors in those stirs. This Peace was scarce concluded, when *Francis* the young King of *France* died, leaving the Crown to his younger Brother *Charles*, who was guided altogether by the Queen-Mother, and molested with the Civil Dissensions between the Princes of *Guise* and *Conde*: for whose reconcilement, the Queen sent Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord President of *Wales*; and shortly after an Army, under the leading of the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*; who arriving at *Newhaven*, was received into the Town; which having kept eleven months, he was then constrained, by reason of a Pestilence, to surrender again upon Composition, and so returned.

The Lords of Scotland send for aid to Qu. Elizabeth.

1560.

The Queen sends an Army to assist the Lords of Scotland.

A Peace is concluded between the King of France and the Queen, and upon what terms.

Francis King of France dieth, and leaveth Mary Qu. of Scots a Widow.

Newhaven taken by the English, but soon surrendred.

About this time, when the Parliament was upon dissolving, it was agreed upon by the House of Commons, to move the Queen to marry, that she might have Issue to succeed her. To which purpose *Thomas Gargrave*, Speaker of the House, with some few other chosen men, had access to the Queen, who humbly made the motion to her, as a thing which the Kingdom infinitely desired; seeing they could never hope to have a better Prince than out of her Loyns. Whereunto the Queen answered in effect thus; That she was already married, namely, to the Kingdom of *England*; and behold (saith she) the Pledg of the Covenant with my Husband: and therewith she held out her finger, and shewed the Ring, wherewith, at the time of her Coronation, she gave her self in Wedlock to the Kingdom. And if (saith she) I keep my self to this Husband, and take no other, yet I doubt not but God will send you as good Kings, as if they were born of me; forasmuch as we see by daily experience, that the Issue of the best Princes do often degenerate. And for my self, it shall be sufficient that a Marble-Stone declare, that a Queen having reigned such a time, lived and died a Virgin. Indeed, before this time, many Matches had been offered her. First, King *Philip*: and when he was out of hope of matching with her himself, he then dealt with the Emperour *Ferdinand* his Uncle, to commend his younger Son *Charles*, Duke of *Austria*, to her for a Husband. And when this succeeded not, then *John* Duke of *Finland*, second Son to *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, was sent by his Father, to solicite for his eldest Brother *Ericus*; who was honourably received, but the Match rejected. Then *Adolphus* Duke of *Holst*, Uncle to *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, came into *England*, upon a great hope of speeding; but the Queen bestowed upon him the Honour of the Garter, and a yearly Pension, but not her self. Then *James* Earl of *Arran* was commended to her by the Protestants of *Scotland*, but neither the man nor the motion was accepted. Of meaner Fortunes, there were some at home

The Parliament moves the Queen to marry.

And her Answer.

The many matches that had been offered to her.

home that pleased themselves with hopes of her Marriage. First, Sir *William Pickering*, a Gentleman of a good House, and a good Estate: but what most commended him was his studiousness of Letters, and sweet demeanor. Then *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, exceeding rich, but now in his declining age. Then *Robert Dudley*, youngest Son of the Duke of *Northumberland*, of an excellent feature of face, and now in the flower of his age. But these might please themselves with their own conceit, but were not considerable in her apprehension: they might receive from her good Testimonies of her Princely favour, but never pledges of her Nuptial love.

Great offers made by the Pope to the Queen, if she would become a Papist.

About this time the Earl of *Feria*, (who had married the Daughter of Sir *William Dormer*) being denied leave of the Queen for some of his Wifes friends to live out of *England*, grew so incensed, that he made means to *Pius* the fourth, then Pope, to have her excommunicate as an Heretick and Usurper. But the Pope inclining rather to save than to destroy, and knowing that gentle courses prevail more with generous minds, than roughness and violence, in most loving manner wrote unto her, exhorting her to return to the Unity of the Catholick Church; and, as it is said, made her great offers, if she would hearken to his counsel: particularly, that he would recal the Sentence pronounced against her Mothers Marriage, confirm the Book of Common Prayer in *English*, and permit to her people the use of the Sacrament in both kinds. But Queen *Elizabeth*, neither terrified with the Earl of *Feria*'s practices, nor allured with the Popes great offers, according to her Motto, *Semper eadem*, persisted constant in her resolution, to maintain that Religion which in her Conscience she was perswaded to be most agreeable to the word of God, and most consonant to the Primitive Church.

But she persisted constant in her Religion.

Joh. Oneal, Earl of *Tyrone*, began to rebel.

Whilest these grounds of troubles are sowing in *England*, *France* and *Scotland*, it is not likely that *Ireland* will lie fallow; though indeed it be a Country that will bring forth troubles of it self, without sowing: but howsoever, to make the more plentiful Harvest of troubles at this time, *John Oneal* (whose Father K. *Henry* the eighth made Earl of *Tyrone*) to prevent the punishment of a private Outrage upon a Brother, broke into open Rebellion against the Prince: and though his attempts were maturely made frustrate by timely opposition; yet this was he that in the beginning of the Queens Reign sowed the seeds of that trouble in *Ireland*, which afterward took so deep root, that till the ending of her Reign it could never throughly be rooted out; though this man a year or two after came into *England*, and casting himself at the Queens feet, acknowledged his fault, and obtained pardon.

Qu. *Eliz.* requires the Treaty of *Edenburgh*, to be confirmed by the Queen Dowager. And her Answer.

The Treaty of *Edenburgh* should by promise have been confirmed by *Francis* the *French* King while he lived; but he not having done it, Queen *Elizabeth* requires his Dowager, the Queen of *Scots* to confirm it: but she, solicited often to it by *Throgmorton* the Queens Leiger in *France*, made always answer, she could not do it without the Counsel of her Nobility in *Scotland*. Whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* suspecting that this Answer was but to hold her in amazement, while some mischief was practising against her, sent Sir *Thomas Randol* into *Scotland*, to perswade the Lords there to enter into a League of mutual Amity with her and other Protestant Princes; and further, by no means to permit their Queen, now a Widow, to marry again to any Forein Prince; for which she alledged many great Reasons. In the mean while the Queen of *Scots*, purposing to return into *Scotland*, sent before-hand Dr. *Oysotte* a *French* Lord, to entreat Queen *Elizabeth*, that with her leave she her self might pass by Sea into *Scotland*, & Dr. *Oysotte* might pass by Land. But Queen *Elizabeth* openly denied both the one and the other, unless she would confirm the Treaty at *Edenburgh*; saying, It was no reason she should do the Queen of *Scots* courtesie, if the Queen of *Scots* would not do her right.

The Qu. of *Scots* passeth safely into *Scotland*, though laid wait for to be intercepted. She offered all observance to Queen *Elizabeth*, so she might be declared her Successor. Qu. *Eliz.* Answer.

The Queen of *Scots*, much troubled with this Answer, expostulates the matter with her Leiger *Throgmorton*, & much complains of the unthankfulness: but in the mean time providing shipping, she loosed from *Callice*, and under covert of a mist, notwithstanding that Ships were laid to intercept her, she arrived safe in *Scotland*; where she intreated her Subjects in so loving a manner, that she gave great contentment to the whole Kingdom, as well to the Protestant Party, as the other: and then sent Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, proffering all observance & readiness to enter League with her, so she might by Authority of Parliament be declared her Successor; wch was but her right. To this Queen *Elizabeth* answered, That though she would no way derogate from her Right; yet she should be loth to endanger her own security, and as it were to cover her own eyes with a Grave-cloth while she was alive; then fell again to her old Admonition, requiring her to confirm the Treaty of *Edenburgh*. And now, to shew the respect she bore her, when her Uncles the Dukes *D' Aumale*, *D' Albeufe*, and other Lords of *France* that had brought her home, returned through *England*, she gave them most bountifull and loving entertainment.

These two Queens indeed were both of great spirits, and both very wise; but there grew such jealousies of State between them, (the Queen of *Scots* doubting left Queen *Elizabeth* meant to frustrate her Succession, Qu. *Eliz.* doubting left the Qu. of *Scots* meant to prevent her Succession) that it kept them more asunder in love than they were near in bloud, and was cause of many unkind passages between them: in all wch, though the Q. of *Scots* were a very near match to the Q. of *Engl.* in the abilities of her mind, yet in the favours of Fortune she was much her inferior.

But now for all the courtesie which Queen *Elizabeth* shewed to the Queen of *Scots* Uncles, at their returning through *England*, yet new practises were again set on foot against her at *Rome*; the Duke of *Guise* especially laboring to have her be Excommunicated. But Pope *Pius*, still averse from such roughness, meant now to try the Queen another way; and thereupon sent the Abbot *Martinengi*; and when he might not be admitted to enter *England*, then caused the Bishop of *Viterbo*, his Nuntio in *France*, to deal earnestly with the Queens Leiger *Throgmorton*, that she (as other Princes had done) would send her Orators to the Council of *Trent*, which he before had called. But the Queen, nothing tendering this point, made peremptory answer, That a Popish

The Pope invites Qu. *Eliz.* to send her Orators to the Council of *Trent*

The Queens Anſwer.

piſh Aſſembly ſhe did not acknowledge to be a General Council; nor did ſhe think the Pope to have any more right or power to call it, than any other Biſhop. This anſwer not only exaſperated the Pope, but alſo alienated the King of *Spain*'s mind from her, that he was never after ſo kind a friend to her as he had been; and none of her Embaſſadours ever after had any great liking to be imployed to him. And now at this time, as the Abbot *Martinengi* was the laſt Nuntio that ever was ſent from the Pope into *England*, ſo Sir *Edward Carne*, now dying at *Rome*, was the laſt Leiger that was ever ſent to the Pope from the Kings of *England*.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* knowing well that ſhe had drawn many ill-willers againſt her State, ſhe endeavored to ſtrengthen it by all the means ſhe could deviſe. She cauſed many great Ordnance of Braſs and Iron to be caſt; She repaired Fortifications in the Borders of *Scotland*; She encreaſed the number of Ships, ſo as *England* never had ſuch a Navy before; She provided great ſtore of Armour and Weapons out of *Germany*; She cauſed Muſters to be held, and Youth to be trained in exerciſes of Artillery; &c, to pleaſe the people, (whoſe love is the greateſt ſtrength of all) She gave leave to have Corn & Grain tranſported, and called in all baſe Coins and braſs Money.

All baſe moneys called in.

It was now the fifth year of Qu. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when divers great perſons were called in queſtion. *Margaret* Counteſs of *Lenox*, Niece to King *Henry* the Eighth, by his eldeſt Siſter, and her Husband the Earl of *Lenox*, for having had ſecret conference by Letters with the Queen of *Scots*, were delivered priſoners to Sir *Richard Sackvile*, Maſter of the Rolls, and with him kept a while in cuſtody. Alſo *Arthur Poole* and his Brother, whoſe great Grandfather was *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the fourth, *Anthony Forteſcue*, who had married their Siſter, and others, were arraigned for conſpiring to withdraw themſelves to the Duke of *Guiſe* in *France*, and from thence to return with an Army into *Wales*, to declare the Queen of *Scots* Queen of *England*, and *Arthur Poole* Duke of *Clarence*. Which particulars they confeſſed at the Bar, and were thereupon condemned to die; but had their lives ſpared, in regard they were of the Bloud-Royal. Alſo the Lady *Katharine Gray*, Daughter to *Henry Gray* Duke of *Suffolk*, by the eldeſt Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, having formerly been married to the Earl of *Pembroke*'s eldeſt Son, and from him ſoon after lawfully divorced, was ſome years after found to be with child by *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*: who being at that time in *France*, was preſently ſent for; and being examined before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and affirming they were lawfully married, but not being able within a limited time to produce witneſſes of their marriage, they were both committed to the *Tower*, where ſhe was brought to bed; and after, by the connivance or corruption of their Keepers, being ſuffered ſometimes to come together, ſhe was with child by him again. Which made the Queen more angry than before; ſo that Sir *Edw. Warner* Lieutenant of the *Tower* was put out of his place, and the Earl was fined in the *Star-Chamber* five thouſand pounds, and kept in Priſon nine years after. Though in pleading of his Caſe, one *John Hales* argued, they were lawful Man and Wife, by vertue of their own bare conſent, without any Eccleſiaſtical Ceremony. The Lady a few years after, falling through grief into a mortal ſickneſs, humbly deſired the Queens Pardon, for having married without her knowledg, and commending her children to her clemency, died in the *Tower*.

1563.

Divers great perſons queſtioned and condemned, but had their lives ſpared.

At this time (the King being under age) diſſentions amongſt the Peers grew hot in *France*, of which there were two Factions, both pretending the cauſe of Religion. Of the one, the Duke of *Guiſe*, a Papiſt, was Head; of the other, the Prince of *Conde*, a Proteſtant. But while *Deliranti Reges, plectuntur Achivi*; while theſe Princes are at variance, the people ſuffer for it; and chiefly (as being under the weaker protection) the Proteſtant party. Whereupon Queen *Elizabeth*, (having well learned the Leſſon, *Tum tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*, and fearing leſt the flame of their diſſention might kindle a fire within her own Kingdom) ſent over Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Preſident of *Wales*, into *France*, to endeavour by all poſſible means their reconcilement: which when he could not effect, (and perhaps it was never meant he ſhould effect it, but only to ſee what Invitations would be made to the Qu. for her aſſiſtance) ſhe thereupon at the moan of the afflicted Proteſtants, ſent over an Army of ſix thouſand Soldiers under the Conduct of the Earl of *Warwick*, in aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Conde* and other Proteſtant Lords, who delivered to him the Town of *Newhaven*, to hold in the King of *France* his name, until ſuch time as *Callice* was reſtored. But the Prince of *Conde* marching to joyn with the *Engliſh* Forces, was by the Duke of *Guiſe* intercepted and taken priſoner; which had been a great diſappointment to the *Engliſh*, but that the Duke of *Colen* joyned with him, beſieged *Caen* in *Normandy*, and took it, together with *Bayeux*, *Falaiſe*, and *Saint Lo*. The *French* Hoſtages that were pledges for the payment of five hundred thouſand Crowns, if *Callice* were not reſtored, were remaining ſtill in *England*; who perceiving there was like to be War with *France*, prepared ſecretly to get away; but being ready to take ſhipping, were diſcovered, and brought back again.

Queen *Elizabeth* ſends over an Army to aſſiſt the Proteſtants in *France*.

In the mean while the Prince of *Conde*, drawn on with a hope to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and to have the chief Government in *France* during the Kings Minority, concluded a Peace with the King and with the *Guiſes*; ſo as now all *French*, as well Proteſtants as Papiſts, required to have *Newhaven* delivered up. But the Earl of *Warwick* perceiving the ficklneſs of the *French* Proteſtants, firſt to make ſuit to draw him into *France*, and now upon ſo ſlight occaſion to require him to be gone, he ſhutteth all *French*, both Proteſtants and Papiſts, out of the Town, and lays hold of their Ships: the *French* on the other ſide make ready to ſet upon the Town, ſaying, they fought not now for Religion, but for their Country; wherefore it was meet that both Proteſtants and Papiſts ſhould joyn their Forces, ſeeing they had already concluded a Peace betwixt themſelves. And hereupon the Duke of *Memorancy* ſent a Trumpeter to the Earl of *Warwick*, commanding him to yield the Town: who making anſwer by Sir *Hugh Pawlet*, that he would never yield it without the Queens leave; he thereupon beſieged the Town, and with a great violence of Battery, fought to get it by force.

The Prince of *Conde* concludes a Peace with the King of *France*. *Newhaven* delivered up to the *French* with the Queens leave.

Which

Which Queen *Elizabeth* hearing of, she sent a Commission to the Earl of *Warwick* to yield it up, if upon honourable Conditions; wch soon after was accordingly done, after the *English* had held it eleven months: & then the Earl, without any dishonour for yielding up a Town, which the Pestilence made him no less unwilling than unable to hold, returned into *England*. But that which was more doleful than the loss of *Newhaven*, he brought the Pestilence with him into *England*. The recovery of this Town not only made the *French* to triumph, but hereupon the Chancellour of *France* pronounced openly, that by this War the *English* had lost all their Right to *Callice*, and were not to require it any more, seeing it was one of the Conditions, that neither of the Nations should make war upon the other: which was the Point stood upon by the King of *France* and his mother, when Queen *Elizabeth* sent Sir *Thomas Smith* to demand *Callice* to be restored.

At this time there were such cross designs amongst the Princes of Christendom, that a very good Politician could hardly understand their aims. The Duke of *Guise* being slain in the Civil war, the Queen of *Scots* Dowry was not paid her in *France*, and the *Scots* were put off from being the Kings Guard. This exceedingly displeased the Queen of *Scots*. But then to please her again, and for fear left hereupon she should apply her self to the friendship of the *English*, her Uncle the Cardinal of *Lorrain* solicites her afresh, to marry *Charles* Duke of *Austria*; offering her for her Dowry the County of *Tyrol*.

The Qu. of *Scots* requires Qu. *Elizabeths* advice about her Marriage. Who perswades her to marry the Lord *Robert Dudley*. But this motion was scorned by her *French* friends.

The Queen of *Scots*, to make use of her Uncles fear, and perhaps to bring Queen *Elizabeth* into an opinion of depending upon her, acquaints her with this motion, and therein requires her advice. Queen *Elizabeth*, not willing she should marry with any forein Prince, perswades her to to take a Husband out of *England*, & particularly commended to her the Lord *Robert Dudley*, (whose Wife a little before had with a fall broke her neck;) promising withal, that if she would marry him, she should then by Authority of Parliament be declared her Successor, in case she died without Issue. But when her Uncles and the Queen mother were informed of this motion, they so much disdained the Marriage with *Dudley*, that so she would refuse that Match, and persevere in the Friendship of the *French*, they offered to pay her the Dowry-money that was behind, and to restore the *Scots* to all their former liberties in *France*. And as for the King of *Spain*, he had indeed a Leiger Embassador here in *England*, but rather by way of Complement, and to watch advantages, than for any sincere love; which he began to withdraw from the *English*, as suspecting them to intend a Trade to the *West-Indies*.

At the marriage of the Prince of *Navarre* was the great Massacre of the Protestants in *France*.

And now the *French* Protestants may see what they brought upon themselves, by leaving the *English* at *Newhaven*, and by trusting to their Country-men the *French* Papists; for their peace was but a snare, and the Marriage of *Henry* of *Burbon*, Prince of *Navarre*, with *Margaret* of *Valois*, the *French* Kings Sister, was but a bait to entrap them. For upon the confidence of this Marriage, being drawn together into *Paris*, they were the readier for the slaughter: and a few days after the Marriage, which were all spent in Feasts and Masks, to make them the more secure, upon a Watch-word given, the bloudy Faction fell upon the Protestants, and neither spared age, nor sex, nor condition, but without mercy, and sense of humanity, slaughtered as many as they could meet with, to the number of many thousands.

1564. Many great Personages die.

It was now the sixth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, a year fatal for the death of many great Personages. First died *William* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Governour of *Barwick*, a man famous for his great Services in War: then *William* Lord *Paget*, a man of as great Services in Peace, who by his great deservings had wrought his advancement to sundry Dignities and honourable places: and though zealous in the *Roman* Religion, yet held by Queen *Elizabeth* in great estimation to his dying day: then *Henry Mannors* Earl of *Rutland*, descended by his Mother from King *Edward* the fourth: and lastly, *Frances* the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, Daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, and Mother to Queen *Jane*.

A Peace made with the King of *France*, and upon what Conditions.

And now Queen *Elizabeth*, finding how fickle the *French* Protestants had carried themselves towards her, intended to make a Peace; and to that end sent Sir *Thomas Smith* into *France*, joyning *Throgmorton* in Commission with him. And in conclusion, a Peace was agreed on; whereof, amongst other Articles, this was one, That the Hostages in *England* should be freed, upon the payment of Six hundred thousand Crowns. And this Peace was ratified by the Oath both of the Queen of *England*, and the King of *France*.

About this time the *English* Merchants were hardly used both in *Spain* and in the *Netherlands*, upon pretence of Civil differences, but indeed out of hatred to the Protestant Religion: whereupon the *English* removed the Seat of their Trading to *Embden* in *Friesland*. But *Gusman*, the *Spanish* Leiger newly come into *England*, finding the great damages that the *Netherlands* sustained by these differences, endeavoured by all means to compose them: and thereupon Viscount *Mountague*, *Nicholas Wotton*, and *Walter Haddon* Master of the Requests, were sent to *Bruges* in *Flanders*; who after many interruptions brought the matter at last to some indifferent agreement.

1565. Qu. *Eliz.* makes a Progress to *Cambridge*. She makes the Lord *Robert Dudley*, first, Baron of *Denbigh*, and then Earl of *Leicester*.

It was now the seventh year of Queen *Elizabeth*, when making a Progress, she went to see *Cambridge*; where after she had viewed the Colledges, and been entertained with Comedies and Scholastical Disputations, she made her self a *Latine* Oration, to the great Encouragement of the Scholars, and then returned. Presently after her return, she made the Lord *Robert Dudley*, Master of her Horse, first, Baron of *Denbigh*, (giving him *Denbigh* and all the Lands belonging to it) and then, Earl of *Leicester*, to him and the Heirs-males of his body lawfully begotten: which Honor was conferred upon him with the greatest State and Solemnity that ever was known. And now *Leicester*, to endear himself to the Queen of *Scots*, accused Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper, for being privy to the Libel of *Hales*, who affirmed the right of the Crown to belong to the Family of *Suffolk*, in case the Qu. should die without Issue: & thereupon was *Bacon* cast into Prison;

soon; till afterward, upon his purgation, and the mediation of Sir *William Cecill*, he was set at liberty, and restored to his place.

And now for a while we must cast our eyes upon *Scotland*, for that was now the Stage where all great businesses of State were acted. *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, who had married *Margaret Dowglas* King *Henry* the Eighths Neece by his eldest Sister, had been kept as an Exile in *England* now twenty years. Him the Queen of *Scots* invites to come into *Scotland*, under pretence of restoring to him his ancient Patrimony; but indeed to confer with him about a Marriage with his Son the Lord *Darley*; for he being reputed Heir to the Crown of *England*, next after her self, she thought, by matching with his Son, to strengthen her own Title, and to prevent the hope of any other. Queen *Elizabeth*, upon suit made by his Wife, gave the Earl leave to go; but soon after, suspecting what the Queen of *Scots* intent was in sending for him, she, to hinder the proceeding, sent Sir *Tho. Randoll* to her, to let her know, that if she proceeded in this Match, she would exceedingly wrong her self; for that it was a Match so much disliked by all the *English*, that she was fain to prorogue the Parliament, lest upon dislike thereof, there should something be enacted against her Right of Succession: But if she would marry the Earl of *Leicester*, she should then by Parliament be declared her next Heir. Hereupon, in the month of *November*, the Earl of *Bedford* and Sir *Thomas Randoll* for Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earl of *Murray* and *Liddington* for the Queen of *Scots*, at *Barwick* entred into a Treaty concerning the Marriage with the Earl of *Leicester*. The English Commissioners urged the great benefits that by this Match would accrew both to the Queen of *Scots* her self, and to the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*: The *Scottish*, on the other side, urged the great disparagement it would be to the Qu. of *Scots*, if, refusing the offers made her of divers great Princes, she should match her self with so mean a Person as the Earl of *Leicester*. This matter held long debate, partly for that the English Commissioners were so appointed by Q. *Elizabeth*, and partly for that the *Scottish* Commissioners had a good mind to hinder her from marrying at all: and perhaps not the least, for that the Earl of *Leicester*, being verily perswaded he should at last obtain Queen *Elizabeth* her self, by secret Letters warned the Earl of *Bedford* not to urge the Marriage with the Queen of *Scots* too far; and was thought for this cause to favour *Darley* under-hand. The matter being in this manner protracted for two whole years together; the Queen of *Scots*, impatient of longer delay, and being resolved in her mind what she would do, used means, that the Lord *Darley* got leave of Queen *Elizabeth* to go into *Scotland* for three months only, under colour to be put in possession of his Fathers Lands. (Though it be strange, the Queen upon any terms would let him go, if she really intended to hinder the marriage: but such was the destiny, if there were not a plot in it.) And so in *February* he came to *Edenburgh*; who being a young man, of not above nineteen years of age, of a comely countenance, and most Princely presence, the Queen of *Scots*, as soon as she saw him, fell in love with him; yet modestly dissembing it for the present, she thought to get a Dispensation from *Rome*, because of their nearness in Consanguinity. And now, her inclination being grown so apparent, that there was no concealing it, she sent *Liddington* to Qu. *Eliz.* desiring her consent. But she through the suggestions of the Earl of *Murray*, being induced to believe that the Qu. of *Scots* intention was, by this Marriage to get the Crown of *England*, and to bring in Popery, entred into consultation with her Privy Council, what was fit to be done to hinder the Marriage: who all concluded, that these were the best ways: First, to have a Company of Souldiers levied for terrour sake about the Borders towards *Scotland*; then to commit to Prison the Countess of *Lenox*, the Lord *Darleys* Mother; and to recal from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lenox*, and his Son *Darley*, upon pain of the loss of all their goods in *England*; then that the *Scots*, who were known to be averse from the Marriage, should be relieved and assisted; and lastly, that *Katharine Gray*, with the Earl of *Hartford*, should be received into some grace, about whom only (it was thought) the Queen of *Scots* was most solicitous, as being her Rival to the *English* Crown. Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to counsel her in the Queens name not to proceed in this Marriage; and to shew her the many inconveniences that would accrew unto her by it. But she returned answer, that the matter was too far passed to be recalled; & that Queen *Elizabeth* had no cause to be displeased with it, seeing herein she followed her advice, not to match with a stranger, but with an *English*-man born.

Queen *Elizabeth*, being informed of her Answer, calleth home the Earl of *Lenox* and the Lord *Darley* his Son, commanding them upon their Allegeance to return. The Father modestly by Letters excuseth himself: the Son humbly intreateth her not to be a hindrance to his preferment; which he vows to employ in her Majesties Service, to the uttermost of his power.

And now, to make him the fitter match for her, the Queen of *Scots* honoured him first with Knighthood; then with the Dignities of the Lord *Armanack*, Earl of *Ross*, and Duke of *Rothsay*; which Dukedom by Birth pertaineth to the eldest Sons of the Kings of *Scotland*. After this, when he had not been above five months in *Scotland*, she married him; and, with the consent of most of the Peers, declared him King. At this the Earl of *Murray*, and others whom he drew to his party, extremely fretted, and fell to moving of turbulent questions, Whether it were lawful to admit a Papist King; Whether the Queen of *Scots* might chuse a Husband at her own pleasure; and Whether the Peers of the Kingdom might not out of their own Authority impose one upon her. But however, they raised Arms, and had disturbed the Nuptials, but that the Queen levied an Army to encounter them: with which she pursued them so closely, that they were fain to fly into *England* for protection. Where Queen *Elizabeth* made no scruple to receive them, seeing the Queen of *Scots* had received *Yardley*, *Standon* and *Walsh*, that were fled out of *England*; but the Earl of *Murray* especially, who had always been found addicted to the

The Queen of *Scots* seeks to marry the Lord *Darley*, Son to the Earl of *Lenox*.

Queen *Elizabeth* dissuades her from it, & perswades her to marry the Earl of *Leicester*.

Hereupon Commissioners are sent to treat of this Marriage.

But the Commissioners cannot agree.

The Queen of *Scots* impatient of delay, gets the Lord *Darley* to come to *Scotland*.

At first sight she falls in love with him.

And then sends to Qu. *Eliz.* for her consent to marry him.

Qu. *Eliz.* opposeth it.

The Queen of *Scots* makes the Lord *Darley* Duke of *Rothsay*, and marries him.

The Earl of *Murray* raiseth an Army against him.

But being encountred, he flies into *England*, whom Qu. *Eliz.* receives.

the *Englifh*. Queen *Elizabeth* perhaps was not much troubled at the Marriage; partly, as knowing the mild difpofition of the Lord *Darley*, and how little acceſs of ſtrength it brought to the Queen of *Scots*; but moſt of all, as plainly ſeeing there would troubles arife in *Scotland* upon it, and the troubles of *Scotland* would be the quietneſs of *England*, which as a good Mother of her Country, was the mark ſhe aimed at: yet ſhe made a ſhew of being offended with it; but rather to conceal her aim, then that ſhe was offended with it indeed.

Qu. *Eliz.* is moved again to marry *Charles* the Emperors Brother.

At this time the Emperor *Maximilian* ſent to Queen *Elizabeth* his Ambaſſador, *Adam Smiricote*, renewing the former ſuit for his Brother *Charles* of *Auſtria*; for which Marriage the Earl of *Suſſex* was very earneſt; the Earl of *Leiceſter* as much againſt it: ſo as it grew to a quarrel between them, and the Court was divided into factions about it: but the Queen, who never liked the diſſention of her Peers (though it be a Rule with ſome, *Divide* and *Raign*) made them friends, at leaſt in countenance.

Ceciil Siſter of the King of *Sweden*, comes into *England* of purpoſe to ſee the Qu.

We may now leave *Scotland* a while, and ſee the Honour done at this time to Queen *Elizabeth*, not much inferior to the Honour done to *Solomon* by the Queen of *Sheba*; for now *Ceciil*, the Siſter of *Erick* King of *Sweden*, and Wife of *Chriſtopher* Marqueſs of *Baden*, being great with Child, came from the fartheſt part of the North (a long Journey) thorow *Germany*, of purpoſe to ſee her, for the great fame ſhe had heard of her Wiſdom: At her being here, ſhe was delivered of a Child, to whom, in requital of her kindneſs, Queen *Elizabeth* was God-mother, and named him *Edwardus Fortunatus*; giving to her and her Husband, beſides Royal Entertainment, a yearly Penſion. At this time alſo, for the great Fame

Alſo *Mac Carti* a great Potentate of *Ireland*.

of her Wiſdom, *Donald mac Carti More*, a great Potentate of *Ireland*, came and delivered up into her hands all his moſt ample Territories; and then receiving them again from her, to hold them to him and his Heirs-males lawfully begotten; and for want of ſuch Iſſue, to remain to the Crown of *England*. The Queen in requital inveſted him with the honour of Earl of *Glenkare*, and Baron of *Valence*; and beſides many Preſents given him, paid the charges of his Journey.

An. Reg. 8. 1566.

It was now the eighth Year of *Elizabeths* Reign, when Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, a Knight of *Glouceſter-ſhire*, governing *Ireland* under the Title of a Juſtice, was called home and Sir *Henry Sidney* placed in his room. And here by the way it is to be noted, That the Governours of *Ireland*, after it came under the *Engliſh*, were at firſt called Juſtices of *Ireland*; afterwards, Lieutenants, and their Vice-gerents were called Deputies. Afterwards at the Princes pleaſure, ſometimes Deputies, ſometimes Juſtices, and ſometimes Lieutenants; which laſt Title, though it be of greateſt honour, yet in power is in a manner but the ſame. Sir *Henry Sidney* at his coming into *Ireland*, found the Province of *Munſter* in much diſorder, by reaſon of ſtrife between *Gyrald* Earl of *Deſmond*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*: whereupon the Queen ſending for the Earl of *Deſmond* into *England*, ordained a new Covernment in that Province, appointed a Preſident to adminiſter Juſtice, together with an Aſſiſtant on the Bench; two Lawyers and a Notary: and the firſt Preſident ſhe made in this place, was Sir *William Sent-leger*.

The Governors of *Ireland* what Titles they had.

A Preſident of *Munſter* when firſt ordained.

Qu. *Eliz.* makes a Progreſs to *Oxford*.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* in a Progreſs went to *Oxford*; where ſhe took pleaſure in viewing the Colledges, in hearing Orations, in ſeeing of Comedies, till the Comedy of *Paleman* and *Arcett* turned into a Tragedy; for by the fall of a wall, through the multitude of people that preſſed in to ſee it, three men were ſlain. At her coming away, ſhe made an Oration in *Latine* to the Scholars, a ſufficient recompence for all the Orations they had made to her. And this year was a call of ſeven new Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feaſt at *Grayes-Inn* in *Holbourn*.

A call of ſeven Serjeants at Law.

Upon the Queens return from *Oxford*, the Parliament began, where they preſently fell upon the matter of ſucceſſion, and moving the Queen to marry; in which points ſome went ſo far, that they ſpared not to accuſe the Queen, as one careleſs of Poſterity; to defame *Ceciil* with Libels and reproaches, as if he were her Counſellour in this matter; but above all, to curſe Doctor *Huic*, her Phyſitian, who was thought to diſſwade her from Marriage, by reaſon of I know not what womaniſh inſufficiency. At leaſt in the Upper-Houſe it was agreed, That Sir *Nich. Bacon* Lord Keeper, their Orator, ſhould in all their names beſeech the Queen to marry; and withal, to declare a Succeſſour in the Crown, if ſhe ſhould happen to die without Iſſue; for which he gave many Reaſons, declaring what miſchiefs were likely to befal the Kingdom, if ſhe ſhould die before a Succeſſour were deſigned. But in the Lower-Houſe there were ſome, amongſt whom were *Bell* and *Mounſon*, (two Lawyers of great account) *Dutton*, Sir *Paul Wentworth*, and others, who grew to far higher terms, diſparaging the Queens Authority, & ſaying, That Princes were bound to deſign a Succeſſour; and that in not doing it, the Queen ſhould ſhew her ſelf no better than a parricide of her Country. The Queen was contented to bear with words ſpoken in Parliament, which ſpoken out of Parliament, ſhe would never have endured; but not willing to expoſtulate the matter with the whole number, She commanded that 30 of the Higher Houſe, and as many of the Lower, ſhould appear before her, to whom She delivered her mind to this effect; That ſhe knew what danger hangeth over a Princes Head, when a Succeſſour is once declared; She knew that even Children themſelves, out of a haſty deſire of bearing Rule, had taken up Arms againſt their own Fathers, and how could better Conditions be expected from Kindred? She had by reading obſerved, That Succeſſors in a Collateral Line have ſeldom been declared; and that *Lewis* of *Orleance*, and *Francis* of *Angoulesme*, were never declared Succeſſors, and yet obtained the Crown without any noiſe.

In a Parliament at this time, the Queen is moved again to marry.

And to declare a Succeſſor.

The Qu. anſwer to their motions.

Laſtly, She ſaid, Though I have been content to let you debate the matter of Succeſſion, yet I adviſe you to beware, that you be not injurious to your Princes patience. With theſe and the like Reaſons, ſhe gave ſo great ſatisfaction, that they never after troubled her with making any ſuch motion: and though ſhe conſented not in plain terms to declare a Succeſſor, yet ſoon after

She gave some intimation of it; for one *Thornton*, a Reader of the Civil Law in *London*, who in his Lectures called the Queen of *Scots* Right in question, was clapped up in Prison for his labour.

1567. In the begining of her ninth year, *Charles* the 9th King of *France*, sent his Ambassadour *Ramboulet* into *England* to the Queen, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of Saint *Michael*, to bestow upon which two of her Nobility she pleased; and she making choice of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, they were by *Ramboulet* invested with them; an Honour that had never been conferred upon any *English*, but only King *Henry* the 8th, King *Edward* the 6th, and *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, though afterward prostituted almost to any, without difference.

The Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Leicester* made Kts. of the Order of S. *Michael*.

The Qu. of *Scots* is delivered of a Son.

And now to return to the affairs of *Scotland*: The nineteenth of *June* last past, the Queen of *Scots*, in a happy hour, was at *Edenburgh* Castle delivered of a Son, that was afterward *James* the sixth of *Scotland*; and the first Monarch of *Great Britain*; whereof She presently sent word to Queen *Elizabeth*, by *James Melvyne*; who thereupon sent Sir *Henry Killigrew* to congratulate her safe deliverance, and her young Son, with all demonstration of love and amity. But now the love of the Queen of *Scots* to her Husband the L. *Darley*, was not so hot at first, but it was now grown to be as cold; and she had not heaped honours on him so fast before, but now as fast she taketh them off: for where before in publick Acts, she had used to place her Husbands name first, now she caused it to be placed last, and in the coyning of Mony began to leave it quite out.

She grows cold in her love to the King.

David Rizie an *Italian*, grows a great Favourite to the Qu. of *Scots*.

This unkindness between them, was fomented by one *David Rizie* an *Italian*, whom the Queen had taken into her Service, first, as a Musician, and then taking a liking to him, made him her Secretary for the *French* Tongue; by means whereof, he had oftentimes secret conference with her, when the King her Husband might not be admitted. This indignity the King himself being given to his pleasures of Hunting and Hawking, resented not so much, as some Lords that were his friends; who told him plainly, that it stood not with his Honour to suffer this fellow to live. By whose instigation, the King drawn to plot his death; one day taking with him the Earl of *Renven*, and others, he rushed into the Queens Chamber at her Supper time, where finding *David Rizie* at a Cupboard, tasting some meat that had been taken from the Table, he seized upon him, dragged him forth into an outer Chamber, and there murthered him, the Queen at that time being great with Child, and like by that affright to have miscarried: But the Fact being done, the King came in to her again, assuring her there was no hurt at all intended to her Person. The man that had animated the King to do this Fact, was especially the Earl of *Murray*, of whom it is necessary to say something, because his part will be the greatest of all the *Scottish* Actions of this time. He was the base Son of King *James* the Fifth, and so the base Brother of the Queen; made at first Prior of Saint *Andrews*: But not liking that Religious Title, he affected rather some Temporal Honour; which when the Queen being then in *France*, denied him, then in an angry mood he returned into *Scotland*, where by the advice of *Knox*, whom he held for a great Patriarch, he brought the matter so to pass, that in an Assembly of the States, the Religion was altered, and the *French* were banished out of *Scotland*; Yet afterward, as soon as the Queen was a Widow, he posted into *France*, and so insinuated with her, that she created him Earl of *Murray*, and promoted him to an Honourable Marriage. Being thus exalted, he returned into *Scotland*; where, for the growth of his ambitious designs, he sowed seeds of Sedition, affirming often, what a misery it was to be under the Command of a Woman; and that Royalty was not to be tied to any Stock or Kindred, but to Vertue only, whether the Parties were legitimate or no: By this course, making way to the Kingdom for himself. To this end, he used all the means he could to keep the Queen from marrying again; which when he could not effect, he then sought ways how to make discord between her and her Husband; for which cause he had caused the King to murther *Rizie*. Of the foulness of which Fact, when the King after a while grew sensible, he meant to be revenged of *Murray*, who had counselled him to do it: Which *Murray* understanding, prevented it with causing the like to be done to him, as will presently be seen. For the Queen having been delivered of a Son, and the day appointed for the Christning being come; where the Godfathers were *Charles* King of *France*, and *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*; Queen *Elizabeth* being requested to be God-mother, sent thither the Earl of *Bedford* as her Deputy, and a Font of Massie Gold for a present, in value 1043 l. but gave him express Command, That he should not honour *Darley* with the Title of King. But before a month or two, after the Christning, were passed, the King in a stormy and tempestuous night was strangled in his Bed, and then cast forth into the Garden, and the house immediately blown up with Gun-powder.

The King set on by his Lords, murders him.

Especially by the animation of the Earl of *Murray*.

The Earls Rising and Carriage.

The King intends to be revenged on him.

But the Earl prevents him, and the King is strangled in his Bed.

The rumour of this Murther being spread abroad, the common Fame laid it upon *Murray* and *Morton*, and their Confederates; *Murray* and *Morton* upon the Queen: But we must not here give ear to that which *Buchanan* writes, who to curry favour with the Earl of *Murray*, lays most impudent scandals upon the Queen; whereof, before his death, he repented himself extreamly. The King thus murthered, and the Queen left alone to her self, she is counselled to marry with some that might be able to assist her against all her opposites: *James Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell* being then greatly in her favour, and of great eminency for his valour; and though he were the man that had acted the murther, yet is he by *Murray* and his Confederates commended to the Queen: To which motion, as being destitute of friends, and not knowing whom to trust, she at last consents; but upon these Conditions, That above all things, respect might be had to her young Son; and that *Bothwell* might be legally quitted, both from the bond of his former marriage, and also of the Kings murther. Hereupon a course is plotted, by which *Bothwell* is called to the Bar; and *Morton* being his Advocate, by the Sentence of the Judges he is clearly acquitted. Upon this he is created Duke of *Orkeney*, and by consent of many of the Nobility, he is married to the Queen; which bred a suspicion in many,

The death of the King is by common fame laid upon *Murray* & *Morton*, by them upon the Queen.

Who to strengthen her self, marries the Earl *Bothwell*.

many, that the Queen was conscious of the murther; which was the thing that by marriage they intended: And the suspicion once raised, they seek by all means to increase, that they may have the better colour against her; & so, the very same man who had absolved *Bothwell*, and consented to the marriage, now takes Arms against her, as a Delinquent in both; force him to fly, and then seize upon the Qu. whom, clad in a very homely Garment, they thrust into prison in *Lochlevyn*, under the Custody of *Murray*'s Mother, who had been the Harlot of King *James* the Fifth; but boasting her self to have been his lawful Wife, & her Son his lawful Issue. Queen *Elizabeth* having at length notice hereof, sent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* into *Scotland* to expostulate with the Confederates, touching this insolent usage of the Queen; and to consult by what means she might be restored to her liberty. But *Throgmorton* coming into *Scotland*, found the Confederates in more insolent terms then had been reported; being divided in Opinion, what to do with the Queen, some would have her banished perpetually into *England* or *France*, some would have her questioned before the Judges, committed to perpetual custody, & her Son proclaimed King: Others, more inhumane, who would have her at once deprived of Princely Authority, of life and all; and this *Knox* and some other Ministers thundred out of the Pulpits. *Throgmorton* on the other side, alledged many passages out of the holy Scriptures, touching Obedience to the higher Powers; maintaining, That the Queen was subject to no Tribunal, but that in Heaven; That no Judge upon Earth might call her in question; That there was no Office, nor Jurisdiction in *Scotland*, which was not derived from her Authority, and revokeable at her pleasure. They again opposed the peculiar Right of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and that in extraordinary cases, they were to proceed besides order: taking up *Buchanan*'s Arguments, who in those days, by instigation of *Murray*, wrote that damned Dialogue, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, wherein, against the verity of the *Scottish* History, he endeavours to prove, That the people have power both to create, & to depose their King. After all their debating, all that *Throgmorton* could get of them, was a Writing without any subscription, wherein they protested, They had shut up the Queen for no other intent, but to keep her apart from *Bothwell*, whom she loved so desperately, that to enjoy him, she regarded not all their ruines; willing himself to rest satisfied with this Answer, till such time as the rest of the Peers met together. And notwithstanding all he could say, they shut up the Queen daily in more strait custody, though with tears she besought them to deal more mildly with her, & to let her but once have a sight of her Son: which would not be granted her. At last, when fair perswasions would not serve to make her freely give over the Kingdom, they threatned to question her openly for incontinent living, for the Kings Murder, and for Tyranny, so as through fear of death, they compelled her, unheard, to set her hand to three Instruments: In the first whereof, she gave over her Kingdom to her young Son, at that time scarce thirteen Months old. In the second, she constituted *Murray* Voice-Roy during the minority of her Son. In the third, in case he refused the Charge, these Governours were nominated; *James* Duke of *Chastean* Herald, *Giles Spike* Earl of *Argyle*, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, *John* Earl of *Atholl*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, and *John* Earl of *Marr*. And presently she signified to Queen *Elizbeth* by *Throgmorton*, That she had made these Grants by compulsion through the Counsel of *Throgmorton*, telling her, That a Grant extorted from one in Prison (which is a just fear) is actually void, and of no effect.

Against whom *Murray* takes Arms, and forceth him to fly, and then seizeth upon the Qu.

Qu. *Elic.* hearing of it, sends to expostulate with the Confederates about it; & their Answer.

Five days after the Queen had made this Resignation, *James* the sixth, the Queens Son, was Anointed and Crown'd King, *John Knox* preaching at the same time; but a Protestation was then put in by the *Hamiltons*, That all this ought to be no prejudice to the Duke of *Chastean* Herald, in his right of Succession against the Family of *Lenox*; but Queen *Elizabeth* had forbidden *Throgmorton* to be at the Action, that she might not seem by the presence of her Embassadour, to approve their proceeding in displacing of the Queen.

Fifteen days after this transaction, *Murray* himself returned out of *France* into *Scotland*, and within three days went to the Queen with some other of the Confederates, who charged her with many Crimes, and wished her if she tendred her Life and Honour, to observe these Prescriptions: Not to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, nor desire to be at Liberty; Nor to stir up the Queen of *England*, or the King of *France* to molest *Scotland* with any War; nor to think any more of *Bothwells* love, or meditate Revenge upon *Bothwells* Adversaries.

Murray being now proclaimed Regent of *Scotland*, he bindeth himself under his Hand and Seal to do nothing which shall concern War or Peace, the Kings Person or his Marriage, or the Liberty of the Queen, without the consent of the Confederates; and then gives *Throgmorton* warning by *Lydington*, not to make any further intercession for the Queens Liberty, for that he & the rest had rather run any hazard than to suffer it. Soon after he puts to death *John Hepburn*, *Daglash*, and others that were *Bothwells* Servants, for having a hand in the Murther of the King: But they (which he little expected) when they were at the Gallows, ready to die, protested before God and his holy Angels, that *Bothwell* had told them, that *Morton* and *Murray* were the first Authors of the Murther. The freed the Queen from all suspicion, like as *Bothwell* himself being Prisoner in *Denmark*, both living and dying, often protested with deep asseverations, That the Queen was innocent. And fourteen years after, *Morton* going to Execution, confessed that *Bothwell* dealt with him to consent to the murder of the King; which when he refused utterly, unless the Queen under her hand-writing would allow of it; *Bothwell* made answer, That could not be, but the fact must be done without her knowledge.

Murray is proclaimed Regent of *Scotland*.

Bothwell's Servants at the Gallows, protest that *Murray* & *Morton* were the first Authors of the Kings Murder, and that the Queen was innocent.

A little before this time, upon one and the same day died two of the Privy-Council, Sir *John Mason* Treasurer of the Queens Chamber, a Grave and Learned man, but a great Usurper and Encroacher upon Ecclesiastical Livings; and Sir *Richard Sackvile* Vice-Treasurer of the

Sir *John Mason* and Sir *Rich. Sackvile* die.

Exchequer, a man both Prudent and Provident, and allied to the Queen by her Mother *Anne Bolen*. In his room succeeded *Walter Mildmay*, a man of Wisdom and Integrity: In *Masons* Office came Sir *Francis Knolles*, who married *Katharine Carie*, the Daughter of *Mary Bolen*, the Queens Mothers Sister.

The Marriage of Qu. *Elizabeth* with the Emperors Brother is again treated of; but after seven years breaks utterly off.

It was now the year 1567, and the tenth year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when the Earl of *Stolberg* came into *England* from the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat of the Marriage of the Queen with the Arch-Duke *Charles*, upon which very occasion the Queen a little before had sent the Earl of *Sussex* to the Emperour, with the Order of the Garter. But in the treaty of Marriage there fell out so many difficulties about Religion, Maintenance of the Duke, about the Royal Title, and concerning Succession, that after it had been treated of seven whole years together, it came at last to nothing, and the Duke not long after married *Mary* Daughter to *Albert* the Fifth Duke of *Bavaria*; yet both he and the Emperour continued ever after a good correspondence with the Queen.

About this time there came from *John Basil* Emperour of *Russia* and *Muscovia*, *Stephen Twerdico*, and *Theodore Pogorella*, with a Present of rich Furs of Otter, Miniver, and the like, tendring all service and obsequiousness to the Queen and the *English*. The Merchants by vertue of a Grant from Queen *Mary*, had combined themselves into a Society, which they called the *Muscovia* Company; and having large Priviledges granted them from the Emperour, went thither with a Navy yearly, making a very gainful voyage: but then it proved most gainful, when for the Queens sake they obtained at the Emperour's hands in the year 1569. That none but the *English* of that Company should Traffick in the North-parts of *Russia*. With these *Russian* Embassadours there returned into *England*, *Anthony Jenkinson*, who in his Travels had made curious Observations of *Russia*, set forth a Geographical Description of it, and was the first of the *English* that sailed through the *Caspian* Sea. And this year the eighth of *June*, Sir *Thomas Sackvile* was created Baron of *Buckhurst*, at *Whitehall*.

The *Muscovia* Company have their Priviledges enlarged by the Emperor of *Muscovia*.

Sir *Thomas Sackvile* is created Baron of *Buckhurst*.

We have seen before the first Act of the Queen of *Scots* Tragedy: Now comes in the second, having been eleven Months kept a Prisoner, at last, by the help of *George Dowglas*, to whose Brother she was committed, she made escape from *Loch-leyn* to *Hamilton*'s Castle; where upon the testimonies of *Robert Melvyn*, and others, in a meeting of a great part of the Nobility, there was drawn a Sentence declaratory, That the Grant extorted from the Queen in Prison, (which is *Justus metus*) was actually void from the beginning. Upon which Declaration, great multitudes flocked to her, so as within a day or two she had gotten an Army of at least six thousand; but when they joyned Battel with *Murray*, being but raw and unexpert Souldiers, they were soon defeated. In this case the Queen sought to save her self by flight, journying in one day threescore miles, and coming at night to the House of *Maxwell* Lord *Herris*, from thence she sent *John Beton* to Queen *Elizabeth*, with a Diamond Ring, which she had formerly received from her, as a Pledge of mutual amity; intimating, that she would come into *England*, and implore her aid, if her Subjects offered to prosecute her any further. Queen *Elizabeth* returned answer, that she should expect from her in abundant manner, all loving and friendly Offices.

The Queen of *Scots* after eleven months Imprisonment escapes and raiseth an Army, but is defeated by *Murray*.

Whereupon she flies into *England*, and requires access to Qu. *Eliz.* presence.

1568.

But before the Messenger was returned, she, contrary to the advice of her friends, entred into a small Bark, and with the Lords *Herris* & *Fleming*, and a few others, landed at *Wickinton* in *Cumberland*, near the mouth of the River of *Derwent*, the 17th day of *May*; and the same day wrote Letters to the Queen in *French* with her own hand, the effect whereof was, That having made an escape from the hands of her insolent & rebellious Subjects, she was now come into *England*, upon certain hope of her approved clemency, and therefore humbly desiring, she might forthwith be conducted to her Presence. Queen *Elizabeth* sending Letters by Sir *Francis Knoller*, comforted her, and promised her aid & defence, according to the equity of her cause; but denied her access, for that she was held guilty of many Crimes, giving command to have her brought to *Carlisle*, as a place of better safety. The Queen of *Scots* receiving this answer, and finding access to the Queen denied her, making request again by Letter, that she might have leave both to unfold the Injuries she had received, and to answer the Crimes objected, in her own presence; humbly intreating her, that either she might be admitted to have conference and assistance, or else have free leave to depart out of *England*, to gain supply elsewhere, and not to be held a Prisoner in the Castle at *Carlisle*; for as much as she came voluntarily into *England*, relying upon her love so often professed. Upon these Letters, *Qu. Eliz.* exceedingly commiserated her case, and could have found in her heart to admit her to her presence, but that her Counsellors conceived it to be matter for consultation, what to do in this case. To detain her in *Engl.* had many mischiefs attending on it; to send her into *France*, as many; to send her back into *Scotland* many more; so as in conclusion, the most were of opinion to have her detained, as one taken by right of War, and not to be dismissed, till she had made satisfaction for assuming the Title of *England*, & for the death of *Darley* her husband, who was born one of the Queens Subjects. In this diversity of opinions *Qu. Eliz.* out of her own judgment, sent word by *Middlemore*, to the Regent of *Scotland*, that he should come himself in person, or else depute some fit persons to answer the Complaints of the Queen of *Scots* against him and his Confederates, and render sufficient reasons wherefore they had deprived her, otherwise she would forthwith dismiss her, & with all the forces she could, settle her in her Kingdom. To this Summons, *Murray* obeys and comes to *York*, the place appointed for this Treaty, accompanied with seven more of his intimate friends, who stood Delegates for the Infant King, namely, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Adam* Bishop of *Orkeneys*, *Robert* of *Dunferm*, *Patrick* Lord of *Lyndsey*, *James Mack-gilly*, and *Henry Badinary*; and with these *Lydington* the Secretary, and *George Buchanan*. And the very same day came thither *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Essex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* a Privy Counsellour, appointed Com-

Qu. *Eliz.* promiseth her aid, but denieth access, yet commands her to be brought to *Carlisle*.

Reasons for detaining the Queen of *Scots*.

Qu. *Eliz.* appoints Commissioners to hear the cause of the Qu. of *Scots*.

Commissioners for Queen *Elizabeth*. For the Queen of *Scots*, (who took it hainously that Queen *Elizabeth* would not hear the cause her self, but refer her to Subjects, being an absolute Prince, and not tied to their proceedings) there appeared *John Lesley* Bishop of *Ross*, *William* Lord *Levyngston*, *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, *Cowen* of *Kilwinnin*, *John Gourdon*, and *James Cockburn*. Being met, *Lydington* turning himself to the *Scots* in a wondrous liberty of Speech gave them this advice, Maturely to consider, what prejudice they should draw upon themselves, by accusing the Queen of *Scots*, and calling her Reputation in question publickly before the *English*, professed enemies of the *Scottish* Nation. Likewise, what account they shall be able to give hereof to the King, when he shall grow to riper years, and shall see what an injury this was to the Kingdom, his Mother, and his own Person. Wherefore (said he) it seemeth requisite to forbear this business altogether, unless the Queen of *England* will enter into a mutual league of Offence and Defence, against all those, which under this pretence, shall go about to molest us. Upon this Speech of his, the Delegates of the Queen of *Scots* made Protestation, That although it pleased the Queen of *Scots* to have the cause between her and her disloyal Subjects, debated before the *English*, yet she being a free Prince, and obnoxious to no earthly Prince whatsoever, did not thereby yield her self subject to the Jurisdiction and command of any person. On the contrary, the *English* protested, That they did in no wise admit that Protestation, in prejudice to the right which the Kings of *England* have anciently challenged as superiour Lords of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. The day after, the Queen of *Scots* Delegates set forth at large the injurious dealing of *Morton*, *Murray*, *Marre*, *Glencarn*, *Humes*, and others against the Queen; and how they had compelled her, for fear of death, to resign her Crown; which therefore (they said) was of no force. *Murray* and his Confederates make answer, That they had done nothing, but by consent of the Peers in Parliament, and that in prosecuting of *Bothwell*, the Author of the Kings murther, whom the Queen protected; and as for her resignation, that it was voluntarily and freely done. All this the Queen of *Scots* Delegates answered and confuted, affirming in particular, That where there are one hundred Earls, Bishops and Barons, (more or less) that had voyces in the Parliament of *Scotland*, there were not in that tumultuous assembly they speak of, above four Earls, one Bishop, an Abbot or two, and six Barons; wherefore their earnest Request was, that the Queen of *England* would be sensible of these indignities offered her; and take some course for a speedy redress.

The Queen of *Scots* requires to have the *French* & *Spanish* Ambassadors to be added to the Commissioners.

After this, some new Commissiones from Queen *Elizabeth* were added to the former, to some of whom the Queen of *Scots* took exception; unless the *French* and *Spanish* Embassadors might be taken in, and her self admitted into the presence of the Queen and them, publickly to defend her own innocency; and that *Murray* might be detained and cited, whom she affirmed, she was able to prove to have been the chief Plotter of the murther of her Husband *Darley*. This was held to be a just demand by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundell*, *Sussex*, *Leicester*, and the Lord *Clinton*. But Queen *Elizabeth* waxing somewhat angry, openly said, that the Queen of *Scots* should never want an Advocate as long as *Norfolk* lived: It was seen here, which is said, that the heart of the King is inscrutable; for how Queen *Elizabeth* stood affected in this case of the Queen of *Scots*, no man could well discern; she detested the insolency of her Subjects in deposing her, and yet gave no assistance to restore her.

Murray propounds the Marriage of the Qu. of *Scots* to the Duke of *Norfolk*.

After long agitation of this business, and nothing concluded, *Murray* a little before his return into *Scotland*, slily propounded the marriage of the Queen of *Scots* to the Duke of *Norfolk*; which he with a modest answer rejected as a thing full of danger. But withal, *Murray* the more to alienate Queen *Elizabeths* mind from the Queen of *Scots*, gave out, that she had passed away to the Duke of *Andyn* her Right to the Crown of *England*, and that the transaction was confirmed at *Rome*; he shewed Letters also which the Queen of *Scots* had written to some Friends whom she trusted; wherein she accused the Queen for not dealing with her according to promise, and boasting of succours she expected from some others. This last clause something troubled Queen *Elizabeth*, neither could she conjecture from whence any such succour should come; seeing both *France* with the Civil Wars, and the King of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries* had enough to do at home. But at last it brake out, that one *Robert Ridolph* a *Florentine*, under the habit of a Merchant in *London*, was suborned by Pope *Pius* the Fifth, to make a secret commotion of the Papists in *Engl.* against the Queen, which he performed indeed with a deal of secrecy, and much cunning; whereupon the Queen of *Scots* was removed from *Bolton* (a Castle of the Lord *Scroops*) where all the neighbouring people were Papists, to *Tutbury* more toward the heart of the Country, under the Custody of *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

Ridolph a *Florentine*, incites the Papists in the behalf of the Qu. of *Scots*.

The Protestants persecuted in *France* by the *Guises*, fly into *England*.

About this time the *Guises* in *France*, and the Duke *D'Alva* in the *Low-Countries* began to endeavor the utter extirpation of the Protestant Religion. In *France*, the Ministers of the Gospel are commanded within a limited time to depart the Kingdom; when Queen *Elizabeth* forgetting the fickleness of the Protestants at *Newhaven*, once again takes upon her their protection, supplies them with two hundred thousand Crowns in money, besides Munition in abundance, and with all humanity receives the *French* that fled into *England*; the rather, for that they made solemn protestation, they took not up Arms against their Prince, but only stood upon their own defence. In the *Low-Countries* likewise, the Duke *D'Alva* breathing nothing but slaughter and blood, made the *Dutch* come flocking into *England*, as into a Sanctuary, where with all courtesie they were received.

How the War in the *Low-Countries* first began.

And here it will be fit to shew how the War in the *Low-Countries* began first, which was thus: At which time the King of *Spain* brought in the *Spanish* Inquisition, a small number of the meaner sort of people, in tumultuous manner, cast the Images out of Churches, and brake them in pieces: and although that tumult was soon quieted, yet the King of *Spain* taking advantage at the rash-

rashness of a few, to charge the whole nation with Rebellion, sent amongst them *Ferdinando Alvarez*, Duke *D' Alva*, a bloody and fierce man, who (contrary to the Ordinances and Customs of the Country) took away all authority from the ordinary Courts of Justice; erected new Consistories; condemned and put to death the Peers, without tryal by their lawful Judges; placed Garrisons of *Spaniards* throughout all their Cities and Villages, and by force exacted the 20th part of the Fruits of the Earth, and the tenth of the moveables upon every Alienation. At that time a mighty mass of money borrowed from the *Genowayes*, and other *Italian* Merchants was sent out of *Spain* into the *Low-Countries*, there to be imployed to interest, which being brought by Shipping, was pursued by the *French*; and forced to fly for succour into the Havens of *England*, whom the Qu. commanded to be succour'd; as conceiving the money to be the King of *Spains*, as it was given out: But at the same time, Cardinal *Odette* coming out of *France* into *England*, and giving notice to the Queen, that the money was not the King of *Spains*, but belonged to certain Merchants of *Genoua*, from whence the Duke *D' Alva* had taken it against their will, with a purpose to imploy it to the ruine of the Protestants; and information also being given her by one that had a property in the money that it was so; she determined to put in secur ty, & to borrow the money of the Merchants her self, which is an usual thing with Princes, when Goods are taken in their Ports; and the King of *Spain* himself had lately done the like. The Duke *D' Alva* being informed of this dealing of the Queens, by *Gerard de Spese*, the King of *Spains* Embassador in *England*, seizeth presently upon all the Goods of the *English* in the *Low-Countries*, and kept the men prisoners; The Queen did the like with the *Dutch* Merchants in *England*; Letters of Mart were granted on both sides, and this grew to such a quarrel between the Nations, that being nourished with other differences afterward, it brought forth in Eighty Eight that *Spanish* Invasion, which is, and will be memorable in all future Ages.

Letters of Mart granted against *Spain*.

1569. Upon occasion of this money detained, certain Peers of *England*, amongst whom were the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquess of *Winchester*, the Earls of *Arundell*, *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Leicester*, and others, accused Sir *William Cecill*, for sending away money into *France*, making this their colour, but done indeed out of envying his great favour with the Queen, and suspecting him to incline to the House of *Suffolk* in the matter of succession. Hereupon they consult secretly how to get him impriſon'd; and *Throgmorton* (who envied him as much as they) suggesting that if he were once clapp'd up, they might soon find out a way to crush him; But the Queen (by what means it is uncertain) coming to have notice hereof, gave a check to their purpose, and protected *Cecill* against their combined practices.

Sir *William Cecill* accused by the Duke of *Norfolk* & others, is protected by the Queen.

The Earl *Murray* being returned into *Scotland*, makes the Lords believe that he desires a meeting at *Edenburgh*, to consult about restoring the Queen to her Liberty, but as *Hamilton* Duke of *Chasteau* Herald (appointed Vicegerent of the Kingdom by the Queen) and the Lord *Heris* were coming thither, he circumvented them, and before any of the rest came, cast them into Prison; and forthwith in an open War oppresseth all her Favoures. It may be thought, the Earl *Murray* could have been content the Queen should have been set at libertty; but that he knew, her liberty could not be without his servitude; and Queen *Elizabeth* perhaps would willingly have had her restored to her Kingdom, but that she doubted, such restoring would indanger her own security: And thus, while they regarded their own ends in the first place, and hers but in the second, she had the fortune to be pitied, but not the happiness to be relieved; and all she could do her self, was but to tie the knot of her bonds the faster; if she could have sate still, they would perhaps have loosened of themselves; but now, the more she stirred, the more she was intangled.

And now the Destiny of the Duke of *Norfolk* began to work: It was in every ones mouth, that the Duke should marry the Queen of *Scots*; and it is true, there had been motions made; but the matter not so forward, as the Voice of the People, which commonly presageth what will follow. It had been motion'd to the Duke at *York*, by the Bishop of *Rosse*; and afterward (in pretence at least) by *Murray* himself at *Hampton-Court*; but the Duke, before he would resolve in the matter, deliberated with the Earl of *Arundell*, *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Sussex*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, and *Leicester* himself, who all judged it fit, he should acquaint the Queen with it first, and then leave the matter to her liking. Within a few days, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* meeting the Duke in the Palace at *Westminster*, advised him, to move the Earl of *Leicester* himself to embrace the Match, seeing he had formerly sued for it: but if he refused it, then at least to take him along with him, for that himself alone would hardly be able to procure the Queens consent. A day or two after, the Earl of *Leicester* propounded the matter to the Duke, and then communicateth it to the Earls of *Arundell* and *Pembroke*, who thereupon, together with *Throgmorton*, wrote Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, commending the Duke of *Norfolk* to her for a Husband; the Duke himsef likewise writeth to her, tendring his singular love and respect unto her. Upon this, Articles are drawn, written with *Leicesters* own hand, & sent to the Queen of *Scots*; to which if she consented, they then promised to procure, that Queen *Elizabeth* should give her assent, and that forthwith she should be re-invested in her Kingdom, and the Succession of *England* should be confirmed upon her. We may easily believe, the Queen of *Scots* was not hardly drawn to give consent to her own desire; but in the mean time, the Duke had imparted to the Lord *Lumley* the whole proceeding, and had much ado to get the Earl of *Leicesters* consent that he might advise of it with some other of his Friends; yet a little after, he opened the matter to *Cecill* also.

The Duke of *Norfolks* first proceeding about the Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*.

Articles between them are drawn by *Leicester*.

The rumour of this Marriage was soon come to the Queens Ears; which the Duke understanding, he dealt earnestly with the Earl of *Leicester*, to have the matter propounded to the Queen out of hand. *Leicester* makes delays, and pretends causes to put it off; which *Cecill* seeing, he adviseth the Duke to go and acquaint the

Leicester promiseth to acquaint Qu *Eliz.* with the matter, but delays.

the Queen with it himſelf. This Counſel *Leiceſter* oppoſed, promiſing to open it to the Queen as ſhe went in Progreſs. At length, at *Farnham*, the Duke ſtanding by as the Queen ſate at Table, ſhe gave him a tart Admonition, That he were beſt take heed upon what Pillow he reſted his Head. After this, at *Titchfield*, *Leiceſter* fell ſick, or at leaſt counterfeited; to whom the Queen coming, and bidding him be of good chear, he with ſighs and tears craved pardon for his fault, and unfolded to her the whole ſtory from the very beginning. Whereupon, the Queen called the Duke into the Gallery, reproving him ſharply, for going about the Marriage, without acquainting her, and commanding him, upon his Allegiance, to deſiſt. The Duke made her a free and hearty promiſe of obedience, and ſpared not to ſay (as if he little regarded the Queen of *Scots*) that his Revenues in *England* were not much leſs than hers in *Scotland*; and that when he was at his Houſe in *Norwich*, he thought himſelf in a ſort not inferior to ſome Kings; but notwithſtanding, finding the Queens anger by her countenance, and perceiving *Leiceſter* to be in a manner quite alienated, and moſt of the Nobility alſo, as ſcarcely ſaluting him when they met him; he grew extreamly dejected, and prepared preſently to leave the Court, meaning to ſtay at *Norwich*, till by his friends interceſſion, and his own ſubmiſſive Letters, the Queens heart might be mollified towards him: Mean while, the Court was ſuſpiciouſly fearful, leſt he ſhould raiſe Rebellion, and (they ſay) it was concluded, that if he did ſo, the Queen of *Scots* ſhould preſently be made away. And now the Duke, who held ſecret commerce by Letters with the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, *Throgmorton* and *Leiceſter* (for they were ſent to and fro in bottles) being examined touching the marriage of the Queen of *Scots*, and certain ſecret conferences with the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, confeſſed moſt of the Objections, and was thereupon committed to the Tower, under the cuſtody of Sir *Henry Neville*; within two days after the Biſhop of *Roſſe* likewiſe is examined, and together with the Florentine *Robert Ridolph* is delivered to the cuſtody of Sir *Francis Walſingham*; the Earl of *Pembroke* is confined to his houſe, and examined privately; but his confeſſion was not committed to writing: It being his Requeſt, becauſe he could not write himſelf. At this time, the rumour of Inſurrection in the North begun in Autumn before, grew very ſtrong, by reaſon of ſome frequent meetings of the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmerland*, and others, who thereupon being upon their Allegiance, ſent for to repair preſently to the Queen, make delays (for they ſtayed waiting for ſupplies, both from the *Scots*, and from the Duke D' *Alva*) when the Earl of *Northumberland* doubting what to do, was frighted of purpoſe by his ſervants, telling him, that men in Arms were near at hand to apprehend him; Who thereupon in a tempeſtuous night, riſeth out of his Bed, and in great fear gets into his Park at *Topcliffe*, and the night following to *Branſpith*, to the Earl of *Weſtmerlands* Houſe, where a great many were met that were acquainted with the Enterpriſe: Here they brake forth in an open Rebellion, being preſſed forward by one *Nicholas Morton* a *Romiſh* Prieſt, ſent by the Pope to pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* an Heretick; and therefore to have utterly loſt all Right of Soveraignty: By and by they ſend forth a Writing, wherein they declare that they had taken Arms for no other end, but that the Religion of their fore-Fathers might be reſtored, wicked Counſellors removed from the Queen, the Duke of *Norfolk* and others of the loyal Nobility relieved, who were now in diſgrace; but towards the Queen, profeſſing themſelves moſt dutiful Subjects; withal they ſend Letters to the Papiſts all the Kingdom over, requiring them to come to their aſſiſtance; but they were ſo far from joyning with them, that many ſent both the Letters and the Bearers of them to the Queen, and afforded their aids and purſes againſt them, no leſs then the beſt Proteſtants; even the Duke of *Norfolk* himſelf was not backward in it.

But coming at laſt to her knowledge, ſhe commands the Duke upon his Allegiance to deſiſt, which he promiſeth.

He is committed to the *Tower*.

The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland* raiſe Arms in the *North*, and why.

Theſe Rebels go firſt to *Durham*, where they tear in pieces all the Bibles and Books of Common Prayer they could find in Churches of the *Engliſh* Tongue: when they had been twelve days in Rebellion, they numbred their Army, and could not reckon above ſix hundred Horſe, and four thouſand Foot: whereupon being certainly informed, that the Earl of *Suſſex* with ſeven thouſand, and the Earl of *Warwick* with twelve, were ſetting out againſt them, they betook themſelves to *Rabie*, the chief Houſe of the Earl of *Weſtmerland*; going from thence, they beſieged *Bernards* Caſtle, which for lack of Proviſion, was yielded to them. At which time being proclaimed Traytors, and hearing a-freſh of the great Forces that were coming againſt them, the two Earls with a ſmall Company get preſently into *Scotland*, hard by where the Earl of *Northumberland* hid himſelf at *Harelow* in a poor Cottage, amongſt the *Grayhams* (famous Robbers) who afterwards betrayed him to the Earl of *Murray*: *Weſtmerland* made a ſhift to get into the *Low-Countries*, where he had a ſlender Penſion from the King of *Spain*, & there lived even to old age. Of the reſt, for terror and examples ſake, there were hanged at *Durham* threeſcore and ſix of the chief; amongſt whom, *Plomtree* a noted Prieſt. At *York* were executed, *Simon Digby*, *John Fulthorp*, *Thomas Biſhop*, *Robert Penyman*; and at *London* a few months after, *Chriſtopher* and *Thomas*; and ſome other in other places. After this, the Heads of the Rebels being convict of High-Treaſon, were proſcribed; namely *Charles* Earl of *Weſtmerland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Anne* Counteſs of *Northumberland*, *Edward Dacres* of *Morton*, *John Nevill* of *Leverſege*, *John Swinborn*, *Thomas Markenfield*, *Egremond Ratcliff*, Brother to the Earl of *Suſſex*, *Chriſtopher Nevill*, *Richard Norton*, *Chriſtopher Marmaduke*, *Robert* and *Michael Tempeſt*, *George Stafford*, and forty others of good account. Out of the aſhes of this Rebellion, a new fire was kindled at *Naworth* in *Cumberland* by *Leonard Dacres*, ſecond Son to the Lord *Dacres* of *Gyſland*; He was a Party with the Earls in their Rebellion; but they breaking forth ſooner than he expected, & he at that time being at the Court, and there admitted to kiſs the Queens hand, tendred his ſervice to go againſt them; and to that purpoſe, was ſent home; but in his Journey (branding himſelf with a double diſloyalty) he conſulted with the Rebels, and encouraged

But purſued by the Queens Army, they fly.

Weſtmerland in the *Low-Countreys*, where he lived poorly to old age.

Northumberland was taken and proſcribed.

After this, *Leonard Dacres* raiſeth an Army, but is defeated, and flieth into the *Low-Countreys*.

encouraged them to go on; & by vertue of Letters of Credence from the Queen, he surprised the Castle of *Greystock*, and other Houses of the *Dacres*, and gathered together an Army of three thousand men: But being encountred by the Baron of *Hunsdon*, after a great fight, wherein, though he were crook-backt, he behaved himself valiantly, he was put to flight, and fled into *Scotland*, from whence soon after he passed over to the *Low-Countries*, and in great misery and poverty died at *Louvayn*.

Qu. *Eliz.* assisteth the Protestants in *France*.

But though the Queen were thus intangled with Rebellions at home, yet she was not careless of the afflicted Protestants in *France*: for she stirred up the Protestant Princes to defend the common Cause; supplied them with money, taking in pawn the Queen of *Navarr*'s Jewels; and gave leave to *Hen. Champernon* to lead into *France* a Troop of a hundred Horse, Gentlemen all, and Voluntaries; amongst whom were *Philip Buttsted*, *Francis Barkley*, and *Walter Raleigh*, a very young man, who now began to look into the World. But as the Queen of *England* assisted the *French*, so in revenge thereof, the King of *France* meant to assist the *Scots*, but that he was taken away by death.

There was at that time a Rebellion in *Ireland* also, raised by *Edmund* and *Peter*, Brothers to *Boteler* Earl of *Ormond*, but after many outrages by them committed, the Earl of *Ormond* first by perswasions, obtained of them to submit themselves; and when notwithstanding they were committed to prison, he then obtained of the Queen they should not be called to the Bar, being exceedingly grieved that any of his Blood should be attainted of Rebellion. The rest of the Rebels were pursued by Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, and soon dispersed.

The Earl of *Murray* Regent of *Scotland*, is murdered riding in the street.

And now the Earl of *Murray*, Regent of *Scotland*, when he had brought all things to his hearts desire, and thought himself secure, at *Lithqua*, riding along the Streets, was shot into the belly with a Bullet, beneath the Navil, and there fell down dead. The Actor was a *Hamilton*, who did it upon a private revenge, for that *Murray* had forced him to part with a piece of Land which he had by his Wife; who thereupon falling Lunatick, he in a great rage committed this slaughter.

After *Murray*'s death, the Country being without a Regent, was cause of many disorders. *Thomas Carre* and *Walter Scot*, two principal men amongst the *Scottish* Borders, and devoted to the Queen of *Scots*, made Inrodes into *England*, wasting all places with Fire and Sword, till by Forces sent out of *England*, under the Command of the Earl of *Sussex*, and the Lord *Hunsdon*, they were defeated: In whose pursuit, three hundred Villages were fired, and above fifty Holds were overturned. For which service the Earl made many Knights, as Sir *William Drury*, Sir *Thomas Mannors*, Sir *George Carie*, Sir *Robert Constable*, and others, and then returned. And now to prevent further disorders, the Lords of *Scotland* being ready to assemble about the election of a new Regent, they asked Counsel of Queen *Elizabeth* in the matter; but she making answer she would not meddle in it, because she would not be thought to work any thing prejudicial to the Queen of *Scots*, whose case was not yet tried, they created *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* Regent; which Queen *Elizabeth* did the better like, as conceiving he could not choose out of natural affection, but have a special care of the young King, being his Grand-child.

Matthew Earl of *Lenox* is made Regent in his place.

Many Princes intreat Qu. *Eliz.* to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty; and her Answer.

But while Qu. *Elizabeth* favoured the Kings Party in *Scotland*, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and the Earl of *Argyle*, (the Queen of *Scots* Lieutenants) imploy the Lord *Seton* to the Duke D' *Alva*, requiring him for many great Reasons, to vindicate the Queen of *Scots* liberty, alledging how acceptable a Work it would be to all Christian Princes, and to the whole Catholick Church: Whereunto the Duke made Answer, They should find him ready to the uttermost of his power to satisfie their request. At which time also the *French* King dealt earnestly with Queen *Elizabeth* to the same purpose; and the *Spanish* Embassadour in his Masters name urged it no less extreamly: but Queen *Elizabeth* assaulted with all these Importunities, made answer, That as she would omit nothing that might serve for the Reconciling of the Queen of *Scots* and her Subjects, so she must have leave to provide for her own and her Subjects safety; a thing which Nature, Reason, and her own Honour required at her hands. And now when these Princes prevailed not with Queen *Elizabeth* to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty, out comes Pope *Pius Quintus* with his Bull Declaratory, which he caused to be fastned in the night-time upon the Gate of the Bishop of *London*'s Palace, wherein all her Subjects are absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, or any other duty; and all that obey her, accursed with *Anathema*. He that fastned up the Bull was one *John Felton*, who never fled for the matter, but as affecting Martyrdom, suffered himself to be apprehended, confessed and justified the Fact, and thereupon arraigned, was condemned and hanged near the place were he had fastned the Writing.

A Bull of *Pius Quintus* against Queen *Elizabeth*, for detaining the Queen of *Scots*. *Felton* that brought the Bull, hanged.

The same day that *Felton* was arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolk* seeming now extream penitent for his fault, and utterly to abhor the Marriage, was delivered out of the Tower, and suffered to go to his own House, but yet to be in the custody of Sir *Henry Nevill* still. Indeed *Cecill* being a good Friend to the Duke, had told the Queen, That the law of 25 of *Edward* the Third could not take hold upon him: and now being in a kind of liberty, *Cecill* deals earnestly with him to marry speedily some other, thereby to take away all suspicion in that behalfs yet some again thought that this liberty of the Dukes was granted him on purpose to bring him into greater danger.

The Duke of *Norfolk* upon his pertinence is delivered out of the *Tower*, and *Cecil*'s counsel to him.

At this time died *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Grand-child of an Earl of *Pembroke*, yet the Son but of an Esquire, and Grandfather to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Montgomery* now living, who lieth buried in *Pauls* under a fair Monument of Marble, with an Inscription, testifying his great deservings while he lived.

Many Conspiracies to set the Qu. of *Scots* at liberty.

Many Conspiracies were at this time to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty; amongst others, there Conspired *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, younger Sons of the Earl of *Derby*, with others; but the matter discovered, they were soon suppressed, and some of them executed. And now the

Lords

Lords of the Queen of *Scots* Party continuing to protect the *Engliſh* Rebels, the Earl of *Suſſex*, once again, accompanied with the Lord *Scroop*, entreth *Scotland*, burneth the Villages all along the Valley of *Anandale*, and compelleth the Duke of *Caſtle-Herald*, and the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, under a Writing ſigned with their own Hands and Seals, to forſake the *Engliſh* Rebels. Whereupon the Earl of *Suſſex* returning home, made theſe Knights, *Edward Haſtings*, *Francis Ruſſel*, *Valentine Brown*, *William Hilton*, *Robert Stapleton*, *Henry Carwen*, and *Simon Muſgrave*.

Queen *Elizabeths* mind being now in great ſuſpenſion, by reaſon of that Bull from *Rome*, and the late conſpiracy in *Norfolk*, ſent Sir *William Cecil* and Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queen of *Scots*, who was then at *Chatteſworth* in *Derbyſhire*, to conſult with her by what means the breach in *Scotland* might beſt be made up, ſhe re-inveſted in her former dignity, and her Son & Queen *Elizabeth* might be ſecured. The Queen of *Scots* did little deplore her own afflicted condition, putting her ſelf wholly upon the Queens clemency: when the Commiſſioners made unto her certain Propoſitions of Agreement: Firſt, That the Treaty of *Edenburgh* ſhould be confirmed: Then, that ſhe ſhould renounce her Right and Title to *England*, during Queen *Elizabeths* life, or any Children of her Body lawfully begotten: Then, that ſhe ſhould ſend her Son for a Hoſtage into *England*, with other ſix Hoſtages, ſuch as the Queen ſhould nominate: Then, that the Caſtles of *Humes* and *Eaſt-caſtle* ſhould be held by the *Engliſh* for three years: with ſome other. To which Propoſitions the Queen of *Scots* for the preſent gave a provident anſwer; but referred the fuller Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Roſs*, her Ambaſſadour in *England*, and ſome other Delegates; who afterwards allowing ſome of the Propoſitions, and not allowing others; the Treaty came to nothing, but the matter reſted in the ſtate it was before.

Propoſitions made to the Qu. of Scots, for ſetting her at liberty.

But came to nothing.

At this time *Philip* King of *Spain* had contracted a Marriage with *Anne* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, his own Neece by his Siſter; who was now ſeeting Sail from *Zealand*, towards *Spain*, when Queen *Elizabeth*, to teſtifie her love and reſpect to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſent Sir *Charles Howard* with the Navy-Royal, to conduct her through the *Britiſh* Sea.

1570.

And now was the twelfth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign finiſhed; which certain Wizards had made Papiſts believe ſhould be her laſt: but contrary, as if it were but her firſt, a new Cuſtom began, of celebrating the ſeventeenth day of *November* (the Anniverſary day of her Reign) with ringing of Bells, Tiltings and Bonfires: which Cuſtom, as it now began, ſo it was never given over as long as ſhe lived, and is not yet forborn ſo long after her death.

The 17th day of November begun to be celebrated in honour of Qu. Elizabeth's coming to the Crown.

At this time in *Ireland*, *Connagher O Brien*, Earl of *Thowmond*, not brooking the ſevere Government of *Edward Fitton*, Preſident of *Connaght*, entred into conſultation with ſome few, to raiſe a new Rebellion; which being at the point ready to break forth, was ſtrangely diſcovered: for the day before they meant to take up Arms, *Fitton* knowing not at all of the matter, ſent the Earl word in a friendly manner, that the next day he and a few friends with him would be his Gueſts. The Earl convinced by his own Conſcience, imagined that his Intendments were revealed; that *Fitton* would come as an Enemy, rather than a Gueſt. Out of which fear, he preſently ſet ſail into *France*; where repenting him ſeriouſly of his fault, he confeſſed the whole buſineſs to *Norris* the Queens Embaſſador in *France*; and by his interceſſion, was afterward pardoned and reſtored.

The Ea. of Thowmond intending Rebellion, is ſtrangely diſcovered. A guilty Conſcience betrays it ſelf.

In *January*, the thirteenth year of her Reign, Queen *Elizabeth* in Royal pomp entring the City of *London*, went to ſee the Burſe which Sir *Thomas Greſham* had lately built for the uſe of the Merchants; and with ſound of Trumpets, and the voice of a Herald, ſolemnly named it the *Royal Exchange*. A few dayes after, for his many great Services, ſhe made Sir *William Cecil* Baron *Burghley*.

1571.

Sir Will. Cecil is made Baron of Burghley.

There were now about the *Scottiſh* affairs, in the name of the King of *Scots*, the Earl of *Morton*, *Pernare* Abbot of *Dumfermelin*, and *James Mac-Gray*; whom when Queen *Elizabeth* required to ſhew more clearly, for what cauſes they had depoſed the Queen; they exhibited a long and tedious Commentary; wherein, with a certain inſolent liberty, they endeavoured to prove, by the ancient Right of the Kingdom of *Scotl.* that the people of *Scotland* were above the King: and urged *Calvins* Authority alſo, that Popular Magiſtrates are conſtituted for the moderation of the licentiouſneſs of Princes: and that it is lawful for them, both to impriſon Kings, and upon juſt cauſes, to depoſe them. This Writing the Queen could not read without indignation; but to the Delegates, ſhe gave this Anſwer; She ſaw no juſt cauſe yet, why they ſhould handle the Queen in ſuch manner; and therefore willed them to think upon ſome courſe out of hand, how to allay the diſſentions in *Scotland*. Hereupon in Sir *Nicholas Bacons* houſe, Keeper of the Great-Seal, a Propoſition was made to the Biſhop of *Roſs*, the Biſhop of *Galloway*, and Baron *Levingſton*, Delegates for the Queen of *Scots*, that for the ſecurity of the Kingdom, and the Queen of *England*, it were requiſite, that before the Queen of *Scots* ſhould be ſet at liberty, the Duke of *Caſtle-Herald*, the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, the Lords *Humes*, *Herie*, and another of the Barons ſhould be delivered for Hoſtages, and the Caſtles of *Dumbriton* and *Humes*, yielded up into the hands of the *Engliſh* for three years. But they made anſwer, that to yield up great Perſonages, and ſuch Fortifications as were demanded, were nothing elſe, but to leave the miſerable Queen utterly deſtitute of faithful friends, and naked of all places fit for guard and defence: yet they offered, to give two Earls and two Barons for Hoſtages, till two years were expired: which not being accepted, they ſtraightway gathered, and ſpoke it openly; That now they plainly perceived the *Engliſh* meant to keep the Queen of *Scots* perpetually priſoner, and likewiſe to break off the Treaty; ſeeing they rigorouſly demanded ſuch ſecurity as *Scotland* was not able to make good. And now Queen *Elizabeth* ſeeing that nothing could be done for her own, the King and Queen of *Scots* ſafety, unleſs both Factions in *Scotland* conſented; ſhe held it fit

Qu. Eliz. requireth the Scotiſh Lords to ſhew for what cauſe they had depoſed their Qu. and what was done in it.

that the Lords of *Scotland* should themselves appoint some chosen persons to compound the matter.

While matters in *England* proceeded in this sort, the Queens Party in *Scotland* was hardly used. *Dumbriton Fryth*, the strongest Castle in *Scotland* was taken: and *J. Hamilton* Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, the Duke of *Castle-Heralds* Brother, as an accessary to the murther of *Darley*, was hanged without being arraigned according to Law. In *England*, the Queen of *Scots* had all her Servants taken from her, except ten only, and a Priest to say Mass: with which indignities the Queen of *Scots* provoked, causeth a large Commentary of her Counsels, with certain love-Letters to the Duke of *Norfolk*, to be carried to the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by *Ridolphus*; wch being brought first to the Duke, *Higford* (one that waited on the Duke in his Bed-chamber) had copied out: but being commanded to burn them, he hid them under a mat in the Dukes Bed-chamber; and that (it should seem) purposely. *Ridolphus* to draw on the Duke to be Head of the discontented Party in *England*, aggravated to him the wrongs he had suffered: how against all Law he had been kept a long time in Prison, and now to his great disgrace was not summoned to the Parliament: he exhibited to him a Catalogue of such of the Nobility, who had vowed to assist him: he shewed how the Pope (so the Catholick Religion might be promoted) would himself undergo all the charge of the War, & had already laid down an hundred thousand Crowns; whereof himself had distributed twelve thousand among the *English* that were fled: he promised, that the K. of *Spain* would send four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot to his Assistance; to these Reasons the Bishop of *Ross* added, that it was an easie matter for him to surprise the Queen; whom when he had in hands, he might set the Q. of *Scots* at liberty and might easily obtain of Queen *Elizabeth*, a toleration of Religion. The former Reasons took somewhat with the Duke, but this point of surprising the Queen, he abhorred, as an impious Fact, and therefore rejected as pernicious and dangerous.

Ridolphus incited the Duke of *Norfolk* to take Arms against Q. *Eliz.* & by what Reasons.

In *France*, a little before this, was the Marriage solemnized between *Charles* the Ninth King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*; in gratulation whereof, Queen *Elizabeth* sent into *France*, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurst*, who with great magnificence was received, and perhaps the more, in regard of a motion now intended to be made: for the Lord *Buckhurst* having in his retinue, one *Guydo Cavalcantius*, a Noble man of *Florence*; the Queen-Mother of *France*, as being a *Florentine* her self, had often conference with him, when she would many times say, What a happiness it would be to both the Kingdoms, if a Match were made between the Queen of *England*, & her Son *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*; and at last desired him to commend the motion to the Queen of *England*, both from her, and from her Son the King of *France*, as a thing they both exceedingly desired. The Lord *Buckhurst* returned, having for a present from the King of *France* a Chain weighing a thousand *French Crowns*; and *Cavalcantius* at his return made the motion to the Queen, who seemed not unwilling to harken to it; for by this Match, there should be added to the Kingdom of *England* the wealthy Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Burbon*, *Averne*, and in possibility, the Kingdom of *France* it self. Hereupon a Treaty was held, in which the *French* propounded three Articles, one concerning the Coronation of the Duke; another, concerning the Joynt Administration of the Kingdom; a third, concerning a Toleration of his Religion: to which it was answered, That the two first Articles might in some sort be composed, but the third, scarce possibly; for though a contrary Religion might be tolerated between Subjects of the same Kingdom; yet between a wife and her Husband it seemed very incongruous and inconvenient: Yet the matter at last came to this conclusion, That if the Duke would afford his presence with the Queen at Divine Service, and not refuse to hear and learn the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, he should not be compelled to use the *English* Rites, but at his pleasure use the *Roman*; not being expressly against the Word of God. But upon these *Punctilios* they could not accord: and so the Treaty, after it had continued almost a year, brake utterly off. It was indeed generally thought, that the Match was never really intended on either side, but that they both pretended it, only for their own ends: for the Earl of *Leicester* (who knew more of the Queens mind than any man) wrote at this time to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, the Queens Embassador in *France*, that he found the Queens inclination so cold in the matter, that though the point of Religion were fully accorded; yet she would find one point or other to break it off.

A motion of a Match between Qu. *Eliz.* and the D. of *Anjou*.

The Articles of the Match.

But could not be agreed; and so the Treaty brake utterly off.

At this time the Continuance of the Duke of *Norfolks* affection towards the Queen of *Scots*, came to be discovered by a Packet of Letters, sent by *Ridolphus* to the Bishop of *Rosse*, and by *Bayliffs* confession (who brought the Letters) being set upon the Rack: so as the Bishop of *Rosse* was confined to the Isle of *Ely*; *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, and *Rokton*, were cast into the Tower; and *Henry Howard*, who had an aspiring mind to be Archbishop, was committed to the Archbishop of *Canterburies* keeping. At the same time the Queen of *Scots* sent money to her Confederates in *Scotland*, which being by *Higford* delivered to one *Brown* to carry, and told it was Silver, when he found by the weight that it was Gold, he began to suspect something; and therefore went and delivered both the mony and Letters to the Lords of the Council. Upon this *Higford* being examined, confessed the whole matter; and withal gave notice of that Commentary also of the Queen of *Scots*, which is mentioned before; two daies after, the Duke himself being examined, and knowing nothing what his Servants had confessed, denyed every particular; and thereupon was brought again to the Tower, by *Ralph Sadler Thomas Smith*, *Henry Nevil*, and Doctor *Wilson*: And after him *Bannester*, who was the Dukes Counsel at Law: The Earls of *Arundell* and *Southampton*; the Lord *Lumly*, the Lord *Cobham*, *Henry Percy*, *Lowder*, *Powel*, *Goodyer*, and others, are committed to Prison, who upon hope of Pardon, confessed all they knew concerning the matter: when these things & especially the Commentary, which the Duke thought had been burnt were shewed

The Duke of *Norfolks* affection to the Qu. of *Scots*, is discovered to continue; and by what means.

He is committed again to the Tower.

shewed him, he then cryed out, I am betrayed by my own Servants; not having learned to be distrustful, which is the very sinew of Wisdome. And then with all submission, he besought the Lords to mediate for him to the Queen; towards whom, he protested he never had the least thought of doing any hurt.

The Civilians deliver their opinions what may be done with an Ambassadour, if he prove a Practicer against the State.

And now seeing it appeared, that the Bishop of *Rosse* had been the whole contriver of the business, it was deliberated what to do to him, because he was an Ambassador. Hereupon divers Civilians are called; as *David Lewis*, *Valentine Dale*, *William Drury*, *William Aubrey*, and *Henry Jones*; of whom these questions were asked:

First, *Whether an Ambassadour who raiseth Rebellion against the Prince to whom he is an Ambassador, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambassador, and is not liable to punishment?*

They answered, *That such an Ambassador hath forfeited the Priviledges of an Ambassador, and is liable to punishment.*

Secondly, *Whether the Minister or Proctor of a Prince, who is deposed by publick Authority, and in whose room another is Inaugurated, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambassador?*

They answered, *That if such a Prince be lawfully deposed, his Proctor cannot challenge the Priviledges of an Ambassadour, forasmuch as none but absolute Princes, and such as have Right of Majesty, can appoint Ambassadours.*

Thirdly, *Whether a Prince who is come into another Princes Country, and held in Custody, may have his Proctor, and if he shall be held an Ambassador?*

They answered, *If such a Prince have not lost his Soveraignty, he may have his Proctor; but whether that Proctor shall be reputed as an Ambassador or no, this dependeth on the Authority of his Delegation.*

Fourthly, *Whether if a Prince gave warning to such a Proctor, and to his Prince who is under Custody that this Proctor shall not from henceforth be accounted for an Ambassador; whether that Proctor may by Law challenge the Priviledge of an Ambassadour.*

They answered, *A Prince may forbid an Ambassadour to enter into his Kingdom, and may command him to depart the Kingdom, if he contain not himself within his due limits; yet in the mean while he is to enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambassadour.*

What the Bishop of *Rosse* pleadeth for himself.

Upon these Answers, the Bishop of *Rosse* is warned by the Lords of the Council, That he shall no longer be esteemed an Ambassador, but be punished as his fault shall deserve. The Bishop alledged for himself, That he had not violated the Right of an Ambassadour *Vis Juris*, but *Via Facti* (to use his own words) and therefore advised them, not to use harder measure to him than was used to the *English* Ambassadours, *Throgmorton* in *France*, *Randol* and *Tamworth* in *Scotland*; who had raised Rebellions there, and were open Abettors of the same; and yet had no greater punishment, then to be gone at a time limited. When they began to urge him what the *English* had testified against him, he lovingly requested them to give no credit to it; forasmuch as by a received custom, which hath the force of a Law, the Testimony of an *English* man against a *Scot*, or of a *Scot* against an *English* man is not to be admitted: But after some altercations, the Bishop is led away to the Tower, and kept close Prisoner.

Matthew Earl of *Lenox* Regent of *Scotland* is murdered.

At this very season, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, Regent of *Scotland*, the Kings Grandfather, was by the adverse party set upon at unawares; who having yielded himself to *David Spense*, of *Wormester*, (that was then careful to defend him) together with him, was slain by *Bell* and *Caulder*; when with great Industry he had governed the Kingdom for his Grand-Child about fourteen months. In whose room, *John Ereskin* Earl of *Marre*, by common consent of the Kings Faction, was chosen Regent of *Scotland*; who being a man of a quiet disposition, through extream grief of the many troubles he sustained in the place, departed this life, when he had governed thirteen months.

In his place is set the Earl of *Marre*, who died within thirteen months.

And now a Parliament was held at *Westminster*; wherein, besides a Law for preventing of the treacherous endeavors of seditious Subjects, another Law was made, That if any one during the Queens life, by Books written or printed, shall expresly affirm, That any is, or ought to be the Heir or Successor of the Queen, (besides the natural Off-spring of her Body) or shall to that purpose publish, print, or disperse any Book or Schedules; he, and his favourers, shall for the first offence suffer a years Imprisonment, and the loss of one half of his Goods: and if they offend again, they shall be in a *Præmunire*. A Law also was made, by which to be reconciled to the See of *Rome*, was made Treason; and it was pronounced against the Queen of *Scots*, That if she offended again against the Laws of *England*, it might be lawful to question her, as the Wife of a Peer of the Kingdom of *England*. But here the Queen interposed her Authority, and would not suffer it to be enacted. About this time, in *May*, a solemn Tilting was performed at *Westminster*; where the Challengers were *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles Howard*, Sir *Henry Lee*, and *Christopher Hatton* Esquire, who all did very valiantly, but the Earl of *Oxford* best.

To be reconciled to the See of *Rome* made Treason.

John Story Dr. of the Laws, executed for Treason, and why.

Assoon as the Parliament was dissolved, a Consultation was held, Whether *John Story*, Doctor of the Laws, the Duke *D' Alva's* Searcher (who some time before, was by a wile brought into *England*) being an *English man* born; and having in *Brabant* consulted with a forain Prince about the invading of *England*, were to be held guilty of High-Treason? It was resolved affirmatively: Whereupon he his called to the Bar, and indicted of Treason; That he had consulted with one *Prestall* a Conjurer, to make away the Queen; That he cursed her daily, when he said Grace at Table: That he shewed a way to the Secretary of Duke *D' Alva*, how to invade *England*, &c. Where he affirming, that the Judges had no power to meddle with him, for that he be-

belonged not to the Queen of *England*, but was the King of *Spains* ſworn Subject; is nevertheleſs condemned by the Form of *Nihil dicit* (forasmuch as no man can renounce the Country wherein he was born, nor abjure his Prince at his own pleaſure) and finally executed after the manner of Traytors.

Ireland at this time was indifferent quiet; for *John Perrot* Preſident of *Munſter*, had brought *James Fitz Morris* to ſubmit himſelf, and crave pardon. *Sidney*, the Lord Deputy, returned into *England*, and Sir *William Fitz Williams*, who had married his Siſter, ſucceeded in his room.

1573. It was now the fifteenth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign; when *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, on the ſixteenth day of *January*, was brought to his Tryal at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where ſate as Commiſſioners, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* (made high Steward of *England* for that day) *Reneld Gray* Earl of *Kent*, *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Suſſex*, *Henry Haſtings* Earl of *Huntington*, *Francis Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford*, *Henry Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Edward Seymor* Earl of *Hertford*, *Ambroſe Dudly* Earl of *Warwick*, *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leiceſter*; *Walter Devereux* Viſcount of *Hereford*, *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Admiral; *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Chamberlain; *William Cecill* Lord *Burley*, Secretary; *Arthur* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, *James Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, *William* Lord *Sands*, *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*, *William* Lord *Borough*, *Lewis* Lord *Mordant*, *John Paulet* Lord *St. John* of *Baſing*, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Roger* Lord *North*, *Edmond Bruges* Lord *Chandois*, *Oliver* Lord *St. John* of *Bletſho*, *Thomas Sackvyle* Lord *Buckhurſt*, and *William Weſt* Lord *de la Ware*. After ſilence bidden, Sir *Owen Hopton*, Lieutenant of the Tower, was commanded to bring the Duke to the Bar; and then the Clark of the Crown ſaid, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, late of *Keningale*, in the County of *Norfolk*, Hold up thy hand; which done, the Clark with a loud Voice readeth the Crimes laid to his Charge: That in the eleventh year of the Queens Reign, he had trayterouſly conſulted to make her away, and to bring in foreign Forces for invading the Kingdom: Alſo that he dealt with the Queen of *Scots* concerning Marriage, contrary to his promiſe made to the Queen under his hand-writing: Alſo, that he relieved with money the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, that had ſtirred up Rebellion againſt the Queen: alſo, That in the 13 th year of the Queens Reign, he implored Auxiliary Forces of Pope *Pius* the Fifth, the Queens profeſſed Enemy, of the King of *Spain*, and the Duke *D' Alva*, for the freeing of the Queen of *Scots*, and reſtoring of the Popiſh Religion: And laſtly, that he ſent ſupply to the Lord *Heris*, and other the Queens Enemies in *Scotland*.

The Duke of *Norfolk* is brought to his Tryall, and condemned.

No Counſel to be allowed in caſe of Treaſon.

Theſe Indictments being read, the Clark demanded of the Duke, if he were guilty of theſe Crimes, or not? Here the Duke requeſted he might be allowed to have Counſel. But *Catiline* chief Juſtice made anſwer, That it was not lawful. Yet (ſaid the Duke) I have heard that *Humphry Stafford*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, in a Caſe of Treaſon, had one aſſigned to plead for him. To which *Dyer* chief Juſtice of the Common pleas, made anſwer, That *Stafford* had Counſel aſſigned him concerning the Right of Sanctuary from whence he was taken by force; but in the Indictment of Treaſon, he pleaded his own cauſe. After this, the D. yielded to be tryed by the Peers; firſt *Barham*, Serjeant at Law, then *Gerrard* the Queens Attorney, and laſtly, *Bromely*, the Queens Solicitor, enforced the Crimes objected againſt him: to all which, the Duke made colourable anſwers; but moſt of them being proved by ſufficient teſtimony, he asked upon occaſion, Whether the Subjects of another Prince, who is confederate and in league with the Queen, are to be accounted Enemies? to which *Catiline* anſwered, They were; and that the Queen of *England* might wage War with any Duke of *France*, and yet hold firm peace with the *French* King. When it grew towards night, the Lord High Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had any more to ſay for himſelf: who anſwer'd, I rely upon the equity of the Laws. After this, the Lords withdrawing a while, and then returning, the Lord *Steward* beginning at the lowermoſt, asked them, My Lord *de la Ware*, Is *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* guilty of theſe Crimes of High Treaſon, for which he is called in queſtion? he riſing up and laying his hand upon his breaſt anſwered, Guilty: in like manner they anſwered all. After this, the Lord *Steward* with tears in his eyes, pronounced ſentence in form as is uſed. A few days after were *Barnes* and *Mather* executed, who conſpired with one *Herle*, to make away certain of the Counſellors, and to free the Duke; but *Herle* revealed the buſineſs preſently, to whom *Barnes* (when he ſaw his Accuſer brought forth) ſmilingly ſaid, *Herle*, thou wert but one hour before me, elſe I had been in thy place for the Accuſer, and thou in my room to be hanged: At the ſame time with them was hanged alſo *Henry Rolf*, for counterfeiting the Queens hand. But though the D. was now condemned, yet the Queen was ſo tender of his caſe, that it was four months after before he was executed; at laſt, on the ſecond of *June*, at eight of the clock in the Morning he was brought to the Scaffold upon *Tower Hill*, and there beheaded.

The Duke is beheaded.

At this time, and upon this occaſion, a Parliament was Aſſembled, wherein amongſt other Laws, it was Enacted, That if any man ſhould go about to free any perſon impriſoned by the Queens Commandment, for Treaſon or ſuſpicion of Treaſon, and not yet arraigned, he ſhall loſe all his Goods for his life-time, and be impriſoned during the Queens pleaſure; if the ſaid perſon having been arraigned, the Reſcuer ſhall forfeit his life; if condemned, he ſhall be guilty of Rebellion.

Walter Devereux is created Earl of *Eſſex*, and by what right.

In the time of this Parliament, the Queen created *Walter Devereux* E. of *Eſſex*, being before but Viſcount *Hereford*; becauſe he was deſcended by his Great-grand-mother, from the *Bourchiers*, and made the Lord *Clinton* (who had large Revenues in *Lincoln-ſhire*) Earl of *Lincoln*; Alſo ſhe called forth *John Pawlet* of *Baſing*, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſters* Son, *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheyney*, and *Henry Norris*, for Barons by Summons.

The Lord *Clinton* is made Earl of *Lincoln*. *Hen. Compton*, *Henry Cheyney*, & *Henry Norris* are made Barons by Summons.

Within ten days after the Dukes death, *William* Lord *de la Ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Wilſon*, Doctor of the Laws, and *Thomas Bromley*

Qu. *Eliz.* sends the Lord *de la Ware* and others to the Qu. to charge her with many Crimes; & what she answer'd.

ley the Queens Solicitor, were sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to expostulate with her, That she had usurped the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of *England*, and had not renounced the same, according to the agreement of the Treaty at *Edenburgh*; That she had endeavoured the marriage of the Duke of *Norfolk*, without acquainting the Queen, and had used all forcible means to free him out of Prison, had raised the Rebellion in the North, had relieved the Rebels both in *Scotland* and in the *Low-Countries*; had implored Aids from the Pope, the King of *Spain*, & others; had conspired with certain of the *English*, to free her out of Prison, and declare her Queen of *England*: Lastly, That she had procured the Popes Bull against the Queen, and suffered herself to be publickly named the Queen of *England* in Foraign Countries: All which Accusations she either absolutely denyed, or else fairly extenuated: and though (as she said) she were a free Queen, and not subject to any Creature; yet she was contented, and requested, that she might make her personal answer at the next Parliament.

About this time, the King of *Spain* by his Embassadour here, complained to the Queen, that the Rebels of the *Netherlands* were harboured and entertained in *England*, contrary to the Articles of the League; whereupon the Queen set forth a severe Proclamation, That all the *Dutch*, who could any ways be suspected of Rebellion, should presently depart the Realm, which yet turned little to D' *Alva's* or the King of *Spain's* benefit: For hereupon, *Count Vander-Mark*, and other *Dutch* going out of *England*; surprised the *Brill* first, then *Flushing*, and afterwards drew other Towns to revolt, and in a short time excluded the Duke D' *Alva* in a manner from the Sea. And this errour, to suffer the Protestant Party to get possession of the Sea-Towns, hath been the cause they have been able to hold out, even all this long time, against the King of *Spain*. And now many Military men having little to do at home, got them into the *Netherlands*, some to Duke D' *Alva*; but the far greater number to the Prince of *Orange*: The first of whom was *Thomas Morgan*, who carried three hundred *English* to *Flushing*; then followed by his procurement nine Companies more under the conduct of *Humphry Gilbert*; and afterward it became the Nursery of all our *English* Souldiers.

How the *Dutch* got possession of their Sea-towns.

A League concluded between Qu. *Eliz.* and the K. of *France*.

At this time *Charles* the *French* King setting his mind wholly (at least seeming so) upon the *Low-Country* War, concluding a Peace, entred into a League with Queen *Elizabeth*; which was to remain firm, not only during their two lives, but between their Successors also, if the Successor signifie to the Survivor within a year, that he accepteth it, otherwise to be at liberty. It was likewise agreed, that aid by Sea or Land they should each of them afford to other upon occasion. And for ratification of this League, *Edward Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln* and Admiral of *England*, was sent into *France*, with whom went the Lords *Dacres*, *Rich*, *Talbot*, *Sands*, and others. The *French* King likewise sent the Duke of *Memorancy* and *Paul Foix* into *England*, with a great Train; that the Queen in presence of them, and the Embassador in Ordinary, might swear to the League, which she did at *Westminster* the seventeenth of *May*, in the year 1572. The day after she made *Memorancy* Knight of the Garter.

Great preparation for the marriage of *Henry* King of *Navarre* with the *French* K. Sister.

Memorancy whilst he tarried in *England*, made intercession in his Kings name, that what favour could be without danger, might be shewed to the Queen of *Scots*; and then made much ado again about the marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*; but being hopeless to make conclusion thereof, by reason of the diversity of Religion, he return'd into *France*; for now was great provision making ready for the marriage between *Henry* K. of *Navarre*, and the Lady *Margaret* the *French* Kings Sister; to which Solemnity, with notable dissimulation, the Queen of *Navarre*, & the chief of all the Protestants were alluted, being born in hand, that there should be a renovation of love, and a perpetual Peace established. The Earl of *Leicester* likewise and the Lord *Burleigh* were invited out of *England*, and out of *Germany*, the Sons of the Prince Elector Palatine, under colour of honour, but indeed that they might be intrapped, and they, and together with them the Protestant Religion, at one blow, if not clean cut off, yet receive a deadly wound: For the marriage being celebrated, there presently followed that cruel Massacre at *Paris*, and the terrible slaughter of the Protestants throughout all the Cities of *France*; but to set a shew of equity upon the Fact, Edicts and Proclamations were presently set forth, that the Protestants had plotted a wicked conspiracy against the King, the Queen-Mother, the Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, and the Princess of the Blood-Royal; and to keep the thing in memory, Coyn was presently stamped, upon one side whereof was the Kings Picture with this Inscription, *Virtus in Rebelles*, on the other side *Pietas excitavit justitiam*; But the King of *France*, notwithstanding all the shew he made of Piety, escaped not the Divine revenge; for before the year came about, he fell sick of a Bloody-Flux, and afterwards with long and grievous torments ended his life.

Great preparation for the marriage of *Henry* King of *Navarre* with the *French* K. Sister. At which Marriage was the cruel massacre of the Protestants at *Paris*, and throughout all the Cities of *France*.

The K. of *France* for this shedding of bloud, falls himself into a bloudy Flux, & in grievous torments ends his life.

A little before this, *Mota Fenell*, Embassador to the King of *France*, being in *England*, by vertue of an order from the Queen-Mother of *France*, propounded to Queen *Elizabeth* at *Kenel-worth* (two days before the Massacre in that Kingdom) the marriage of her youngest Son *Francis* Duke of *Alanson* (for the Queen-Mother had been told by some cunning-men, that all her Sons should be Kings, and she knew no way for it but this.) But Queen *Elizabeth*, by reason of the disparity of age, modestly excused her self, (for he was scarce seventeen years old, and she was now past eight and thirty) yet she promised to consider of it, and *Alanson* did not leave to prosecute the Suit.

A motion is now made to Qu. *Eliz.* to marry *Francis* D. of *Alanson*, and her Answer.

At this time, *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, who first rebelled, and afterwards fled into *Scotland*, was for a sum of money delivered by the Earl of *Morton* to the Lord *Hunsdon* Governour of *Berwick*; and a while after was beheaded at *York*. And now as these two great Personages the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Northumberland* were taken away by violent death; so three other great Personages were at this time taken away by a natural death: First, *William Paulet*, who from a private man came by degrees

Thomas Piercy E. of *Northumberland* is beheaded.

Will. Pawlet Marquess of *Winchester* dies, his great age, and numerous Issue.

degrees to be Marquess of *Winchester*: lived to the Age of within three years of a hundred, and could reckon a hundred and three of his Children, and his Childrens Issue, after he had held the place of Lord Treasurer of *England* above 20 years; in whose room succeeded Sir *William Cecill* Lord *Burleigh*: then died *Edmund* E. of *Derby*, famous as well for his Hospitality and good House-keeping, as for his skill in Chirurgery and Bone-setting: then died Sir *William Peter*, who being descended from an honest stock at *Exceter* in *Devonshire*, was Privy-Counsellor and Secreatry to King *Henry* the Eighth, King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, and Qu. *Elizabeth*: who planted himself in *Essex*, where he purchased great possessions; whose Son *John* was by King *James* made Baron of *Writtle* in that Country.

Some good acts of Qu. *Elizabeth.*

And now Queen *Elizabeth* having formerly borrowed money of her Subjects, she thankfully repaid it, which won her no less love, than if she had given it; and more love she gained also at this time by two Proclamations, by one of which she commanded Noble men to observe the Law of keeping retainers; by the other, she restrained Informers, who under colour of spying out Crown-Land, concealed by private persons, sacrilegiously seized upon the Lands of Parish-Churches & Alms-houses, piously endow'd by the Queens Ancestors. And more Love and Honour also she gained at this time by two Acts of Justice; the one, that she satisfied the *English* Merchants out of the goods which were detain'd belonging to the *Dutch*, and restored the rest to Duke *D' Alva*, and made a full transaction with the Merchants of *Genoua* for the money intercepted; the other, that she freed *England* at this time, of the debts which her Father and her Brother had run into in foraign parts and were increased by yearly interest, and caused the obligations of the City of *London*, which had so often been renewed, to be given in, to the great rejoycing of the Citizens.

The *Spanish* affairs growing now very turbulent in the *Netherlands*, *Flushing* lost, the Towns of *Holland* revolted, and the *Spanish* Navy vanquished by the *Zealanders*, Duke *D' Alva* against his will began to shew more kindness towards the *English*, so as in the month of *January*, the Trade which in *Anno* 1568. had been forbidden, was now allowed again between the *Dutch* and the *English*, for two years; but those two years expired, the *English* removed their Trading to the Confederate States.

The Earl of *Worcester* sent as Deputy for the Queen, to Christen the King of *France*'s Daughter.

The last year in the month of *November*, a Daughter was born to the *French* King, to whom he requested Queen *Elizabeth* to be God-mother, who thereupon sent *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester* into *France*, with a Font of massy Gold to stand as her Deputy at the Christning. Hereupon, and for that the Queen promised to observe the League strictly, the *French* King and Queen-Mother began to affect her more and more, and the Duke D' *Alanson* wrote sundry Love-letters to her, and the *French* King and his Mother interceeded for the marraige with all earnestness. It is true the Queen conceived divers Reasons why it was fit for her to marry; but the Courtiers for their own ends disswaded her as much from it: at last the Queen-Mother of *France* was wonderfully importunate, that her Son *Alanson* might have leave to come to see her: whereupon being wearied with continual Letters & Messages, she gave her consent; but upon condition that he should not take it for any disgrace to him, if he returned without obtaining his Suit: But as soon as Qu. *Elizabeth* had notice, that his Brother *Henry* was elected King of *Poland*, and that the King of *France* was very sick, she gave intimation to *Alanson* by *Edward Horsey* Governour of the isle of *Wight*, that he should not make too much haste into *England*; but should first procure a Peace by some means or other in *France*, and declare by some notable Argument, his good will towards the Protestants, thereby to be the more welcome Guest into *England*. Hereupon a Peace was concluded in *France*, and in certain places the Protestants were allowed to exercise their Religion: and then again the *French* King and the Queen Mother used all their endeavour to have the Marriage go forward (for they were very desirous that *Alanson* who was of a crooked and perverse disposition, and prone to raise tumults) might be removed out of *France*; and withal they requested of Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* took his Voyage into *Poland* by Sea, he might have publick caution to sail through the *British* Ocean. To this last Request, she not only consented with all alacrity, but also made offer of a Fleet to conduct him thither. In the mean while, *Alanson* fell sick of the Meazels, which his Mother signified to Queen *Elizabeth* by Count *Rhets*, excusing him thereupon for not coming into *England* as he had determined. The Count found the Queen at *Canterbury*, where she gave him Royal entertainment: and *Matthew Parker* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Royal entertainment to them both.

The Duke *D' Alanson* may come and see her, but with condition.

In hope of this match, the Protestants are better used in *France* then before.

All this while, since the death of the Earl of *Marre*, there had been no Regent in *Scotland*, but now by the procurement of Qu. *Elizabeth* chiefly, *James Dowglas* Earl of *Morton* is made Regent; who when is Authority in a Parliamentary Assembly was established, Enacted many profitable Laws for the defence of Religion against Papists and Hereticks, in the name of the King. But the protection and keeping of the Kings Person, he confirmed to *Alexander Erefkin* Earl of *Marre* (to whom the custody of the Kings in their tenders years, by especial privileg belongeth) though he were himself in his Minority: upon these Conditions, That no Papists, nor factious persons should be admitted to his presence: An Earl should come with only two Servants attending him: A Baron, with only one: All other, single: and every one unarmed. The *French* King in the mean time, sent his Embassadour *Mounsier Vyrriar* to corrupt the Earls of *Athol* and *Huntley*, with large Promises, to oppose the Regent: Queen *Elizabeth* as much laboured to defend him: but though by the Ministry of *Killigrew*, she had drawn *James Hamilton* Duke of *Castle-Herald* and *George Gourdon* Earl of *Huntley*, and the most eminent of that Faction, upon indifferent conditions, to acknowledge the Regent, yet *William Kircald*, Lord *Grannge* (whom *Murray* when he was Regent had made Governour of *Edenburgh* Castle) the Lord *Humes*, *Lydington*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld*,

James Douglas Earl of *Morton* is made Regent of *Scotland*, but is opposed by divers of the Lords.

It belongs to the Earls of *Marre* to have the custody of the Kings person in his minority.

Dunkeld, and others, would by no means admit of the Regents Government, but held that Caſtle, and fortified it in the Queen of *Scots* name, having *Lydington* for their Counſellour herein, and truſting to the natural ſtrength of the place, and to the Duke *D'Alva's* and the *French* King's promiſes, to ſend them ſupplies both of men and money. Now when theſe perſons could by no means be drawn to accept of Conditions of Peace, and to deliver up the Caſtle to the Regent, Queen *Elizabeth* (who could in no caſe indure the *French* in *Scotland*) ſuffered her ſelf at length to be intreated by the Regent, to ſend Forces, Guns and Ammunition, for aſſaulting the Caſtle, upon certain Conditions, whereof one was, that ten Hoſtages ſhould be ſent into *England*, to be ſecurity for returning the Men and Ammunition, unleſs by the common hazard of War they ſhould chance to miſcarry. The Conditions being agreed on; *William Drury* Marſhal of the Garriſon at *Barwick*, with ſome great Ordnance, and fifteen hundred Souldiers (amongſt whom were ſome Noble Volunteers, *George Carie*, *Henry Carie*, *Thomas Cecill*, *Henry Lee*, *William Knowls*, *Sutton*, *Cotton*, *Kelway*, *Will. Killegrew*, and others) entred into *Scotland*, and beſieged the Caſtle, which after three and thirty dayes ſiege, was delivered up to the Regent for the Kings uſe, with all the perſons that were in it; amongſt whom, *Kircald* Lord *Grange* & *James* his Brother, *Muſman* and *Cook* Goldſmiths (who had counterfeited Coyn in the Caſtle) were hanged; although to redeem *Granges* life, an hundred of the Family of the *Kircalds* offered themſelves to be in perpetual Servitude to the Regent, beſides an annual Penſion of 3 thouſand marks, and twenty thouſand pounds of *Scottiſh* money in preſent; and to put in caution, that from thenceforth he ſhould continue in duty and homage to the King; but it would not be accepted. *Humes* and the reſt were ſpared, through Qu. *Elizab.* merciful interceſſion; *Lydington* was ſent to *Leith*, where he died, & was ſuſpected to be poiſoned: A man of the greateſt underſtanding in the *Scottiſh* Nation, and of an excellent wit, but very variable; for which *George Buchanan* called him the Chamælion.

Qu. *Eliz.* ſendeth aid to the Regent of *Scotland*, with which he repreſſed the adverſe Faction.

Lidington for his variable diſpoſition called the *Chamelion.*

And now from this time *Scotland* began to breathe, after long Civil Wars, and as well the Captains of both Parties, as the Souldiers, betook themſelves into *Sweedland*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries*, where they valorouſly behaved themſelves, and won great commendation. As for *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſſe*, he was now ſet at liberty, but commanded to depart preſently out of *England*, and being beyond the Sea, he continued ſtill to ſolicite his Miſtreſs the Queen of *Scots* cauſe, with the Emperour, the Pope, the *French* King, and the *German* Princes of the Popiſh Religion; who all led him on with fair promiſes, but performed nothing: For indeed he, in whom he had greateſt confidence, which was the Duke *D'Alva*, was at that time called away, partly out of Jealouſie of State, as being thought to grow too great, and partly out of opinion that by his cruelty he made the people to revolt; and therefore in his place was ſent *Ludovicus Zuinga*, a man of great Nobility in *Spain*, but of a more peaceable diſpoſition than *D'Alva*; and now this man did all good Offices to win Queen *Elizabeth* to him, and minding his own affairs only, would not intermeddle with the *Scottiſh* or *Engliſh* matters.

The Duke *D'Alva* is called home, and *Zuinga* ſent Governour in his place.

About this time, a frantick Opinion was held by one *Peter Bourchet*, a Gentlem. of the Middle-Temple, that it was lawful to kill them that oppoſed the Truth of the Goſpel; and ſo far was he poſſeſt with this opinion, that he aſſaulted the famous Seaman Captain *Hawkins*, & wounded him with a dagger; taking him for *Hatton*, who at that time was in great favour with the Queen, and of the Privy Council, whom he had been informed to be a great Adverſary to innovations. The Q. grew ſo angry hereat, that ſhe commanded Martial Law ſhould be executed upon him preſently, till her Counſel adviſed her, that Martial Law was not to be uſed, but in the field, and in turbulent times; but at home, and in time of Peace, there muſt be legal proceedings: Hereupon *Bourchet* was ſent to the Tower, where taking a brand out of the fire, he ſtuck it into the brains of one of his keepers, named *Hugh Longworth*, and killed him; for which fact he was condemn'd of murder, had his right hand cut off & nial'd to the gallows, & then himſelf hang'd.

A frantick opinion of *Peter Bourchet.*

After the violent death of this Varlet, we may ſpeak of the natural death of two great perſons: Firſt *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Son of the warlike *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, by his ſecond Wife *Agnes Tilney*. This *William* was made a Baron by Queen *Mary*, and Lord High Admiral of *England*, and by Queen *Elizabeth* Lord Chamberlain, till ſuch time that being taken with age, he yielded up that place to the Earl of *Suſſex*, and was then made keeper of the Privy Seal, which is the fourth degree of Honour in *England*. His Son *Charles* ſucceeded him in the Dignity of his Barony, who was after made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, and then Lord High Admiral of *England*. A while after him died *Reginald Gray* Earl of *Kent*, whom the Queen a year before of a private man had made Earl of *Kent*, when as that Title, from the death of *Richard Gray* Earl of *Kent*, who had waſted his Patrimony, and was Elder Brother to this mans Grand-Father, had lien aſleep for fifty years together.

The Keeper of the Privy Seal, the fourth degree of Honour in *England.*

Reginald Gray of a private man made Earl of *Kent.*

At this time many particular Rebellions were in *Ireland*; The *O-Conors* and *O-Moors* took Arms, and committed many outrages: in *Munſter James Fitz-Morris*, and *Fitz-Edmund* did the like; but by the induſtry of Sir *John Perrot* Preſident of *Munſter* were ſuppreſſed. In *Ulſter*, *Bryan Mac Philym* burnt *Knockfergus*, and many others joyned in Rebellion with him. Againſt theſe *Walter Devereux* (whom the Queen had lately created Earl of *Eſſex*) deſired leave to go; which Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Deputy of *Ireland* oppoſed, as fearing that the glory of ſo great an Earl would eclipſe his light. But for this, the Queen finds a remedy, by appointing *Eſſex* to take a Patent of the Deputy, whereby to be made Governour of *Ulſter*. But this remedy for *Fitz-Williams* might have made a ſore in the mind of *Eſſex* (to receive his Authority from his inferiour) but that the Nobleneſs of his mind made him more to regard the Vertue, than the Glory. And ſo, in the end of *Auguſt*, he landed at *Knockfergus*, having with him the Lords *Darcy* and *Rich*, and Sir *Henry Knowles* & his

Many Rebellions are in *Ireland.*

Walter Devereux E. of *Eſſex* is made Governour of *Ulſter*, by a Patent from the Deputy.

his four Brothers, *Michael* and *John Carues*, *Henry*, *William*, and *John Norrises*: At his landing *Bryan Mac Phelym* Welcomed him, tendering unto him all manner of dutifulneſs and ſervice; but preſently after falls from him, and joyns with *Turlogh Leynigh*. After this revolt, the Earl of *Eſſex* finding many difficulties in the buſineſs, & himſelf not well provided of skilful Souldiers, makes ſuit to the Queen for leave to come home; which the Earl of *Leiceſter* (who liked his room better than his Company) oppoſed: ſtill after expence of a years time and much treaſure, he at laſt obtained leave, and returned home.

1574. *A. Reg.* 17. The Duke of *Alanſon* continues his Suit to Qu. *Eliz.*

The next Year, being 1574, and the 17th year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, the Duke *Alanſon* grew more importunate in his Suit, than at any time before; ſo he obtained of the Queen to come into *England*, any time before the 20th of *May*; and this ſhe the rather did, becauſe ſhe perceived him now to be really bent againſt the *Guiſes* her ſworn Enemies. But before this Anſwer was brought him, *Valentine Dale* Doctor of the Civil Law, the Qu. Embaſſador in *France*, gave intimation to the Queen, That *Alanſon* and *Navarre* were in reſtraint, and committed to Keepers: for the *Guyſes* had ſuggeſted that *Alanſon* held intimate friendſhip with Admiral *Colen*, the chief Leader of the Proteſtants in *France*; and indeed, *Alanſon* being examined, freely confeſs'd, that he had now for a good while deſired the marriage of the Queen of *England*, and conceiving that good correſpondence with *Colen* might be uſeful to him to that end, he had thereupon had conference with him thereabout, and concerning the *Low-Countrie* War. In the mean time *Thomas Wilkes*, *Dales* Secretary, got cunningly to *Alanſon*, and in the Queens name made promiſe both to him, and to *Navarre*, that ſhe would omit no opportunity of procuring their inlargement. For which the ſubtil Queen-Mother ſo complained of him to Queen *Elizabeth*, that he was fain to go into *France*, and there crave pardon for his fault. But *Navarre*, not unmindful of this kindneſs in *Wilkes*, when above five & twenty years after, being King of *France*, he ſaw him in *Normandy*, he Knighted him. Hereupon the Queen ſent *Thomas Randol* into *France*, to the Queen-Mother, that if it were poſſible, he might gain Reconciliation for *Alanſon* her Son, and for the King of *Navarre*. But before he was landed in *France*, *Charles* the then *French* King dyed, whoſe Funeral Rites were ſolemnly performed in St. *Pauls* Church in *London*.

Charles the *French* King dies.

As ſoon as *Henry* the Third King of *France*, was come from *Poland*, *Roger* Lord *North* was ſent into *France*, to congratulate his return and happy Inauguration into the Kingdom; who thereupon together with the Queen-Mother, did forthwith ſend their joynt Letters into *England*, ſtrongly ſoliciting the buſineſs of Marriage between *Alanſon* and the Queen. In the mean time notwithſtanding, they uſed all poſſible devices (& left no means unſought) to get the young King of *Scotland* to be ſent into *France*, and to deprive *Morton* who was the Regent, of his Authority, whereof the Queen of *Scots* alſo was deſirous; ſhe being perſwaded, that if her Son were once gotten ſafely into *France*, ſhe and the Catholicks in *England* ſhould be more mildly uſed. At which time, an aſperſion was caſt upon the Queen of *Scots*, as if ſhe had made the match between *Charles* Uncle to the Qu. of *Scots* (who had lately the Earldom of *Lenox* confirmed to him by Parliament) and *Elizabeth Cavendiſh* the Counteſs of *Shrewsburies* Daughter by a former Husband; upon which ground, both their Mothers, and ſome others alſo were kept in priſon for a time, and being doubted whereunto this Marriage ſhould tend, *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, Preſident of the Council in the North, is authorized with ſecret Inſtructions to examine it. It will be fit here to ſay ſomething of this place of Government in the North; which from ſmall beginings is now become ſo eminent as it is at this day; whereof this was the Original. When as in the Reign of *Henry* the 8, after that the Rebellion in the Northern parts, about the ſubverſion of Abbies was quieted, the Duke of *Norfolk* tarried in thoſe quarters, and many complaints of injuries done were tendred unto him, whereof ſome he compoſed himſelf, and others he commended under his Seal to men of wiſdom to determine: Hereof when K. *Henry* heard he ſent down a peculiar Seal to be uſed in theſe caſes, & calling home the Duke, committed the ſame to *Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, and conſtituted Aſſiſtants with Authority to hear and determine the complaints of the Poor, and he was the firſt that was called Preſident; and from that time, the authority of his ſucceſſors grew in credit.

How the Preſident of the North came firſt to be ordained.

It was now the year One thouſand five hundred ſeventy five, and the 18th year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when *Henry* the third King of *France* being returned from *Poland*, and crown'd at *Rheimes*, was careful to have the League of *Bleis* confirmed: which in the year 1572. had been concluded between his Brother *Charles* & the moſt illuſtrious Qu. *Elizabeth*; Now therefore he confirmed it with his own Subſcription, and delivered it to *Dale* the Queens Legier, as the Queen likewiſe ratified it at *S. James's* near *Weſtminſter*: But a little after he demanded by Letters, whether the mutal defence againſt all perſons mentioned in the League was intended to comprehend the caſe of Religion alſo? whereunto ſhe anſwered, that it did comprehend it: he thereupon hearing this from the Queen, began preſently to prepare War againſt the Proteſtants, and *Alanſon* being drawn to the Adverſe party, there was no ſpeech of the Marriage for a long time.

1575. *A. Reg.* 18.

Henry King of *France* prepares War againſt the Proteſtants.

In the *Netherlands* at this time, *Lodovick Zuinga*, who was ſucceſſor unto Duke *D' Alva*, was wholly bent to recover the Command of the Seas, which *D' Alva* had neglected; but not being ſufficiently provided of a Navy, he ſent *Boiſcheit* into *England*, that with the Queens leave, he might take up Ships and Mariners to go againſt the *Hollanders* & *Zealanders*, but this ſhe would not grant: Then he made ſuit that the Queen would pleaſe not to take it in evil part, if the baniſhed perſons of the *Engli.* in the *Low-countries* ſerved the King of *Spain* in a Sea-fight againſt the *Hollanders*; and that they might have free acceſs to the Ports of *England*, to buy proviſion for ready money; but this ſhe would not grant neither: Then he made requeſt, that the *Dutch*, who were Rebels againſt the K. of *Spain*, might be put out of *England*, but neither would ſhe grant this, as being an Action void of Humanity, & againſt the

Henry the new King of *France* ſolicites the Qu. for *Alanſon*.

the Laws of Hospitality; yet because she would not be thought to violate the old *Burgundian* law, she commanded by Proclamation, that the Ships of the *Dutch* which were made ready, should not go forth of the Haven; nor yet the *Dutch*, who had taken up Arms against the K. of *Spain*, enter into the Ports of *England*, & by Name, the Prince of *Orange*, & 50 other the prime of that Faction: & this she did the more willingly, because *Zuinga* at the intercession of *Wilson* the *English* Embassador had removed the E. of *Westmerland*, & other *English* Fugitives out of the Dominions of the K. of *Spain*, and had also dissolved the *English* Seminary at *Doway*; though instead thereof, the *Guises* through the procurement of Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, set up another Seminary at *Rhemes*.

The English Seminary at Doway is dissolved, and another set up at Rhemes.

And at this time the Prince of *Orange* perceiving his Forces but small, and thinking himself too weak for the King of *Spain*, and little hope of aid from *England*, he entred into Consultation with the Confederate States, to whose protection they were best and in the most security to betake themselves: The Princes of *Germany* they knew were not all of one mind, parted from money very hardly, and did not every way, nor would not by any means possible accord and concur with them in their Religion; and therefore they were not so fit. Then the *French* they saw, were intangled in a Civil War, and so had enough of their own to do; besides the old grudges and heart-burnings that were between the *French* and *Dutch*; and therefore neither were they so fit. There remained then the *English*, as fittest of any (if it might be obtained) seeing they were Neighbours; of the same Religion, and of a Language not much different, strong in shipping, and rich in Merchandize. Hereupon (considering the commodiousness of the *English* Nation) they sent into *England Philip Marnixe* of Saint *Aldegond*, *Janus Dowsa*, *William Nyvell*, and Doctor *Melsen*; who in an honourable Ambassage, offer the Countries of *Holland* and *Zealand* to be possessed and protected by the Queen, for as much as she was descended from the Princes of *Holland*, by *Philippa* wife of *Edward* the third, Daughter of *William* of *Bavaria*, Count of *Hanonia* and *Holland*: by whose other Sister, the hereditary Right of those Provinces came to the King of *Spain*. To this offer, the Queen takes time to answer; and at last, having maturely advised of the matter, her Answer was this; That as yet she conceived not how with the safety of her Honour, and an upright Conscience, she could receive those Provinces into her Protection, much less assume them into her possession, but promised she would deal earnestly with the K. of *Spain*, that a well conditioned Peace might be concluded. Presently upon this *Zuinga* Governour of the *Low-Countries* died; after whose death, the States of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the other Provinces, took upon them the ancient Administration and Authority in the Commonwealth; which the King of *Spain* was fain to confirm to them, till such time as *John* of *Austria* were come, whom he determined to make Governour there. In the mean time, Queen *Elizabeth*, in behalf of the King of *Spain*, sent *William Davison* in Ambassage to those Princes, to exhort them to be peaceable & quiet, which yet by reason of the *Spanish* Souldiers were so outragious little prevailed.

The States of the Low Countries make choice of Qu. Eliz. to be their Protector, and why.

The Qu. Answer to their offer.

Zuinga dying Jo. of Austria is sent Governour into the Netherlands.

In *England* all was calm and quiet for all this year, only a difference fell out between Sir *John Foster* Governour of *Berwick*, and *John Carmichell* Keeper of *Liddisdale* in *Scotland*: In composing whereof, the Regent of *Scotland*, having given Queen *Elizabeth* some discontentment, was fain to come unarmed before the Earl of *Huntington*, appointed the Legate for *England* at *Bonderod*, and so the matter was taken up, & the Regent ever after continued constant in observing the Queen, and to his great commendation, restrained the Free-booters of the Borders, to the great good of both Kingdoms.

This year there dyed in *Scotland*, *James Hamilton* Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and Earl of *Arran*, who was great Grand-child of *James* the Second, King of *Scots*, by his Daughter, appointed Tutor to *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, and designed Heir and Governour of the Kingdom, during her minority.

At this time the Earl of *Essex* is come into *Ireland* again, where having done good Services, & being in the midst of Victory, he was on a sudden commanded to resign his Authority in *Ulster*: and as though he were an ordinary Commander, is set over three-hundred Souldiers: which disgrace was wrought by his Adversaries at Court, to the continual perplexing of his mild spirit. And now is Sir *Hen. Sidney* the third time sent Deputy into *Ireland*; who going into *Ulster*, there came to him & submitted themselves *Mac Mahon*, *Mac Guyre*, *Torlogh Leynigh*, the *O-Conors* and *O-Moors*, the E. of *Desmond*, & the rebellious Sons of the E. of *Clanricard*, all whom he recieved into favour, and with great comdation administred the Province.

The Earl of Essex going into Ireland again, is disgraced with being made an ordinary Commander.

At this time the *Spaniard* in the *Low-Countries* began to deal roughly with the people, & harried the Inhabitants with all manner of spoil and injury: *Antwerp* the most famous town of Traffick in all *Europe*, was miserably pillaged, the *English* Merchants houses rifled, insomuch that the States were enforced to take up Arms, and Messengers were sent to all neighbouring Princes; and to Queen *Elizabeth* was sent *Monsieur Aubigny*, both to shew her upon how necessary and just causes they had taken up Arms, and also to borrow of her a great sum of Money, the better to enable them to resist the *Spaniard*. But she being certainly informed, That they first sued to the *French*-King for help, denyed the Request, yet promised to intercede earnestly with the K. of *Spain* for Peace. And in that imployment, she addressed into *Spain*, *John Smith*, cousin german to King *Edward* the sixth, a man of *Spanish* behaviour, and well known to the King of *Spain*, who was liberally received by the King, & with such wisdom retorted the contumelious speech of *Gasper Quirago* Archbishop of *Toledo* and the *Spanish* Inquisitors, who would not admit in the Queens Title the Attribute of *Defender of the Faith*; that he gained great thanks from the King of *Spain* himself who requested him not to speak of it to the Queen, and gave severe command, that the Title should be admitted.

Jo. Smith Ambassadour into Spain, his stout carriage.

And now by this time was *John* of *Austria*, come into the *Low-Countries* with a large Commission: for he was the Natural Son of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, to whom the Queen sent

Edward Horſey, Governour of the Iſle of *Wight*, to congratulate his coming thither, and to offer help if the States called the *French* into the *Netherlands*; yet at the ſame time, *Swevingham* being exceeding importunate on the States behalf, ſhe ſent them twenty thouſand pounds of *Engliſh* money, (ſo well ſhe could play her game of both hands) upon condition they ſhould neither change their Prince nor their Religion, nor take the *French* into the *Low-Countries*, nor refuſe a peace, if *John* of *Auſtria* ſhould condeſcend to indifferent conditions; but if he embraced a peace, then the money ſhould be paid back to the *Spaniſh* Souldiers, who were ready to mutiny for lack of pay. So careful ſhe was to retain theſe declining Provinces in Obedience to the King of *Spain*.

Martin Forbiſher ſent to diſcover the North-part of *America*.

At this time a Voyage was undertaken, to try if there could be found any Sea upon the North part of *America*, leading to the wealthy coaſt of *Cathaia*, whereby in one commerce might be joyned the riches of both the Eaſt & Weſt parts of the world, in which voyage was imployed *Martyn Forbiſher*, who ſet ſail from *Harwich* the eighteenth of *June*, and the ninth of *Auguſt*, entred into that Bay, or Sea, but could paſs no further for Snow and Ice. The like expedition was taken in hand, two years after with no better ſucceſs.

About this time dyed the Emperour *Maximilian*, a Prince that deſerved well of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the *Engliſh*, who thereupon ſent Sir *Philip Sidney* to his Son *Rodolphus* King of the *Romans* to condole his Fathers death, and congratulate his ſucceſſion: as likewiſe to do the like, for the deceaſe of the Count Elector Palatine, named *Frederick* the third, with his ſurviving Son.

Walter Devereux E. of *Eſſex* out of diſcontentment dieth in *Ireland*.

And now *Walter Devereux* Earl of *Eſſex*, who out of *Leiceſters* envy, had been recalled out of *Ireland*, was out of *Leiceſters* fear, (as being threatned by him) ſent back again into *Ireland*, but with the empty title of Earl *Marſhal* of *Ireland*; with the grief whereof, he fell into a bloody Flux, and in moſt grievous torments ended his life: When he had firſt deſired the ſtanders by to admoniſh his Son (ſcarce ten years old at that time) to have alwaies before his eyes the ſix and thirtieth year of his age, as the utmoſt term of his life, which neither himſelf, nor his Father before him could out-go, and the Son indeed attained not to it, as ſhall hereafter be declared. He was ſuſpected to be poyſoned, but Sir *Henry Sidney* Deputy of *Ireland*, after diligent ſearch made, wrote to the Lords of the Council, That the Earl often ſaid, It was familiar to him upon any great diſcontentment to fall into a Flux, and for his part he had no ſuſpicion of his being poyſoned: yet was this ſuſpition encreaſed, for that preſently after his death, the E. of *Leiceſter* with a great ſum of Money and large promiſes, putting away *Douglas Sheffield*, by whom he had a Son, openly married *Eſſex* his widow. For although it was given out, that he was privately married to her, yet Sir *Francis Knolles* her Father, who was well acquainted with *Leiceſters* roving loves, would not believe it, unleſs he himſelf were preſent at the marriage, & had it teſtified by a publick Notary. At this time alſo dyed Sir *Anth. Cook* of *Gyddy-Hall* in *Eſſex*, who had been School-maſter to King *Edward* the ſixth, and was no leſs School-maſter to his own Daughters, whom he made skilful in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues; married all to men of great Honour; one to Sir *William Cecil*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*; a ſecond to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, L. Keeper of the Great Seal; a third to Sir *Thomas Hobby*, who dyed Embaſſador in *France*; a fourth to Sir *Ralph Lowlet*; and the fifth to Sir *Henry Killigrew*.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* marries his Widow.

Sir *Anthony Cook* dies, and how his learned Daughters were beſtowed.

At this time, the Sons of the Earl of *Clanricard*, who ſcarce two months before had obtained pardon for their Rebellion, fell into Rebellion again; but were by the Deputy ſoon ſuppreſt; and *William Drury* newly made Preſident of *Munſter*, reduced the whole Province to good Order, except only the County of *Kerry*, whither a number of Vagabonds were gotten, truſting to the Immunities of the place. For K. *Edward* the third made *Kerry* a County Palatine, & granted to the Earls of *Deſmond* all the Royal Liberties which the K. of *England* had in that County, excepting four Pleas, viz. of *Burning*, *Rape*, *Foreſtall*, and Treaſure *Trove*. The Governour notwithſtanding wiſely judging that theſe Liberties were granted for the better preſervation of Juſtice, & not for maintenance of outrageous malefactors, entered into it, and violently put to flight and vanquiſhed the miſchievous Crew, which the E. of *Deſmond* had placed there in ambuſh. The E. in the mean while made great complaints of *Drury* to the Deputy; and particularly, of the Tax which they call *Ceaſſe*, which is an exaction of Proviſion of Victuals at a certain rate for the Deputies Family; and the Souldiers in Garriſon. This Tax not he only, but in *Lemſter* alſo many Lords refuſed to pay, alledging that it was not to be exacted but by Parliament; but the matter being examined in *England*, it appeared by the Records of the Kingdom, That this Tax was anciently impoſed; and that by a certain Right of Majeſty, a Prerogative Royal, which is not ſubjected to Laws, yet not contrary to them neither, as the wiſe Civilians have obſerved. Yet the Queen commanded to uſe a moderation in exactions of this nature, ſaying, She would have her Subjects ſhorn, but not devoured.

The County of *Kerry* in *Ireland*, a County Palatine.

The Tax in *Ireland* called the *Ceaſſe*.

It was now the year 1577, and the twentieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when *John* of *Auſtria*, pretending to Queen *Elizabeth* nothing but Peace, yet is found to deal ſecretly with the Pope, to deprive her of her Kingdom, and himſelf to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and invade *England*: of wch his practices the Prince of *Orange* gives Queen *Elizabeth* the firſt Intelligence. Whereupon (finding his deep diſſembling) ſhe enters into a League with the States, for mutual defence both at Sea and Land, upon certain Conditions; but having concluded it (becauſe ſhe would not have it wrongfully interpreted, as though ſhe meant to foſter a Rebellion in the *Netherlands*) ſhe ſent *Thomas Wilkes* to the King of *Spain* with theſe Informations, That ſhe had alwaies endeavoured to keep the *Low-Countries* in Obedience to the King of *Spain*, had perſwaded (even with threatnings) the Prince of *Orange* to accept of Peace; but withall, if the King of *Spain* would have his Subjects obedient to him, ſhe then requeſts him to reſtore their Priviledges, and to remove *Jo.* of *Auſtria* from the Government, who not

1577.

not only was her deadly enemy, but labored by all means to bring the *Netherlands* into utter servitude. If this be granted by the K. of *Spain*, she then faithfully promiseth, That if the States perform not their Allegiance to him, as by their Promise to her they are engaged to do, she will utterly forsake them, and bend her self with all her Forces to compel them. While *Wilkes* in *Spain* unfoldeth these matters, *John* of *Austria* sendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, in most grievous manner accusing the States for disobedience, & making a large Declaration of the Causes for which he had taken up Arms again. Thus Qu. *Elizabeth* (like a fortunate Princess) sate as an Honourable Arbitress between the *Spanish*, the *French*, and the States: insomuch that it was not untrue which one wrote, that *France* and *Spain* were Ballances in the Scale of *Europe*; and *England* the Beam to turn them either way: for they still got the better, to whom she adhered.

An. Reg. 19. A sudden Mortality at the Assizes at *Oxford*.

About this time, when the Judges sate at the Assizes in *Oxford*, and one *Rowland Jenkes* a Book-seller was questioned for speaking opprobrious words against the Queen, suddenly they were surprised with a pestilent savour; whether rising from the noysome smell of the prisoners, or from the damp of the ground, is uncertain, but all that were there present, almost every one, within forty hours dyed, except Women and children; and the Contagion went no further. There dyed *Robert Bell*, Lord chief Baron, *Robert* D' *Oylie*, Sir *William Babington*, D' *Oyle* Sheriff of *Oxfordshire*, *Harcourt*, *Weyman*, *Fhetiplace*, the most of them men in this Tract; *Barham* the famous Lawyer; almost all the Jurors, and three hundred other more or less.

The Lord *Latimers* Family in Male extinct, & how his 4 Daughters were bestowed.

This year the title of the Lord *Latimer*, (which had flourished in the Family of the *Nevills*, even since the days of King *Henry* the sixth) was extinct in *John Nevil*, who dyed without issue male, and left a fair estate to four Daughters, whereof the Eldest marryed *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, the second *Thomas Cecill*, who was afterward Earl of *Exeter*; the Third Sir *William Cornwallis*; and the fourth, Sir *John Davers*.

In *Ireland* the *O-Moors* and *O-Conors*, and others, whose Ancestors the Earl of *Sussex* in Queen *Maries* dayes, had for their Rebellion deprived of their Patrimony in *Leyse* and *Ophalie*, did now break forth into a new Rebellion, under the Conduct of *Rorie Oge*; that is, *Roderick* the younger; set on fire the Village of *Naasse*, assault *Loeblin*; from whence being driven back by the valour of *George Carew* the Governour, he was afterward slain.

English Volunteers go into the *Low Countries*, and do valiantly.

Out of *England* at this time there went into the *Low-Countries*, *John North* the Lord *Norths* Eldest Son, *John Norris* second Son to the Lord *Norris*, *Henry Cavendish*, and *Thomas Morgan* Colonels, with many Volunteers to learn Military Experience. Thither also come *Casimire* the Elector Palatines Son, with an Army of *German* Horse and Foot, at the Queens Charges: upon these *Don John*, assisted by the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, and other the best Commanders of *Spain*, confident of Victory, flyeth furiously, before they expected him, yet after a long fight, was forced to retreat; but then turning again, and thinking to break through the Hedges and Brakes where the *English* and *Scottish* Volunteers had placed themselves, was again repulsed; for the *English* and *Scottish* were so hot upon the matter, that casting away their garments, by reason of the hot weather, they fought in their shirts, which they made fast about them. In this Battel *Norris* fought most valiantly, and had three Horses slain under him, as also *Steward* the Scot, *Bingham*, and *William Markham*.

Now for comfort to the afflicted Provinces, there came at that time into the *Netherlands*, the Count *Swarzemberg* from the Emperour; *Monsieur Bellievre* from the *French* King; and from the Queen of *England*, the Lord *Cobham* and *Walsingham*, with Commission to procure conditions of Peace, but returned without doing any thing, for that *Don John* refused to admit the Protestant Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* refused to return into *Holland*.

Egremond Ratcliffe is put to death in *Flanders*, and why.

About this time *Egremond Ratcliffe*, Son to *Henry* E. of *Sussex*, by his second Wife, who had been a prime man in the Rebellion of the North, and served now under *Don John*, was accused by the *English* fugitives, that he was sent underhand to kill *Don John*; which whether true or false, he was thereupon taken and put to death. The *Spaniards* had affirmed, That *Ratcliffe* at his last end confessed voluntarily, That he was freed out of the Tower of *London*, and moved by *Walsinghams* large promises to do this Fact; but the *English* that were present at his death, deny that he confessed any such thing, though the *English* Rebels did all they could to wrest this confession from him.

John D' *Austria* dieth.

At this very time, *Don John*, in the flower of his Age, died of the Pestilence, or (as some say) of grief, as being neglected by the King of *Spain* his Brother; a man of an insatiable Ambition, who aimed first at the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and after of *England*; and who, without the privity of the *French* King, or King of *Spain*, had made a league with the *Guises*, for the defence of both Crowns.

Alanson solicites his suit with the Queen afresh.

Alanson although very busie about the *Belgick* War, yet now began again to pursue the Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*; for renewing of which suit, first was *Bachervile* sent to the Queen, and soon after *Rambouliet*, from the *French* King; and within a month after that, *Simier*, a neat Courtier, and exquisitely learned in the Art of Love, accompained with a great number of the *French* Nobility; whom the Queen at *Richmond* entertained in such loving manner, that *Leicester* began to rage, as if his hopes were now quite blasted. Certainly, a little before, when *Ashley*, a Lady of the Queens Bed-chamber, mentioned the E. of *Leicester* to her for a Husband, she with an angry countenance replied, Dost thou think me so unlike my self, and so forgetful of Majesty, as to prefer my Servant, whom I my self have advanced, before the greatest Princes of the Christian World?

The Earl of *Morton* Regent of *Scotland*, is removed, and the King though but twelve years old is admitted to govern.

But it is now time to return to the *Scottish* Affairs. The Earl of *Morton*, Regent of *Scotland*, though a man of great wisdom & valor, yet was now so overcome with covetousness, that he grew universally hated; and thereupon with the joynt consent of the Nobility, the administration of the Common-wealth was translated to the King, though he was yet but twelve years old, and twelve

twelve of the chief Lords were appointed to attend him in Council, three of them by course for three months; amongst whom, the Earl of *Morton* for one, that they might not seem to cast him quite off. The King having taken upon him the Administration, sent presently the Earl of *Dumferlin* to Queen *Elizabeth*, acknowledging her great deserts towards him, and requesting to have the Treaty of *Edenburgh*, agreed on in the year 1559. to be confirmed, for the more happy restraining the Robbers about the borders; and withal that his ancient Patrimony in *England*, namely, the Lands granted to his Grand-father *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, and the Countess his Grand-mother, might be delivered into his hands who was the next Heir. The Queen really promised the former demands, but stuck a little at the last, concerning the Patrimony; For she would not grant, That *Arbella*, the Daughter of *Charles* the King of *Scots* Uncle, born in *England*, was the next Heir to the Lands in *England*; neither would she grant the Ambassadors proof out of History, That the King of *Scots*, born in *Scotland*, did anciently (without question) hold the Earldom of *Huntington* by Right of Inheritance. Yet she commanded a Sequestration to be made of the Revenues of those Lands, by *Burleigh* Master of the Wards; and willeth the King, That out of the goods of the Earl of *Lenox* in *Scotland*, satisfaction might be made to his Grand-mothers Creditors here. For she took it in ill part, that the King had recalled the Enfeoffment of the Earldom of *Lenox* (made to his Uncle *Charles* and his Heirs) after the death of *Charles*, to the prejudice (as was suggested to her) of *Arbella*; although indeed it be a Priviledge of the Kings of *Scotland*, That they may recal Donations made in their minority.

The Earl of *Morton* in the mean while, not enduring the disgrace to be outed of his Regency, regarded not the Prescript form of Government lately set down, but drew the Administration of all matters to himself, and kept the King in his own power at the Castle of *Sterling*, admitting none to his presence, but whom he pleased. At this presumption the Lords growing angry, made the E. of *Athol* their Capt. & in the Kings Name levied a great Army, and were ready to encounter *Morton*; but by the Intercession of *Robert Bowes*, the *English* Ambassadour, they were stayed from fighting; and *Morton* presently betook himself home; and the Earl of *Athol* soon after dyed, not without suspicion of being poysoned.

The King of *Spain* & the Pope conspire against Qu. *Eliz.*

At this time the King of *Spain*, and Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth held secret Consultation, to invade at once both *England* and *Ireland*, and to work the absolute ruine of Queen *Elizabeth*; The Pope to gain the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his Son *James Buon* of *Campagno*, whom he had made Marques of *Vincola*; The King of *Spain* secretly to relieve the *Irish* Rebels, as Queen *Elizabeth* did the *Dutch*, while Friendship in Words was upheld on both sides: and it being known, that the greatest strength of *England* consisted in the Navy Royal, and Merchants Ships, it was advised, that the *Italian* and *Dutch* Merchants should hire these Ships for long Voyages; to the end, that while they were absent, the Queens Navy might be surprized with a greater Fleet: and at that time *Thomas Stukeley*, an *English* Fugitive, should joyn himself to the *Irish* Rebels with new Forces. For he making great boast, and promising the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Popes Bastard Son, had so insinuated himself into grace with the ambitious old man, that he adorned him with the Titles of Marques of *Lemster*, Earl of *Wexford* and *Caterlogh*, Viscount *Morogh*, and Baron of *Rosse*, (the principal Dignities of *Ireland*) and made him Commander over Eight hundred *Italian* Souldiers, to be imploy'd in the *Irish* war. With which Forces *Stukeley* setting sail from *Civita Vecchia*, arrived at length in *Portugal*, where he and his Forces were by the Divine Providence diverted another way. For *Sebastian* King of *Portugal* (to whom the chief Command in this Expedition against *Engl.* was assigned) being first to dispatch a War in *Africa*, in aid of *Mahomet Abdall*, Son to the King of *Fesse*, perswaded *Stukely* to go along with him into *Mauritania*, together with his *Italian* Souldiers, and then afterwards they would go together against *Ireland*. To this motion *Stukely* soon agreed, and therein agreed with his destiny; for in that memorable Battel where three Kings were slain, both he and *Sebastian* lost their lives.

Thomas Stukeley is by the Pope honoured with the greatest dignities, and sent into *Ireland*. But diverted by the K. of *Portugal* is slain in *Africa*.

At this time Sir *Henry Sidney* (who had been Deputy of *Ireland* at several times eleven years) delivered up his Deputyship to Sir *William Drury*, President of *Munster*. Such a Deputy, for good Government, that if any have equalled him, none have exceeded him.

It was now the year 1579, and the two and twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when *John Casimire*, Son of *Frederick* the third, Count Palatine of the *Rhyne*, came into *England*, where after he had been entertained with Tiltings & Justs, made Knight of the Garter (the Queen tying the Garter about his leg) and rewarded with a yearly Pension, he returned. And now was *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, made Governour of the *Netherlands* by the King of *Spain*, and Queen *Elizabeth* supplies the States with a great sum of mony, for which *William Davison* brought into *England* the ancient pretious Habiliments of the Family of *Burgundy*, and their Costly Vessels, laid to pawn by *Matthew* of *Austria*, and the States.

1579.

Alexander Farnese Prince of *Parma* is made Governour of the *Netherlands*.

Simier in the mean time here in *England* ceaseth not by all amorous devices to perswade the Queen to marry *Alanson*; wherein he drew her so far, that the Earl of *Leicester* gave out, he crept into the Queens affection by Love-Potions and unlawful Arts: and *Simier* on the other side endeavoured by all means to cast down *Leicester*, discovering his marriage with the Earl of *Essex* his Widow: whereat the Queen grew so angry, that she confined him to the Castle at *Greenwich*, & meant to have him committed to the Tower, but that the Earl of *Sussex* (though his greatest Adversary) disswaded her telling her, That none ought to be molested for contracting lawful Matrimony. But *Leicester* notwithstanding was so provoked for his Confining, that he was bent to revenge it; and if it be true, as some said, he had suborned one *Tinder* a Yeoman of the Guard to murther *Simier*. Sure it is, the Queen by Proclamation commanded, That no person should offer injury to the Ambassadour or any of his Servants. At which time it fell out, that as the

Queen,

Queen, together with *Simier*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, were rowed in a Barge to *Greenwich*, a young man shooting off a Harquebus out of a Boat, shot one of the Rowers in the Queens Barge through the Arm with a Bullet, who was presently taken and led to the Gallows; but upon solemn Protestation that he did it unwillingly, and out of no malitious intent, he was let go and pardoned. Some would have perswaded the Queen, that he was purposely suborn'd to shoot either her or the *French* Ambassador: but she was so far from suspecting her Subjects, that she would often say, She would not believe any thing against them, which a mother would not believe against her Children.

Alanson comes privately into England, and hath secret Conference with the Queen.

After a few daies *Alanson* himself came privately into *England* with only one or two attendants, and came to the Queen at *Greenwich* at a time when she thought not of it; they had secret conference together, all parties being sent away: after which, being seen of very few, he returned home; but within a month or two after the Queen enjoyned the Lord *Burleigh* Treasurer, the Earl of *Sussex*, *Leicester*, *Hatton* and *Walsingham*, seriously to weigh both the dangers, and the Commodities likely to arise from the marriage with him, and to consult with *Simier* concerning the marriage Covenants.

Burleigh and others are enjoyned to consult the Marriage Covenants

As in *England* there was some fear of this *French-man*; so in *Scotland* at this time of another *French-man*, called *Esme Steward*, Lord of *Aubigny*, who came now into *Scotland* to visit the King his Cousin. He was the Son of *John Steward* Brother to *Matthew Steward* E. of *Lenox* the Kings Grand-father, and had denomination from *Aubigny* in *France*, which Title *Charles* the Seventh King of *France* had antiently conferred upon *John Steward* of the Family of *Lenox*, who being Constable of the *Scottish* Army in *France*, vanquished the *English* in one Battle, & was slain by them in another: and from that time the Title belonged to the younger descent of that House. This *Esme Steward*, the King embraced with exceeding great love, made him Lord Chamberlain of *Scotland*, and Captain of the Castle of *Dumbriton*, and created him first Earl and then Duke of *Lenox*. The fear from this man was, Because he was devoted to the *Guises* and the Popish Religion; and that which increased the fear from this man, because he applied himself to *Mortons* Adversaries: and mediated to have *Thomas Carre* Lord of *Fernihurst* called home, who of all men was most addicted to the Queen of *Scots*.

The Title of Lord D' Aubigny, from whence it came.

Esme Steward made first Duke of Lenox.

About this time Queen *Elizabeth*, at the request of *William Harbourne* an *English*-man, procured a Grant from the *Turkish* Emperour, for the *English* Merchants to exercise free Traffick in all places of his Dominions, as wel as *Venetians*, *Polanders*, and other neighbouring Nations; whereupon they set up first the Company of *Turkey* Merchants; managing a most gainful Trade at *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Ægypt*, *Aleppo*, *Cyprus*, and other parts of *Asia*, bringing home Spices, Perfumes, unwrought Silks, Tapestry, Indico, Currants, and the like.

The Turkey Merchants when set up.

This year died Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; but who by vertue of an Act of Parliament, alwaies exercised the Jurisdiction of Lord Chancellor: a very fat man, but singularly wise, and a chief prop of the Queens Privy Council: In whose place succeeded Sir *Thomas Bromely* the Queens Solicitor, with the Title of Lord Chancellor of *England*.

In *Ireland* at this time, in the Province of *Munster*, *James Fitz-Morris* kindled a new fire of Rebellion; for after his former submission upon his knees, vowing all obedience to the Qu. he stole away into *France*, and promised the *French* King if he would send him assistance, to make him King of *Ireland*. But being by him slighted he went into *Spain*, and made the like offer to the King there. The King of *Spain* sent him to the Pope, from whom by means of *Nicholas Sanders*, an *English* Priest, and *Alan* an *Irish* man, (both Doctors in Divinity) he obtained a little money, a Legates Authority for *Sanders*, a consecrated Banner, and Letters of Commendation to the Catholick King. And returning from *Spain* with those Divines, three Ships, & a few men, he landed at *Smerwick Kerry*, a demy Island in the West-part of *Ireland*, about the first day of *July*; where (the place being first of all consecrated by the Priests) he built a Fort, and brought the ships close under it, but these were presently set upon and carried away by *Thomas Courtney*, and thereby the *Spaniards* deprived of their opportunity of coming thither by Sea. But now *John* and *James*, brothers to the Earl of *Desmond*, gathering together a small number of *Irish*, joyn themselves presently with their Kinsman *Fitz-Morris*. Yet the *Spaniards* seeing that but a very few *Irish*, and those unarmed, came unto them, began to distrust the state they were in, and to cry out, That they were undone; whom *Fitz-Morris* heartned the best he could, telling them that Supplies were presently to come. And going himself to get more company, he passed through the Land of his Cousin *William a Burgh*, who though he had been a Rebel before, yet was now grown Loyal, so as there fell out a Skirmish between them; in which *Fitz Morris* being strucken through with a Pike, and shot into the head with a Leaden bullet, died in the place, and most of his Company with him; but withal, two of *William Burghs* Sons were in that skirmish slain also; when the Queen to comfort him for the loss of his Sons, adorned him with the Dignity of Baron of *Castle Conell*, and rewarded him with a yearly Pension besides: which Favour so overwhelm'd him with joy, that he lived but a short while after. And now Sir *William Drury* the Deputy growing very sick, appointed Sir *Nicholas Malby*, then Governour of *Connaught*, to be President of *Munster*, and General of the Army; at which time the Earl of *Desmond*, who had all this while made a shew of Loyalty, breaks openly out into Rebellion; when now *Drury* the Deputy dying at *Waterford*, by his death *Malbyes* Authority ceasing, Sir *William Pelham* is by the Council chosen Justice of *Ireland*, with the Authority of Vice-Roy, until such time as a Deputy were appointed, and the Earl of *Ormond* is made President of *Munster*. *Pelham* goeth into *Munster*, and sendeth for the Earl of *Desmond*, who refusing to come is thereupon proclaimed Traytor, and an enemy to the State; and this being published, the Justice committed the following the War to the Earl of *Ormond*, who slaying most of the *Spaniards* and adherents

Fitz Morris raiseth a Rebellion in Ireland, but is by William a Burgh encountred and slain.

The Earl of Desmond Rebels.

Sir William Pelham made Justice of Ireland.

rents to *Desmond*, compelleth him to send his wife to the Justice, to beg his pardon.

The Lord *Gray* is made Deputy of *Ireland*.

The Lord Justice *Pelham* now certified, That *Arthur* Lord *Gray* was landed with authority to be Deputy of *Ireland*, at *Munster* delivereth the Army to *Geor. Bourchier* the Son of *John*, second Earl of *Bath* of that name, and himself returneth to *Dublin*, to deliver up the Province to his Successor. The Lord *Gray* at his landing, before he received the Sword, hearing where the Rebels had their Rendevouz, marched towards them, who presently betake themselves to *Grandilough*, a grassy Valley and beset thick with trees, where they who dwell near, scarce know the winding out; yet the Deputy (taking one *Cosby* an old man, well acquainted with the place, to be his leader) entred into it, where he lost divers of his men, namely, *Peter Carew* the younger, *George Moore*, *Audely*, and *Cosby* himself that was his Leader.

San Joseph an *Italian* with seven hundred Souldiers landeth in *Ireland*.

A short time after, there landed at *Smerwick* in *Kerry*, under the command of *San Joseph* an *Italian*, about seven hundred *Italian* Souldiers, who fortified the place, and named it *Fort del Ore*: Whereupon the Deputy sent a Trumpeter to the Fort to demand who they were, what they had to do in *Ireland*, and who sent them; withal commanding them to depart immediately. But they replyed, That some of them were sent from his Holiness, others from the Catholick King, upon whom the Pope had bestowed the Kingdom of *Ireland*, for that Queen *Elizabeth* (by reason of Heresie) hath forfeited the Right due unto her; and therefore what they had gotten, they would maintain. Upon this the Deputy prepares for battery, lets fly his Ordnance four days together; in which time the *Spaniards* once or twice make Sallies out, to their own loss much, but not an *English* man slain, but only *John Cheek*, a couragious young Gentleman, Son to Sir *John Cheek* a learned Knight. And now *San Joseph*, who commanded the Fort, a white-liver'd Souldier, terrified with the continual Battery, and having no hope of relief, either from the King of *Spain* or *Desmond* (contrary to the will of all his Souldiers) set up a white Flag, and desired Parlee; but Parlee was denied, because he had combined with Rebels, with whom it is not lawful to hold Parlee. Then he demanded that his Company might pass away with their Baggage, but neither would this be granted. Then he required that some of the chiefer sort might have leave to depart; but neither could this be obtained. At last when they could prevail in nothing, they hanged out the White Flag again, and submitted themselves absolutely, without any condition, to the Deputies mercy, who presently consulted how to deal with them; and this was the Case; Their number was well near as great as the *English*, there was present fear of danger from the Rebels; and the *English* were so destitute of meat and apparel, that they were ready to mutiny, unless they might have the spoil granted them; and besides, there were no ships to send them away if they were spared: For these Reasons it was concluded (the Deputy gainsaying, and letting tears fall) That only the Leaders should be saved, the rest slain, and all the *Irish* hanged up, which was presently put in execution, to the great disliking of the Queen, who detested the slaughter of such as yield themselves, and would not accept of any excuses or allegations.

No Parlee to be allowed to Rebels.

San Joseph yields himself to the Deputy without condition.

His men are all slain, and why.

And yet more cruelty than this was at that time committed in the *Netherlands*; for *John Norris*, and *Oliver Temple English* Commanders, together with some Companies of *Dutch* setting out early one morning, took *Mechlyn* a wealthy Town of *Brabant*, at an assault with Ladders; where they promiscuously murthered both Citizens and Religious persons, offering violence even upon the dead, taking away grave-stones, which were sent into *England* to be sold.

About this time certain *English* Priests, who were fled into the *Netherlands*, in the year 1568, by the procurement of *William Allen* an *Oxford* Scholar, joyned themselves to study at *Doway*, where they entred into a Collegiat Form of Government; to whom the Pope allowed a yearly Pension. But Tumults arising in the *Low Countries*, and the *English* Fugitives being commanded by the King of *Spains* Deputy to depart from thence, other the like Colledges, for the training up of the *English* Youth, were erected, one at *Rheims* by the *Guises*, and another at *Rome* by Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, which always afforded new supplies of Priests for *England*, when the old fail'd, who should spread abroad the seeds of the *Romish* Religion here amongst us; from whence those Colleges had the name of Seminaries, and they called Seminary Priests who were trained up in them. In these Seminaries, amongst other Disputations, it was concluded, That the Pope hath such fulness of Power, by Divine Right, over the whole Christian World, both in Ecclesiastical and Secular matters, that by vertue thereof it is lawful for him to excommunicate Kings, absolve their Subjects from their Oath of Allegeance, and deprive them of their Kingdoms. From these Seminaries at this time, there came two into *England*, *Robert Parsons*, and *Edmund Campian*, both of them *English*-men, and Jesuits. *Parsons* was born in *Somersetshire*, a fierce and rough conditioned fellow: *Campian* was a Londoner, of a milder disposition. They had been both brought up in *Oxford*; *Campian* a Fellow of St. *Johns* College, & had been Proctor in the year 1569. and when he was made Deacon, counterfeited himself to be a Protestant, till such time as he slipped out of *England*. *Parsons* was of *Bayliol* Colledge, where he made open profession of the Protestant Religion, till for dishoneſt carriage, he was expelled the House, and then fled to the Popish Party. Both these came privily into *England*, in the disguise one while of Souldiers, another while of Noble-men; sometimes like *English* Ministers, and sometime in the habit of Apparators. *Parsons* who was made the Superiour, brake forth in such open words amongst the Papists, about deposing the Queen, that some of themselves had a purpose to complain of them to the Magistrates. *Campian*, though something more moderate, yet in a writing provoked the *Engl.* Ministers to a dispute; and published in *Latine* an elegant Book of his Ten Reasons, in maintenance of the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church; as *Parsons* in like manner, set forth another violent Pamphlet against *Clark*, who had written modestly against *Campians* Provocation.

What Colledges were called Seminaries, and why.

Parsons & *Campian* Jesuits come into *England* in disguise, & of their education.

vocation. But Doctor *Whitaker* soundly confuted *Champian*, who being after a year apprehended, and put upon the Rack, was afterward brought out to a disputation; where he scarcely made good the great fame that went of him.

Captain *Drake*'s return from his Voyage about the World.

In this year was the return of Captain *Drake* from his incredible Voyage round about the World (which *Magellan* had before attempted, but dyed in the Voyage) whereof to relate all particular Accidents, would require a large Volume: It may suffice in this place, to deliver some special passages. He was born of mean Parentage in *Devonshire*, yet had a great man (*Francis Russel*, after Earl of *Bedford*) to be his God-father. His Father, in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, being persecuted for a Protestant, chang'd his Soyl, and lived close in *Kent*. King *Henry* being dead, he got a place among the Mariners of the Queens Navy, to read Prayers, and afterward bound his Son *Francis* to a Ship-master, who in a Ship which went to and fro upon the Coast with Commodities, one while to *Zealand*, another while to *France*, training him up to pains and skill at Sea, took such a liking to him, that afterwards dying, he bequeathed his Barque to him by his Will: This Barque *Drake* sold, & then in the year 1567, went with Sir *John Hawkins* into *America*; in wch Voyage he unfortunately lost all he had. Five years after having gotten again a good sum of money, by Trading and Piracy, (wch the Preacher of his ship told him was lawful) he bought a Ship of War, and two small Vessels, with which he set sail again for *America*, where his first Prize was great store of Gold & Silver, carried over the Mountains upon Mules; whereof the Gold he brought to his Ships, but left the Silver, hiding it under ground: after this he fired a great place of Traffick, called, The *Cross*, at the River *Chirunge*, when roaming to & fro upon the Mountains, he espied the South Sea; where falling upon his knees, he craved assistance of Almighty God, to find out that passage, which he reserveth for another Voyage; and for the present, having gotten much riches, he return'd home. Afterwards in the year 1577, the thirteenth day of *November*, with five Ships, & Seamen to the number of 163, he set sail from *Plimouth*, for the Southern Sea, and within five and twenty daies came to *Cantyne*, a Cape in *Barbary*, and then sailed along the Isle of *Fago* which sends forth flames of Sulphur; and being now under the Line, he let every one in his Ship bloud. The sixteenth of *April*, entring into the mouth of the Plate, they espied a world of Seacalves; in which place *John Doughty*, the next to *Drake* in Authority, was called in question for raising Sedition in the Navy, who being found guilty, was beheaded. Some report, That *Drake* had charge given him from the Earl of *Leicester*, to make away *Doughty* upon some pretence or other, for that he had said, That the E. of *Essex* was craftily made away by *Leicester*. The twentieth of *August*, two of his Ships he turneth off, & with the other three came to the Sea which they call the Straight of *Magellan*. The sixth of *September*, entring into the wide Southern Ocean, which they call, The *Pacifique* Sea, he found it out of measure troublous, so that his Ships were here by Tempests dispersed; in one of which *John Winter* was Master, who returned back into *England*; *Drake* himself with only one Ship, coasted along the shore, till he came to the Isle *Moucha*, from whence loosing, he lighted upon a fellow fishing in a little Boat, who shewed him where a *Spanish* ship laden with Treasure lay; *Drake* making towards it, the *Spaniards* thought him to be their own Countryman, and thereupon invited him to come on; but he getting aboard, presently shut the *Spaniards* (being not above eight persons) under hatches, and took the Ship, in which was four hundred pound weight of Gold. At *Tarapsa* going again to shore, he found a *Spaniard* sleeping by the Sea-side, who had lying by him twenty barrs of massie Silver, to the value of four thousand Ducats, which he bid his followers take amongst them, the *Spaniard* still sleeping. After this going into the port of *Africa*, he found there three Vessels without any Mariners in them; wherein besides other wares, were seven & fifty silver bricks, each of wch weighed twenty pound: From whence tiding it to *Lima*, he found twelve ships in one Road, and in them great store of Silks, and a Chest full of money coined, but not so much as a Ship-boy aboard; (such security there was in that Coast:) Then putting to Sea with those Ships, he followed the rich Ship called the *Cacofogo*; & by the way met with a small Ship without Ordnance or other Arms, out of which he took fourscore pound weight of Gold, a golden Crucifix, and some Emeraulds of a fingers length. The first day of *March*, he overtook the *Cacofogo*, set upon her and took her; and in her besides Jewels, fourscore pound weight of Gold, thirteen Chests of Silver ready coyned, and as much Silver as would ballast a Ship. And now thinking he had gained wealth enough, he resolved to return home; and so on the 3 of *Nov.* 1580. he landed at *Plymouth*, having sailed round about the World, in the space of three years; to the great admiration of all that know what Campass the World is of. 1580.

His Parentage and education.

The Passages of his Voyage.

Doughty beheaded by *Drake*.

How he gained his great treasure.

The Queen welcomed him home, but made a sequestration of the Goods, that they might be ready if the King of *Spain* required them; and commanded the Ship to be drawn on shore near *Debtford* for a Monument (where the Carcass of it is yet to be seen) and her self feasted in it; at which time she Knighted Captain *Drake*. But *Bernardine Mendoza*, the King of *Spains* Ambassadour in *England*, began to rage; and earnestly demanded Restitution of the Goods, and complained, that the *English* sailed upon the *Indian* Sea. To whom it was answered, That the Goods were sequestred, and ready to make the King of *Spain* satisfaction, although the Queen had expended against the Rebels, whom the *Spaniard* had excited in *England* and *Ireland*, more Money than that which *Drake* brought home. And as for sailing on the *Indian* Sea, That it was as lawful for the Queens Subjects as his, seeing the Sea and the Air are common for all to use. Notwithstanding, to *Pedro Sebura*, the King of *Spain*'s Agent in this business, a great sum of Money was repaid; which was not restored to them to whom it belonged, but employed to the *Spaniards* wars in the *Low-Countries*, as was known after, when it was too late.

But

But at this time, when *Jackman* and *Pett*, two skilful Pilots were sent forth with two ships by the *Londoners*, to find out a shorter cut to the *East-Indies*, by the North-West passage, they had not the like success; for a few Leagues beyond the Isles of *Vaygato*, they met with such uncertain Tydes, so many Shallows, and such Mountains of Ice, that they could go no farther, and had much ado to return home.

Henry Fitz Alan Earl of *Arundel* dies, in whom ended the Sirname of that Noble Family. The possession of *Arundel* Castle gives the Title of that Honour.

About this time, *Henry Fitz Alan*, Earl of *Arundel* died, in whom the Sir-name of a most Noble Family ended, which had flourished in this Honour for above three hundred years, from *Richard Fitz-Alan*; who being descended from the D'*Albeneys* (antient Earls of *Arundel* & *Sussex*, in the Reign of King *Edward* the first) obtained the Title of Earl, by reason of the possession of *Arundel* Castle, without Creation. He had three Children by his Wife *Katharine*, Daughter to *Thomas Gray*, Marquess of *Dorset*, all whom he out-lived; *Henry* a young man of great hope, who died at *Brussels*; *Joan*, wife to the Lord *Lumbley*; and *Mary*, who being married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, brought forth *Philip*, in her right, Earl of *Arundel*.

In *Ireland*, *Arthur* Lord *Gray* the Deputy going against the *O-Conors*, who raised stirs in *Ophalie*, putteth to death *Hugh O Moley*, quieteth all that Quarter, even the Families of the *Mogobigans* and *O Charles*, and in the very beginning suppresseth a Conspiracy which was breaking forth, by putting to death the Lord *Nogent*; who being confident in his own innocency, when the Deputy promised to save his life, if he would but confess himself guilty, chose rather to die & be held guiltless, than to live in infamy, by betraying his own Innocency. With whose death the Queen was extreamly displeased, as by which she was made a Patroness of Cruelty to her great dishonor. But the Deputy knew with what kind of people he dealt, and by this example of Severity, brought *Turlogh Leynigh* to accept conditions of Peace, and the *O Brians* and *Cavenaghs* (rebellious Families in *Lemster*) humbly to crave leave also, and to offer Hostages.

In *Scotland*, at this time great jealousie was had of *Lenox*, L. of *Aubigny*, left, being in so great favour with the King, he should allure him to marry into *France*, and bring into *Scotland* the Popish Religion. Whereupon (although he purged himself by Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, and proffered himself to be a Protestant) yet many courses were taken to sequester him from the K. but so far from taking effect, that on the contrary, the Earl of *Morton* (who among all other was most addicted to the *English*) was soon after accused of Treason by the Earl of *Arran*, and cast into Prison; and not long after (notwithstanding all the means the Queen could use to save him) was beheaded, as convicted to be accessary to the murther of the Kings Father. Whereupon the Earl of *Angus*, and others who labored for *Morton*, fled straightwayes into *England*.

The Earl of *Morton* is beheaded as accessary to the murder of the Kings Father.

General *Norris* raised the siege at *Steenwick*. But is afterward vanquisht, wounded, and a great number of his men slain.

In the *Low-Countries* about this time, the Count *Rheinberg* proceeded victoriously for the King of *Spain*, and beleaguer'd *Steenwick* in *Freezland*; against whom the States sent *Norris* General of the Field, who put the *Rheinbergs* Company to the worst, and raised the Siege; but afterward joyning Battle with *Verdugo* the *Spaniard* at *Northone*, even when the Victory was almost gotten (*Roger Williams* having put the Enemies to flight) the fortune of the war turn'd, *Norris* is vanquished, wounded, and a great number of his men slain; amongst whom were *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams* and *Bishop*, stout Commanders. Here it must not be omitted, That the *English* (who of all the dwellers in the Northern parts of the World, were hitherto the least Drinkers, and deserved praise for their Sobriety) in these *Dutch* wars learned to be Drunkards; & brought the Vice so far to overspread the Kingdom, that Laws were fain to be enacted for repressing it.

In these *Dutch* Wars the *English* learn to be Drunkards

But now whilst the States and the King of *Spain* contend about a few Towns in the *Low-Countries*, he seizeth upon the whole Kingdom of *Portugal*. For the last year *Henry* King of *Portugal* dying, many Competitors challenge the Kingdom; as the Duke of *Savoy*, the Prince of *Parma*'s Son, *Katharine Bracant*, and the Queen of *France*. But *Philip* King of *Spain*, the Son of *Henries* eldest Sister, putting the Case to his Divines and Lawyers, and adjuring them to pronounce to whom of right it belonged, they pronounced for him; whereupon he sent Duke D' *Alva*, who put to flight *Antonio*, whom the people had elected King, and within seventy dayes subdued all *Portugal*. The Queen of *France* angry hereat, and enviously beholding the King of *Spain*'s Dominions thus enlarged (being now Master of *Portugal*, the *East-Indies*, and many Islands besides) adviseth amongst other Princes, Queen *Elizabeth*, to bethink themselves in time of restraining his so excessive Dominions: whereupon the Queen received *Don Antonio*, and lovingly relieved him, which she thought might be done without any breach of the League with *Spain*, seeing *Don Antonio* was descended of *English* blood, and of the House of *Lancaster*, and that no Caution was in the League, That the *Portuguez* should not be admitted into *England*.

The K. of *Spain* seizeth upon the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and putteth *Don Antonio* to flight.

Whom Qu. *Eliz.* received & relieved.

And now the Queen-Mother of *France*, and the King her Son, more eagerly then ever, pursue the Match with *Alanson* now Duke of *Anjou*, for the transacting whereof, they sent in Ambassage into *England*, *Francis Bourbon*, Prince of *Dauphine*, *Arthur Cosse* Marshal of *France*, and many other honourable Personages, who were entertained with great respect (a House being purposely built at *Westminster* for that use, royally furnished;) Tilting and Justs proclaimed, by *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, *Frederick*, Baron of *Windsor* Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, against all Comers. The Delegates that were to confer with the *French* concerning the marriage, were Sir *William Cecil*, Lord Treasurer, *Edward* Earl of *Lincoln* Lord Admiral, *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary; By whom Covenants of Marriage were at length agreed on; First, That the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Queen of *England*, within six weeks after the ratification of the Articles, should contract Matrimony, and the rest, most of them such as were before agreed on in the Marriage between Queen *Mary* and King *Philip*, chiefly consisting in conferring Honour upon the Duke, but Power upon the Queen. It was also agreed, That all particulars should be ratified within two Months, by the faithful Promise and Oath of the *French* King,

1581.

The Match with *Alanson*, now Duke of *Anjou* is pursued afresh.

And Articles of the Marriage are agreed on.

King, for him and his Heirs, and a Reservation was also added apart, with the Hands and Seals of every one of the Delegats, That Queen *Elizabeth* is not bound to finish the Marriage, until she and the Duke have given each other satisfaction in some particulars, and have certified the *French* King of the same within six weeks. Before those six weeks were expired, *Simier*, Secretary to the Council, is sent into *France*, to require the King of *France* his Confirmation: The King will not hear him, but presseth to have the Marriage accomplished, as it was contracted, & that nothing else was to be done. *Simier* on the other side sheweth by the Articles, that a League offensive and defensive must first be concluded. This the *French* King disclaimeth: Whereupon *Walsingham* is presently sent to compose this difference, who joyntly with *Henry Cobham*, the Ambassadour in ordinary, and *Simier*, alledgeth to the *French* King these Particulars, That Queen *Elizabeth* for no other Reason was willing to marry, but for the satisfaction of her people; and seeing many Impediments were come in the way since the first Treaty, namely the Civil War in *France*, and the Dukes engagemen in a War with *Spain*, which makes the wisest of her Subjects now to be against the Match; This hath made her to defer the accomplishment of it, although her affection be still constant toward the Duke. For this cause the Queen would have no further Treaty to be held, till the *French* Duke be freed from the *Spanish* War, & a League of mutual offence and defence be agreed on. The *French* King willingly accepted of the League defensive, but of the offensive he would hear no speech, till the marriage were finished.

But the E. of *France* disclaimeth the Articles.

Not long after, the *French* Duke himself came into *England*, having with good success raised the Siege of *Cambray*: he was here received with as great humanity as he could wish, and nothing omitted whereby he might judg himself to be truely welcome: Insomuch that in *November*, when the Anniversary of the Queens Inauguration came to be solemnized, the Queen (while they were in Love-conference) drew a Ring off from her finger, and put it upon his, upon some private conditions. The standers by imagined, that by this Ceremony the Marriage was confirmed between them; and *Aldegond* Governour of *Antwerp* being there, presently dispatched messengers into the *Low-Countries*, to give notice of it; and thereupon Bonfires were made, and all shews of rejoycing. But the Earl of *Leicester* (who privately plotted to cross the Match) *Hatton* the Vice-Chamberlain, and Secretary *Walsingham*, fret and are enraged, as if the Kingdom, the Queen and Religion, were now utterly overthrown. The Maids of Honour, and Ladies that were familiar with the Queen, made grievous lamentation, and so terrified and daunted her, that she could take no rest that night. The next day, she called to her the *French* Duke, and causing all company to go aside, they privately entertain a long discourse. At length the Duke returning to his lodging cast the Ring away from him, and after a while takes it up again, terribly exclaiming against the levity and inconstancy of Women.

The D. of *Anjou* comes himself into *England*. And in a private Conference with the Queen she draws a Ring from off her finger and puts it upon his. The *English* Lords and Ladies imagining the Marriage to be confirmed, fret exceedingly. The next day she calleth the *French* D. to her, and after a long discourse, made him exclaim on the inconstancy of Women

The Queen at this time was much troubled at a book lately put forth, with this Title *The Gulph wherein* England *will be swallowed, by the* French *Marriage*: whereof conceiving that some Puritan was the Author, it made her highly displeased with the Puritans: Whereupon, within a few dayes *John Stubbs* of *Lincolns Inne*, a Zealous Professor, and the Author of this Book, (whose Sister, *Thomas Cartwright* the father of the Puritans had married) *William Page* that dispersed the Copies, and *Singleton* the Printer were apprehended, against whom Sentence was pronounced, That their Right hand should be cut off, by vertue of a Law made in the Reign of *Philip* & *Mary* against the Authors & Dispersers of seditious Writings, (though the chief Lawyers and Judges of the Kingdom could not agree concerning the force of that Statute.) Hereupon *Stubbes* and *Page* were brought to the Scaffold, made of purpose, in the Market-place at *Westminster*, and their right hands with a Butchers knife & a mallet cut off by the wrist; the Printer was pardoned. At that time *Stubbes* when his right hand was cut off, uncovered his head with the left, and cried out *God save the Queen*, to the great amazement of all the Beholders.

Stubbs & *Page* have their right Hands cut off for writing a seditious Book against the Marriage.

At this time the Queen, upon importunate suit of her Council, gave way, that *Edmund Campian*, *Ralph Sherwin*, and *Alexander Bryant*, Priests, should be called to the Bar, who being accused by vertue of a Law made in the five and twentieth year of K. *Edward* the third, to have plotted the ruine of the Queen and Kingdom; to be adhering to the Pope, the Queens Enemy, and coming into *England* to raise Forces against the State, were then condemned of High-Treason, and accordingly executed. *Campian* after he was convicted, being demanded; First, whether Queen *Elizabeth* were a lawful Queen? would make no answer; afterward whether he would stand for the Queen, or the Pope, if he should send an Army against the Queen; he plainly professed, that he would be of the Popes side, and witnessed so much under his hand. After this some other Papists upon the like occasion were also put to Death, which the Queen rather necessarily, than willingly assented to, as being unwilling to force the Conscience of any. These, and the like exorbitances of Papists were cause that new and strict Laws were enacted against them the Parliament following, which began the next *January*.

Campian, *Sherwin* & *Bryant* Priests are executed.

The *French* Duke after three months abode in *England*, took his Journey in *February* into the *Low-Countries*, whom the Qu. her self brought on his way as far as *Canterbury*; and then commanded the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lords *Charles Howard*, *Hunsdon*, *Willoughby*, *Windsor*, *Sheffield*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Fr. Russel*, Sir *Gorge Bourchier*, and some other prime Knights to accompany him to *Antwerp*, where he is made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limbourgh* and *Lorrain*; for the *Dutch* had long before removed the King of *Spains* Government, and quitted the people from their Oath of Allegeance, that it might be in their own power to choose any other Prince. Here the Duke of *Anjou* gave free leave to exercise the *Roman* Religion, to as many as would swear Fealty to him, & abjure the King of *Spains* authority: but after all, having sent a great mass of mony, with which he was supplied from *England*,

The D. of *Anjou* goes out of *England*, whom the Queen brought on his way as far as *Canterbury*.

and observing that only vain and empty titles were conferred upon him, while the States held all the Dominion in their own hands, he rashly enterprized an assault upon *Antwerp*, and some other Towns, and shortly departed without any great matter performed.

1582.

Sir *Peregrine Bertye* made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*.

At this time Queen *Elizabeth*, as well to get her some friends, as she had procured herself many enemies; received into the Order of the Garter, *Frederick* the second King of *Denmark*; to whom she employed Sir *Peregrine Bertey* (whom she had lately made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*) to invest him.

But now to prevent the Duke of *Guyses* design in *Scotland*, which was to make use of the Duke of *Lenox* favour with the King, to withdraw his affection from the *English*: *William Reuthen*, whom the King had lately made Earl of *Gowry*, endeavoured with others, by all means to remove *Lenox* and the Earl of *Arran* from the King; and so, while *Lenox* was gone from *Perth*, (where the King at this time was) to *Edenburgh*, and *Arran* was also absent on a journey; the Earls *Gowry*, *Marre*, *Lindsey* and others, taking the opportunity, invited the King to the Castle of *Ruthen*, and there detained him, not permitting him to walk abroad: all his trusty Servants they removed from about him; *Arran* they cast in Prison, enforced the King to call home the Earl of *Angus*, and to send away *Lenox* into *France*, who being a man of a soft and gentle disposition, for the Kings safety readily consented; and not content with all this, they compelled the King by his Letters to Qu. *Elizabeth* to approve and allow of this his thraldom. The Queen of *Scots* in the mean while, bewailing her own hard fortune, and the distress of the King her Son, laieth open the same in a large Letter, written to the Qu. in *French*: With which Letter Queen *Elizabeth* being somewhat affected, sent unto her *Robert Beal* Clark of the Council, to expostulate with her concerning the querulous writing, and joyntly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to treat of the setting her at liberty. And indeed serious consultations were held at the Council Table about it, and the most were of opinion that upon certain conditions she should have her liberty; but the *Scottish* of the *English* faction opposing it, nothing was effected.

The Earl *Gowry* and other Lords take the King, and keep him a Prisoner.

Soon after this, the King sent Colonel *William Steward* and *John Colvill* to Queen *Elizabeth*, proffering all manner of respect and observance, & requesting her advice for quieting the tumults in *Scotland*, and also for his contracting of marriage. At which time, news was brought, that the Duke of *Lenox* was dead in *France*, who departing this life at *Paris*, & even at the very point of death, as oftentimes before, made open profession of the Protestant Religion; thereby confuting those who had malicously traduced him for a Papist. After whose death, when the surprisers of the K. were lift up in their own conceits, as thinking they had him safe enough; He on a sudden (though scarce eighteen years of age) with some few others, conveyed himself to the Castle of S. *Andrews*, to whom the Nobility presently repaired, bringing Armed Bands with them, as fearing some danger might befall him. Afterwards, in fair words he advised some of his surprizers to go from the Court, for avoiding of tumult, and promising them pardon, if they would crave it. But *Gowry* only asked pardon, and submitted himself, using this distinction, That he had not offended in matter, but in form only; & then the King sent for the Earl of *Arran* to the Court, and respected him as his intimate friend, imploying him to compose the Differences amongst the Nobility, & to purge the Kingdom and his own Court from civil dissensions.

The King of *Scots* frees himself from those that had surprized him.

Walsingham is sent to the K. of *Scots*, to advise him to take heed of evil Counsellors: and the Kings Answer.

Whiles he is sedulous in these cares, comes Sir *Francis Walsingham* from Queen *Elizabeth*, to advise him not to be led away by evil Counsellors, to the destruction of both Kingdoms. He findeth the King accompanied with the flower of the Nobility, and beholdeth another manner of Majesty than he looked for in *Scotland*: Having Audience given him, he put the King in mind of what the Queen out of *Isocrates*, in private Letters had formerly admonished him, *That a Prince must be such a lover of Truth, That more credit may be given to his bare word, than to anothers Oath*; and in many words advised him, to beware now in his Youth of evil Counsellours, and alwaies to be like himself. The King answered that he was an absolute Prince, and would not that others should appoint him Counsellours whom he liked not; but that he had long since devoted the first-fruits of his amity to the Queen of *England* his dear Sister, and doth now willingly make proffer of the same. *Walsingham* now dealt with him further, not to lay to the Queens charge what broyls had lately fallen out in *Scotland*; sheweth, how beneficial to him, and to both Kingdoms Amity had been hitherto, and would be in time to come also, so it were not neglected; and that the same might the better be confirmed, if the variance between the Nobility were laid asleep, by a Law of Oblivion Enacted in Parliament, & the Peers which now were removed from the Court called back again, religion looked into, & a firm League concluded between both Kingdoms. The King made answer, that he gladly embraced Amity with *England*, and that he would constantly defend the Religion already established: Afterward he lovingly dismissed *Walsingham*, though he held him no good friend to him & his Mother; and carefully looking to matters with understanding, even above his years, propos'd & proffered reconciliation to those that had surprised him, if within a limited time they asked pardon; which they were so far from doing, that they entred into new consultations to surprize him again; whereupon they are commanded within a set time to leave the Kingdom, of which number *Marre*, *Glames*, *Paslet*, and some others, betook themselves into *Ireland*; *Boyde*, *Zester*, *Weeme*, *Lochlevin*, into the *Low-Countries*; *Dumferlin* into *France*; the Earl of *Angus*, is confined to his Earldom; *Gowry* only to his own ruin, stayeth behind after the limited time, hatching new devices.

About this time happened a difference, and thereupon a War between the Emperour of *Muscovia* and the King of *Sweden*; when *John* King of *Sweden*, doubting himself to be no fit Match for the Emperor, sent a Royal Ambassage to Queen *Elizabeth*, requesting her to intercede for him to the Emperor; which she did without delay, and by her Ambassador drew the *Muscovian* to a Peace upon reasonable Conditions. But the

the *Muscovian* shortly after dying, and *Theodorus* his Successor granting free Traffique to Merchants of all Nations that would come thither; the Queen importuned him to admit of none but *English* Merchants, requiring him to confirm the Priviledges which his Father had granted them: Whereto by way of Answer, he commanded Free Trading for all the *English*, saying, it was not fit that a small Company should exercise a Monopoly, and all others be restrained: But as for Customs, he promised to take less by half of that Company then of any other, because they first opened the way thither.

1583. *Albertus Alasco*, a Palatine of *Poland*, comes into *England*.

The next Summer, *Albertus Alasco*, a Palatine of *Poland*, of a comely Personage, and great learning, came into *England* to see the Queen, who was nobly entertained, both by her and the Nobility, as also by the Scholars of *Oxford*, with learned Orations, and other Recreations: but having tarried here four months, and run into much debt, he secretly withdrew himself and departed. This man I saw my self afterward in *Cracow*, very bare, though it was reported of him, That he had in a Dowry with a Wife, fifty Castles of great value: but what Mine can bear the charges of Prodigality?

A year fatal to divers great men.

This year proved fatal to divers great men; for there died, first *Thomas Ratcliff*, the third Earl of *Sussex* of this Family; a man of a great spirit, and great faithfulness to his Countrey. There dyed also *Henry Wryothesly* Earl of *Southampton*, one exceedingly devoted to the *Romish* Religion, and a great Favourer of the Queen of *Scots*, which cost him Queen *Elizabeths* displeasure, and imprisonment besides. There died also Sir *Humphry Guilbert*, who was cast away at Sea, in his return from the North part of *America*, whither he lately sailed with five Ships, having sold his Patrimony, in hope to plant a Colony there. There dyed also *Edmund Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being blind through age, a grave, and pious Prelate, who stood highly in the Queens favour for a long time; till he lost it at last, by favouring (as was said) the Puritans Conventicles; but the true cause indeed was, for the disallowing the Marriage of *Julio* an *Italian* Physician, with another mans wife, against the Earl of *Leicesters* pleasure. *Grindall* dying, *John Whitgift* succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*, being translated thither from the See of *Worcester*.

Somervile and *Arden* are condemned, and why.

At this time, certain Popish Books written against the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate, withdrew divers from their Allegiance, and particularly so intoxicated one *Somervile*, an *English* Gentleman, that he went privately to the Court, and breathing out nothing but blood and death against all Protestants, set upon one or two by the way with his drawn Sword. Being apprehended, he stuck not to say, That he would murder the Queen with his own hands. Hereupon he, and upon his intimation, *Edward Arden* his father-in-law (a man of an ancient House in *Warwick-shire*) *Ardens* wife, their Daughter, *Somerviles* wife, and *Hall* a Priest, were brought to the Bar, and all condemned; *Somervile* as principal, the rest as accessaries. Three dayes after, *Somervile* was found strangled in the Prison, *Arden* was executed and quartered; the women and Priest were spared. Many pitied the old Gentleman *Arden*, as misled by the Priest, and (as it was generally believed) brought to his end through the envy of *Leicester*, whom he used to call Whore-master, Up-start, and many such opprobrious names.

In the *Netherlands*, the *English* Garrison at *Alost* in *Flanders* being neglected, the Governour *Pigot*, and the other Captains, for want of pay, upon Composition, yielded up the Town to the *Spaniard*, and then fearing disgrace at home, joyned themselves to the Prince of *Parma*; at whose hands finding themselves slighted, by degrees they stole all away, and came all to unlucky ends.

Gyrald Fitz-Gyrald, the famous Rebel in *Ireland*, is by a common Souldier slain. His great possessions and numerous kindred, all dead within the space of 3 years.

In *Ireland* the famous Rebel *Gyrald Fitz Gyrald*, the eleventh Earl of *Desmond* of this Family, having a long time in lurking places escaped the *English*, was now by a common Souldier found out in a poor Cottage, and slain. His head was sent into *England*, and set upon *London* Bridge. This end had this great Lord, descended from *Maurice*, the Son of *Gyrald* of *Windsor*, an *English* man, famous among those who first set upon *Ireland*, in the year 1170. He possessed whole Countries, together with the County Palatine of *Kerry*, and had of his own Name and Race, at least five hundred Gentlemen at his Command: all whom, and his own life also, he lost within the space of three years, very few of the House being left alive. And this disaster he fell into, by proving Traiterous to his Prince at the instigation of certain Popish Priests. Of whom, the chief was one *Nicholas Saunders* an *English* man, who at the same time died miserably of Famine, being starved to death, when as being forsaken, and running mad upon his ill success, he roamed up and down the Mountains and Groves, finding nothing to sustain him. In his Scrip were found certain Orations and Letters, written to hearten the Rebels, and promising large rewards from the Pope and King of *Spain*. Upon the Rebels ill success, *James Fitz-Eustace*, Viscount *Baltinglas* fled into *Spain*, where he pined away with grief. He, out of zeal to the *Roman* Religion, a little before he had taken up Arms with the Rebels, and exhorting the Earl of *Ormond* his Neighbor to do the like, (who drew his Linage from St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*) used these words to perswade him, That if St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* had not died for the Church of *Rome*, thou hadst never been Earl of *Ormond*: for King *Henry* the Second, to expiate the murther of *Thomas Becket*, gave large lands in *Ormond* to his Predecessors.

The beginning of the next Spring, certain *Scots*, together with *Gowry*, plotted again to surprize the King, pretending only a care of Religion, and to remove ill Councellors from him: but the King having intelligence of their practice, used means by Colonell *Steward*, to have *Gowry* taken and cast into prison: whereupon *Marre*, *Glames*, *Angus*, and other of the Confederates flie into *England*, and beseech the Queen to commiserate their estate, who had incurred the Kings displeasure, to do her and the Kingdom of *England* service. The King on the other side, accuseth them to the Queen of hainous Crimes, and requires to have them delivered up into his hands. But Secretary *Walsingham*, who bore great good will to these men, sent

Whether a Secretary of State may not transact without special Commission from the Prince.

Letters with a Command, That they ſhould be ſafely admitted into *Lindisferne*, otherwiſe called, The holy Iſland; where *Hunſdon* being Governour there, and greatly addicted to the King of *Scots*, reſiſted *Walſingham*'s Command, alledging he could not ſatisfy the Secretary in this point, unleſs the Queen gave expreſs Command. Hereupon grew a Diſpute, Whether a Secretary of State might not tranſact buſineſs of State, without ſpecial Commiſſion from the Prince. How this Caſe was determined, is uncertain; but ſure it is, the *Scots* came not thither, though ſome favour they had ſhewed them here in *England*. In the mean time, *Gowry* was tryed by his Peers at *Sterlyn*, where being accuſed of many Treaſons, though he gave colourable anſwers to them all, yet was found guilty, condemned, and beheaded; whoſe head his ſervants ſewing to his body, commited to the Grave.

The Earl *Gowry* is arraign'd, condemned and beheaded.

Many practices are plotted againſt Qu. *Eliz.* in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*.

About this time were practices plotted againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*, chiefly by *Francis Throgmorton*, eldeſt Son of *John Throgmorton* Juſtice of *Cheſter*, who came to be ſuſpected, by reaſon of Letters ſent to the Queen of *Scots*, which were intercepted. Upon his apprehenſion, *Thomas* Lord *Paget* and *Charles Arundel*, privately ſtole away into *France*, grievouſly complaining againſt *Leiceſter* and *Walſingham*, for alienating the Queen from them, and uſing ſuch wiles, as ſcarce any man was able to live in ſafety. *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, were confined to their Houſes, his Wife committed to the cuſtody of Sir *Thomas Shirly*, *William Howard*, the Earls Brother and *Henry Howard* their Uncle, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, were examined about Letters from the Queen of *Scots*, and many Strategems were ſet on foot, dangerous to ſome particular perſons, but neceſſary (as ſhould ſeem) for the Queens ſecurity. Certain it is, That now the Malice of the Papiſts againſt the Queen, brake forth more violently than ever before; for in printed Books, they ſtirred up the Queens own ſervants to attempt the like upon her, that *Judith* did on *Olopbernes*. The Author of theſe Books could not be found, but the ſuſpicion lay upon one *Gregory Martin* ſometime of *Oxford*: and *Carter* a Stationer, who printed the Books, ſuffered for it. And whereas the Papiſts every where traduced the Queen for cruelty, ſhe deſirous alwayes to leave a bleſſed remembrance behind her, grew extreamly offended with the Commiſſioners for Popiſh cauſes, taxing them of too much cruelty: inſomuch that they were fain, in a printed Declaration, to clear themſelves, proteſting; That they queſtioned no man for his Religion, but only for dangerous attempts againſt the Queen and State; and that *Campian* himſelf was never ſo racked, but that he could preſently walk up and down. But all this gave not the Queen ſatisfaction, but ſhe Commanded the Commiſſioners to forbear Tortures, and the Judges other Puniſhments; and not long after, when ſeventy Prieſts were taken, and ſome of them condemned, and the reſt in danger of the Law, ſhe cauſed them all to be ſhipped away, and ſent out of *England*: The chief of whom were *Gaſper Heywood*, the great Epigrammatiſt's Son, the firſt Jeſuite that ever ſet Foot in *England*; *James Boſgrave*, *John Hart*, and *Edmund Kiſton*.

Sir *Will. Wade* ſent into *Spain*, being not admitted to have Audience of the K. comes again without doing his Meſſage. *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour is thruſt out of *England*, and why.

At this time *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, was thruſt out of *England*, for joyning with *Throgmorton* in his Treaſon againſt the Queen; whereupon Sir *William Wade* was ſent to the King of *Spain*, to ſatisfie him how ill *Mendoza* had diſcharged the Office of an Ambaſſadour here in *England*; who when the King admitted him not to his Preſence, but in a ſlighting manner, putting him off to his Counſellors; *Wade* taking it in great diſdain, boldly ſaid, That it was a declared Cuſtom amongſt Princes (though in heat of War) to give Ambaſſadors audience, and thereupon ſtoutly refuſed to declare his Ambaſſage, and ſo returned into *England*, unheard. The greateſt matters laid to *Mendoza*'s charge, were gotten out of *Throgmorton*'s Confeſſion; for when he was in danger to be apprehended, he ſent to *Mendoza* a box of Writings; and when his Cheſts were ſearched, there were found two Scrowls, one with the names of the Ports of *England*, and in the other, the Names of the Nobility and Gentry in *England*, that favoured the *Romiſh* Religion. Theſe, when *Throgmorton* ſaw brought forth, he ſaid they were counterfeited, and ſtood to it upon the very Rack, but being brought to the Rack the ſecond time, he then confeſſed all; That *Morgan*, by Letters out of *France*, had given him information, that the Catholick Princes had decreed to invade *England*, and with the help of the Duke of *Guyſe*, to free the Queen of *Scots*; and that nothing was now wanting, but money and aid in *England*: and that for procuring of this, *Charles Paget*, under the counterfeit name of *Mope*, was ſent into *Suſſex*, where the Duke of *Guyſe* intended to land; and that he had imparted all this matter to *Mendoza*, and intimated the names of the Ports, and of the Noblemen that ſhould aſſiſt. But being arraign'd at the Guild-Hall, he denied all this again, ſaying, he had ſpoken ſo, becauſe he would not be Racked again. Yet being condemned to die, he flying to the Queens mercy, confeſſed in a manner all he had before related; and then at the Gallows went about to deny it again. So falſe to it ſelf is the mind of man, when it is divided between hope and fear, and lies under the burthen of a guilty Conſcience.

Sir *Will. Wade* is ſent to the Q. of *Scots* to treat with her about ſome conditions for ſetting her at liberty.

Sir *William Wade* being returned from *Spain*, was employed to the Queen of *Scots* about the Treaty begun two years before: to whom the diſtreſſed Queen ſincerely profeſſed, That ſhe devoted her ſervice and her ſelf to the Queen of *England*: and made ſolemn Promiſe, That if the former Treaty might go on, ſhe would mediate with the King her Son, to receive into favour the Earl of *Angus*, & the other *Scottiſh* Lords, and would charge the Biſhops of *Roſſe* and *Glaſco*, her Agents in *France*, to have no further to do with the *Engliſh* Fugitives. Theſe things Queen *Elizabeth* heard gladly, and thereupon ſent *Beal* to the Queen of *Scots*, who joyntly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* ſhould ſignifie unto her, That if ſhe continued ſtill in the ſame mind as ſhe had delivered to *Wade*; Sir *Walter Mildway* ſhould come out of hand to her, and treat concerning her liberty; but withal, ſhe commanded *Mildway* and *Beal* to dive into her as well as they could, to know what practices the Duke of *Guyſe* had on Foot. To that which ſhe had ſpoken to Sir *William Wade*, the Queen of *Scots* made a

wary

wary answer; but to that concerning the Duke of *Guyse*, she plainly confesseth; That being sickly her self, and weak of body, she had committed her self and her Son to the Protection of the D. of *Guyse*, her dear Cousin, of whose intendments she knoweth nothing; nor if she did, would she disclose them, unless she might be sure of her own liberty. Lastly, she requesteth, that being a free and absolute Prince, she may not be worse handled, than Queen *Elizabeth* her self was, when she was a Subject, and kept in prison by her Sister. These things had a hearing, but no feeling, and the rather by a strange accident; for *Creighton* a *Scottish* Jesuit, sailing from the *Low-Countries*, and taken by *Dutch* Pirats, had certain papers which he tore, and threw away, which thrown over-board, and by the wind blown back unto the Ship, miraculously (as *Creighton* himself said) they were brought to Sir *William Wade*, who patching them together with much labour & cunning, discovered by them some new intendments of the Pope, the K. of *Spain*, and the D. of *Guyse*, about the invading of *England*: whereupon, and upon divers other rumours, the better to provide for the safety of the Queen, a number of her Subjects (the Earl of *Leicester* being the foremost) men of all ranks and conditions, bound themselves mutually to each other by their Oaths and Subscriptions, to persecute all those to the very death, that should attempt any thing against the Queen; which League of theirs they called the Association.

An Association of Lords and others in defence of Qu. *Eliz.*

The Queen of *Scots* who presently apprehended that this Association was entred into for her destruction; making this proposition by *Nave* her Secretary, to the Queen and the Council; That if she might have her liberty granted, and be assured of the Queens love, she would enter a strict League and Amity with her, and passing by all matters of offence, esteem and honour her above all the Princes of the Christian world: yea, and (saving the antient League betwixt *France* and *Scotland*) she would her self be comprehended in the Association, and a League defensive, against all that should go about to injure the Queen. Herewith Queen *Elizabeth* was wonderfully pleased, and at that time certainly had an inclination to grant her freedom. But see what malice can doe; for many in *England*, but especially the *Scots* of the adverse party, endeavoured by all means to hinder it: exclaiming, That the Queen should be no longer in safety, if the Queen of *Scots* were set at liberty; That both Kingdoms were utterly undone, if she were admitted into the joynt Government of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that the reformed Religion lay a bleeding, if Papists were admitted within the Court-walls; nor was this all, but the *Scottish* Ministers in their Pulpits, loaded the Queen of *Scots* with all manner of contumelies, slandering the King himself, and his Council in the most bitter manner; and being cited to appear before him, refused, saying, That the Pulpits were exempted from all Regal Authority, & that Ecclesiastical persons were not to be censured by the Prince, but by their own Consistory (directly against the Laws made the year before in Parliament) whereby the Kings Authority over all persons, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, was confirmed; and namely, That the King and his Council were Supream Judges in all Causes; and that whosoever refused to be tryed by them, should be holden guilty of High-Treason; all Presbyters and Lay-conventicles forbidden, Parity of the Clergy taken away, and the Authority of Bishops restored, whose Calling the Presbyteries had condemned as wicked and Antichristian: and lastly, all scurrilous Libels against the King and his mother prohibited; namely, the *Scottish* History of *George Buchanan*, and his Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*.

The Qu. of *Scots* offers to enter into the Association, if she may have her liberty.

To which Qu. *Eliz.* is inclining.

But is made averse from it by *Scots* and *English* of the adverse party, and especially by *Scottish* Ministers.

At this time, upon her Adversaries suggestion the Queen of *Scots* is taken from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and committed to the custody of Sir *Amias Pawlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, and that on set purpose (as some were perswaded) to drive her into abrupt and desperate attempts; and indeed upon this she grew more importunate with the Pope and King of *Spain*, to hasten their intendment, whatsoever became of her, as ill indeed was like to become of her, if it be true (as some said) that *Leicester* sent out assassinates to make her away, but that *Drury* detested the villany, and would grant them no access.

The Q. of *Scots* is taken from the E. of *Shrewsbury*, and committed to the custody of Sir *Amias Pawlet*.

And now to alienate Queen *Elizabeth* utterly from her; it is suggested to her, that *Allen* for the Catholicks of the Clergy, *Ingleseld* for the Laity, and the Bishop of *Rosse* for the Queen of *Scots*, with consent of the Pope and King of *Spain*, had joyntly combined to depose her, and to bar the King of *Scotland* from his hereditary Right to the Crown of *England*, and to marry the Queen of *Scots* to an *English* Nobleman of the *Romish* Religion, and him the *English* Catholicks should choose King of *England*, and the Pope confirm the Election: and all this upon the credit of *Hart* the Priest: but who this *English* Nobleman should be that should marry the Queen of *Scots*, could not be found, though *Walsingham* were busie to search it out: the fame went upon *Henry Howard* the Duke of *Norfolks* Brother, who was a single man, a great Papist, and of High estimation among the Catholicks.

A Combination in the Catholicks, to marry the Q. of *Scots* to some *English* Nobleman of the Romish Religion; and who he was thought to be.

This year died in exile and misery *Charles Nevil*, who was in the Rebellion in the North, the last E. of *Westmerland* of this Family; a house from whence descended many Noble Personages, six Earls of *Westmerland*, two Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, an Earl of *Kent*, a Marques *Mountacute*, a Duke of *Bedford*, Baron *Ferrers* of *Ousley*, the Lord *Latimer*, the Lord of *Abergaveny*, one Queen and five Dutchesses (to let pass Countesses & Baronesses) an Archbishop of *York*, & a numerous company of other Lords. In *England* died none of reckoning this year, but only *Plowden* the famous Lawyer; but in *France* the Duke of *Anjou* died of grief: and in *Holland*, *William* Prince of *Orange*, shot into the body with three bullets, by one *Balthasar Gerard*, a *Burgundian*.

Charles Nevil the last E. of *Westmerland* of this Family, dies in Exile; and of the many Noble Personages descended from that House. *Plowden* the great Lawyer dies. The Prince of *Orange* is shot and slain by a *Burgundian*.

It was now the year 1585. and the 28th of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when to tye the *French* King more nearly to her, whom the year before she had received into the number of the Knights of the Garter, she sent the Earl of *Derby* into *France*, to invest him with the Robes and Ornaments, according to the due solemnity; which he kindly accepted, and at Evening Prayer was invested with them.

At this time a Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*, wherein *William Parry* a *Welsh*-man, a De-

Will. Parry Dr. of the Laws, condemned & executed; and for what cause

a Doctor of the Laws, when in the lower House a Bill was read against the Jesuits, he alone stood up, and exclaimed that it was a cruel and bloody Law: and being asked his reason, he stoutly refused unless he were required by the Lords of the Council. Hereupon he was sent to the *Gatehouse*, but upon submission, was received into the House again. Soon after he was accused by *Edward Nevil*, for holding secret consultations about making the Queen away; who thereupon apprehended, upon his examination, confessed in effect thus much, That out of discontent he went beyond the Sea, where, by the encouragement of *Campegio*, the Popes Nuntio at *Venice*, and grant of a plenary Indulgence from the Pope, he undertook to kill the Queen; but coming into *England* to that intent, he altered his mind, and disclosed to the Queen the whole matter. After this, he received a Letter from the Cardinal of *Como*, perswading him to go forward with the Enterprise; and this Letter also he shewed the Queen. After this, he chanced to see a Book of Dr. *Allens*, written *contra Justitiam Britannicam*, wherein was declared, That Princes who were for Heresie excommunicated, might lawfully be deprived of their life and Kingdom. This Book wonderfully confirm'd him, and he read it to *Nevil*; who, though he took an Oath of Secrecy, yet now upon a hope of the Earldom of *Westmerland*, betrayed him. This was his confession before Baron *Hunsdon*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*: as likewise in his Letters to the Queen, to the L. *Burleigh*, and the E. of *Leicester*, acknowledging his fault, and craving mercy. A few days after, he was called to the Bar in *Westminster*-Hall, where he confessed himself guilty, and thereupon was condemned. After the sentence of death pronounced, he furiously cited the Queen to Gods Tribunal: five dayes after he was laid upon a Hurdle, and dragg'd through the City to *Westm.* where at the Gibbet he made a vain-glorious boasting of his faithfulness to the Queen, but not so much as in a word commended himself to God; and in the great palace at *Westminster*, was executed as a Traytor, the Nobility and Commons sitting then in Parliament.

Laws made for safeguard of the Qu.

In this Parliament the Association before spoken of was universally approved and enacted in this Form; That 24, or more, of the Queens Privy Council, and Peers of the Realm, should be selected and authorized under the Great Seal of *England*, *To make enquiry of all such persons as shall attempt to invade the Kingdom, or raise Rebellion, or shall attempt any evil against the Queens Person, for whomsoever, & by whomsoever that layeth any claim to the Crown of* England; *and that person for whom or by whom they shall attempt any such thing, shall be altogether uncapable of the Crown*; and more to this purpose. Laws also for the Queens safety, were enacted against Jesuits, and Popish Priests, and against all that shall receive or relieve them. These Laws terrified many, and particularly out of fear of them, *Phil.* E. of *Arundel*, the D. of *Norfolks* eldest Son, purposed with himself to travel beyond Sea; for having been once or twice cited before the Lords of the Council, and confined to his House, and after six months set at liberty, he thereupon wrote a Letter to the Queen, That for the service of God, and his Souls health, he purposed to leave his Country, but not his loyal affection towards her; but as he was taking Shipping, by his own servants treachery he was discovered, apprehended, and laid in the Tower.

The E. of *Arundel* committed to the *Tower*, and why.

At the same time lay in the Tower *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, a man of a lofty spirit, being suspected by reason of secret consultation with *Throgmorton*, the Lord *Paget* and the *Guises*, about the invading of *England*, and freeing of the Queen of *Scots* (whose cause he ever highly favoured) but in the month of *June* he was found dead in his bed, shot into the body with three bullets, under his right Pap, and the door bolted on the inside. The Coroners Inquest examining the matter, found and pronounced that he had kill'd himself. Three dayes after, the Lords meeting in the *Star-chamber*, *Brumley* Lord Chancellor, declared this fact of the Earls, and then commanded the Attorney-General to shew the cause of his imprisonment, and the manner of his death; whereupon, *Popham* first, and then *Egerton* the Queens Solicitor, in long Orations, laid open all his Treasons, and how for fear of the Law, he had laid violent hands upon himself.

Hen. Percy E. of *Northumberland*, being in the *Tower*, is found dead in his Bed.

And now the Queen knowing that the seeds of these Treasons proceeded from the Duke of *Guise*, and his adherents, she sought for the strengthening of her self, to enter into the League with the Princes of *Germany*; and to this end, she sent Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmark*, to the Count Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, to the Duke of *Saxony*, *Wittenberg*, *Brunswick*, *Lonceburgh*; the Marques of *Brandenburgh*, and the *Lantgrave* of *Hessia*; and into *Scotland*, she sent Sir *Edward Wotton*, to let the King understand how sincerely she was affected towards him, and withal to draw the King (if he could) into a League of mutual defence and offence, and to commend to him the Match of the King of *Denmarks* Daughter. The King was very inclinable to the matter of the League, but for the present, the business was interrupted by the death of *Francis Russel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, slain at a meeting to compound a difference between the Borderers, by a sudden tumult of the *Scots*, but who it was that slew him, was not known. The *English* laid it upon the Earl of *Arran*, and the Lord *Fernihurst* Governour of the middle Borders; Whereupon, at the Queens complaint, the Earl of *Arran* was confined, and *Fernihurst* committed to prison at *Dundee*, where he died; a man of great valor and resolution, and one that was alwaies firm for the Queen of *Scots*. But Queen *Elizabeth* not thus satisfied, gave leave by way of connivance to the *Scottish* Lords that were fled into *England*, namely, the Earl of *Angus*, the *Hamiltons*, and *John Cladius*, the E. of *Marre*, *Glames*, and other, that they should steal away into *Scotland*, (the supplying them with money) there to master and subdue the Earl of *Arran*. For *Maxwell*, who was lately made Earl of *Bothwell*, Baron *Humes*, *Goldinguells*, and others in *Scotland*, had already promised them their assistance; even in the very Court, Sir *Patrick Gray* (*Arrans* great Rival for the King favour) *Belenden*, and Secretary *Maitland* (by *Wottons* craft) were made against *Arran*. These men upon their first entry into *Scotland*, commanded all persons in the Kings name, to aid them for conserving the truth of the Gospel, for freeing the King from corrupt Counsellors, and for maintaining of Amity with the *English*, so as there presently joyned

Qu. *Eliz.* enters league with the Princes of *Germany*.

A great tumult among the Lords in *Scotland*, and why.

joyned with them about eight thousand men. The E. of *Arran* hearing thereof, makes haft to the King, and accuſeth *Patrick Gray* as Author of this commotion; but whiles *Arran* was making proviſion for defence of the Town, the enemies were ready to ſcale the Walls: whereupon *Arran* being adviſed, that only his life was ſought, gets ſecretly away with only one Servant, the reſt betook themſelves to the King in the Caſtle. The Rebels get into the Market-place, and diſplay their Banners againſt the Caſtle: the King ſends *Gray* to know the reaſon of their coming; they anſwer, to ſubmit themſelves, and in humble manner to kiſs the Kings hands: the King offereth reſtitution of all their Goods, if they would depart; They deſire to be admitted to his preſence, which upon theſe conditions the King granted, That they ſhould not attempt any thing againſt his life, or thoſe whom he ſhould nominate, nor make any innovation in the Government. They proteſt, They are ready to ſacrifice their lives for the Kings ſafety; and of any Innovation they had not ſo much as a thought: only, they requeſt to have their Adverſaries, and the Fortifications of *Scotland* delivered up into their hands. Hereupon after a daies Conſultation, they are admitted into the Kings Preſence, and forthwith the Earls of *Mount-Roſſe*, *Crawford* and *Rothſay*; Colonel *Steward*, *Downs*, *Arrans* Brothers, and others, were delivered to them: The Earl of *Arran*, who was fled into the Weſtern Iſlands, is called home: the Aſſaulters were pardoned, and pronounced good Subjects. *Hamilton* is ſet over *Dumbriton* Caſtle; *Goldingknolles* over *Edenburgh*; the Earl of *Angus* over *Tantallon*; the Earl of *Marre* over *Sterlin*; and *Glames* is made Captain of the Guard. Upon this, all Proſcriptions and Out-lawries againſt all Perſons, ſince the Kings Inauguration (ſaving ſome few proſcribed for the murther of the Kings Father) are called in, and with an unanimous conſent of all Parties, the Treaty of a League with the Queen of *England* is agreed upon, and Delegates nominated to that purpoſe.

A combuſtion in *Ireland*, how cauſed, and how paciſied.

In *Ireland* likewiſe was a Combuſtion this year, firſt the *Burkes* (deſcended of the antient Family of the *Burroughs* in *England*) provoked by the ſevere Government of *Richard Bingham* Governour of *Connaught*, raiſe Rebellion; but this was ſoon ſuppreſſed, for *Thomas Burk* dyed fighting; *Meyler* and *Theobald Burk* were taken and hanged. After this the *Clan Gibbons*, *Clan Donells* and *Joyes*, combined together in great numbers, and ſay plainly, They will have a *Mac William* of their own, one of the *Burkes* to rule over them, or ſome other Lord out of *Spain*; they will admit of no Sheriff into their Country, nor appear before the *Engliſh* Courts of Juſtice; and thereupon harried all the Country with Fire and Sword, and neither by the perſwaſions of the Archbiſhop *Tuam*, nor by the Intreaties of the Earl of *Clan-ricard* (the chief of the Houſe of the *Burks*) would be quieted, till *John Bingham* the Preſidents Brother, following them into the Woods drave away five thouſand head of their Cattel, ſo as after forty dayes, half ſtarved, they came forth and ſubmitted themſelves. But this was not yet an end; for now the Preſident underſtood, That two thouſand *Scottiſh* Iſlanders were landed and ready to break into *Connaught*; whereupon he muſters his men to give them battell; but they flying to Bogs and Woods, he retires back, as though in fear, thereby to draw them from the Bogs to firm ground, and then with his whole Forces ſet upon them, ſlew three thouſand of them (indeed all but fourſcore) amongſt whom were *Donel Garmy* & *Alexander Garmy*, the Sons of *James Mac-Conel*, who had long diſquieted this part, and thoſe *Burks* who were the firſt Authors of this Rebellion. This was a famous Victory, for the good of the preſent and future times, for hereby the name of the *Mac-Williams* in *Connaught* was utterly extinct, and the inſolent attempts of the *Scottiſh* Iſlanders abſolutely cruſhed.

The name of *Mac-Williams* in *Connaught* is utterly extinct.

In the *Low-Countries* at this time the States were very hard beſet, ſo as they held a Conſultation, whither to flie for Protection, whether to the *French* King, or to the Queen of *England*. Monſieur *Pruine* the *French* Ambaſſador ſhewed many advantages, and gave many reaſons why they ſhould fly rather to the *French* King; the *Engliſh* on the other ſide, alledged many reaſons why they ſhould fly rather to the Queen of *England*; but in concluſion, they have firſt recourſe to the King of *France*, and afterward being by him neglected, to the Queen of *England*. But then in *England* it was conſulted, Whether it were meet to protect them; wherein the Council was divided; ſome were of Opinion, That it were good to receive and aid them, leſt the *Spaniard* firſt conquering them, might have the better way to annoy *England*; others again thought, They were to be held no better than Rebels to their lawful Soveraign, and therefore unworthy of aſſiſtance. After long debating the matter, the Queen refuſeth to take them into Protection, much leſs to exerciſe Soveraignty over them. Nevertheleſs to raiſe the Siege of *Antwerp*, which was beleagur'd by the Prince of *Parma*, ſhe was content to ſupply them with four thouſand Soldiers, ſo as the Town of *Sluce*, and the Ordnance belonging to it, were given up into their hands: but while this matter was diſcuſſing, the Town of *Antwerp* was fain to yield it ſelf.

The States of the *Low-Countries* fly to Qu. *Eliz.* for protection, which ſhe for the preſent refuſeth:

But the Queen better bethinking her ſelf, partly as fearing the growth of the King of *Spains* Power, and partly, as commiſerating the afflicted of her own Religion, at laſt reſolves to undertake their Protection, upon condition of her part, to ſupply them with five thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, under a ſufficient General, paying them during the war; and afterward the expences to be payed back, upon condition on their part, by way of Pledge, to deliver *Fluſhing* and the Fort of *Ramekin*, the Town of *Brill*, with the two neighbouring Forts: and for the juſtifying of this her action, ſhe ſet forth a large Declaration. And knowing that herein ſhe incenſed the King of *Spain*, ſhe thought beſt to turn his anger further from home, and thereupon ſent out Sir *Francis Drake* and *Chriſtopher Carlile*, with a Navy of one and twenty Ships (wherein were two thouſand Volunteers and Mariners) toward the *Weſt-Indies*; who firſt ſurprized the Town of St. *Jago*, afterward St. *Dominick* (where five and twenty thouſand Crowns were given them to ſpare the town from burning) afterward *Carta-*

But at laſt ſhe undertakes it.

She ſends Sir *Francis Drake* and *Chriſtopher Carlile* to the Weſt, and what they effected there.

Cartagena, which they held ſeven weeks, till the *Spaniards* redeemed it for a hundred and ten thouſand Crowns. After this the *Calenture* waxing hot, and diminiſhing their Forces, they returned homewards, paſſing by *Virginia*, a Colony which Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had there planted; from whence *Drake* brings home with him *Ralph Lane*, who was the firſt that brought Tobacco into *England*, which the *Indians*, take againſt crudities of the Stomach. At this expedition were loſt about ſeven hundred men, who for the moſt part died of *Calentures*: their Booty amounted tot he value of threeſcore thouſand pounds Sterling, beſides two hundred and forty Braſs and Iron Pieces. Theſe things were done under the Torrid Zone in *America*: when in the mean while, Captain *John Davis*, with two Ships (at the charges of *William Sanderſon*, and other Citizens of *London*) found out a way to the *Eaſt-Indies*, by the higher part of *America*, under the Frigid Zone.

Tobacco firſt brought into *England*, at this time by *Ralph Lane*.

John Davis finds out a way to the *Eaſt-Indies* by the higher part of *America*.

At the end of this year, the Earl of *Leiceſter* is ſent General of the Qu. Forces into *Holland*, accompanied with the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lords *Audley* & *North*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, Sir *Tho. Sherly*, Sir *Arthur Baſſet*, Sir *Walter Waller*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, & divers other Knights, beſides five hundred Gentlemen. Landing at *Flaſhing*, he was firſt by Sir *Philip Sidney* the Governor his Nephew, after by the Towns of *Zealand* and *Holland*, entertained in moſt magnificent manner; and coming to the *Hague* in *January*, the States by Patent committed to him the command & abſolute Authority over the united Provinces, with the Titles of Governor & Capt. General of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the Confederate Provinces: ſo as being now ſaluted with the title of his Excellency, he began to aſſume unto him Princely ſpirits. But the Queen took him ſoon off from further aſpiring, writing unto him in moſt peremptory manner; That ſhe wondred how a man whom ſhe had raiſed out of the duſt, could ſo contemptuouſly violate her commands, & therefore charged him upon his Allegiance, to put in execution the Injunctions ſhe ſent him by *Hennage* her Vice-Chamberlain; Withall, in Letters apart, ſhe expoſtulateth with the States, that to her great diſparagement, they had caſt upon the Earl of *Leiceſter* her Subject, the abſolute command over the united Provinces, without her privity, which ſhe her ſelf had utterly refuſed; and therefore willeth them to deveſt him of that abſolute authority, to whom ſhe had ſet bounds, which he ſhould not paſs. The States return Anſwer, that they are heartily ſorry they ſhould incur her diſpleaſure by conferring upon the E. that abſolute Authority, not having firſt made her acquainted, but they beſeeched her to conſider the neceſſity of it; ſeeing, that for avoiding of confuſion, that Authority, muſt needs be caſt upon ſome one or other; Neither was there any great matter in the word *abſolute*, ſeeing the Rule & Dominion reſided ſtill in the people. By theſe Letters & *Leiceſters* own ſubmiſſive writing, the Qu. was ſoon ſatisfied: *Leiceſter* all this while receiveth Contributions & Rewards from all Provinces, maketh Martial Laws, and endeavouring likewiſe to raiſe new Cuſtoms upon Merchandizes, incurred great diſlike amongſt the common people. His firſt ſervice was to relieve *Grave* a Town in *Brabant*, which the Prince of *Parma*, by Count *Mansfield* had beſieged: hither he ſent the Count *Hohenlo* a *German*, & *Norris* General of the *Eng.* Foot, but notwithſtanding all the great Service they did there, the Town in the end was taken; but *Hemart* the Governor, for his cowardly yielding it up, loſt his head. From hence the Prince of *Parma* marched into *Gelderland*, and pitched his Tents before *Venlow*, where *Skenkic* a *Friezlander*, and *Roger Williams* a *Welchman* performed great ſervice, yet that Town in a ſhort time was taken alſo. But in the mean while the L. *Willoughby* Governour of *Burgen ap Zome*, cut off the enemies Convoyes, & took away their Victuals; and Sir *Philip Sidney* and *Maurice* the Prince of *Oranges* Son, upon a ſudden onſet, took *Axale*, a Town in *Flanders*. From *Venlow* the Prince of *Parma* goes to *Berke*, where there were 12000. *Engliſh* under the command of Colonel *Morgan*; he notwithſtanding laid Siege to the Town, which the E. of *Leiceſter* came to raiſe, but finding his Forces too weak to raiſe it, he ſeeks to divert it by beleaguering *Duisburgh*; which before the Prince of *Parma* could come to relieve, he took. And now the Prince of *Parma*, fearing leſt *Zutphen* ſhould come in danger, commandeth Victuals to be carried thither, which the *Spaniards* carrying along in a fogge, the *Engliſh* by chance lighted on them, vanquiſhed a Troop of their Horſe, ſlew *Hannibal Gonzaga*, and divers others, but then on the *Engliſh* ſide was one ſlain, more worth than all the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards* put together. Sir *Philip Sidney*, who having his Horſe ſlain under him, and getting upon another, was ſhot into the thigh, and 25 dayes after, in the flower of his age, dyed: A man of ſo many excellent parts of Art and Nature, of Valor and Learning, of Wit and Magnanimity; that as he had equalled all thoſe of former Ages, ſo future Ages will hardly be able to equal him. His Funerals were in ſumptuous manner ſolemnized at St. *Pauls* Church in *London*. *James* King of *Scotland* made his Epitaph, and both Univerſities celebrated his death with Funeral Verſes.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* is ſent General of the Qu. Forces into *Holland*.

The States commit to him the abſolute command over the United Provinces, which the Queen is angry at.

Sir *Philip Sidney* is ſlain.

After this *Leiceſter* aſſaulted *Zutphen*, where ſetting upon a Fort he takes it in this manner: *Edw. Stanley* (of the *Stanlies* of *Elford*) catching hold of a *Spaniards* Launce, which was brandiſhed at him, held it ſo faſt, that by it he was drawn into the very Fort; whereupon the *Spaniards* being affrighted (as thinking all the enemies were coming up) forſook the place, *Leiceſter* Knighted *Stanley* for this act, gave him forty Pounds in preſent money, and a yearly Penſion of an hundred marks during his life. And now though in this forwardneſs to win the Town, yet Winter being already come on, he thought it unſeaſonable to betiege it any longer (eſpecially ſo many *Engliſh* Gariſons lying round about it, which were in the nature of a Siege) but return'd to the *Hague*, where the States entertained him with complaints, that their money was not carefully husbanded, that the number of the *Engliſh* ſupplys were not full, that foreign Souldiers were levied without their conſent, that the Priviledges of the United Provinces were ſet at nought, and new devices for contribution invented; for all which evils, they intreated him to provide ſome preſent remedy. To which complaints (having a purpoſe to go for *England*) he gave a friendly anſwer;

1586.

Leiceſter takes the Fort of *Zutphen* by the valour of *Ed. Stanly*, and in what manner.

The States complain of the E. of *Leiceſters* carriage.

And the States excuſe it.

What was done by the Earl of *Leiceſter* at his being in *Holland*.

answer; but upon the very day in which he was to depart, he committeth the Government of the Province, to the deliberation of the *States*; & the same day made another private Instrument of Writing, where he reserved to himself the whole authority over the Governours of the several Provinces, Cities, & Forts; & more than this, taketh away the wonted Jurisdiction from the *States* Council, & Presidents of the Provinces; and came into *England* the third day of *December*. And thus passed the Affairs of the *Netherlands* for this year.

Philip Earl of *Arundel* is fined, and why.

But in *England*, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, who had lyen in prison a whole year, was at last brought to the Star-chamber; & being charged with fostering of Priests, & having correspondence with *Allen* and *Parsons* the Jesuite, and offering to depart the Kingdom without licence, was fined ten thousand pounds, and imprisonment during the Queens pleasure.

A league of strict Amity is concluded with the K. of *Scots*.

At this time, the Queen, by Sir *Horatio Palavicino*, supplied with a large sum of money the King of *Navarre*; through whose side the *Guyses* opposed the reformed Religion in *Scotland*, but her most intentive care was how to unite *England* & *Scotland* in a solid friendship: To which end she sent *Thomas Randoll* into *Scotland*, who making Propositions to the King, touching a League offensive & defensive, though the King at first required some additions, and though the *French* Ambassadour infinitely opposed it, yet at last he consented to it; & in *July* following, there met at *Barwick*, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Ewer*, and *Thomas Randall* for the Queen of *England*: *Francis* Earl of *Bothwell*, *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, and *Humes* for the King of *Scots*, and there the League (wch was called the League of strict amity; for that the word *Offensive*, liked not the *Scots*) was upon certain points concluded; First, for the maintenance of the Reformed Religion, and then other such Articles, as commonly in Leagues are usual.

A dangerous conspiracy is at this time discovered, begun by *J. Savage*, but prosecuted by *Anthony Babington* and divers others.

The very same month that this League was agreed on, a most dangerous Conspiracy against the Queen was discovered. For first, one *John Savage* was by the perswasion of *Gifford*, Doctor of Divinity, induced to believe, that it was a meritorious work, to take away the lives of Princes Excommunicate, who thereupon vowed to kill Queen *Elizabeth*: but to make the Queen and her Council secure, at the same time they wrote a Book, exhorting the Papists in *England* to attempt nothing against their Prince, and to use only the Christian weapons of Tears, Prayers, Watching, and Fasting. About *Whitsuntide* one *Ballard* a Seminary Priest of *Rheims*, acquainted with the vow of *Savage*, (having dealt in *France* with *Mendoza* and *Charles Paget*, about invading of *England*) arrived here in a Souldiers habit, and by a counterfeit name called Captain *Fosen*; with these matters he acquainted one *Anthony Babington*, a Gentleman of *Derbyshire*, who by the Bishop of *Glasco*, the Queen of *Scots* Ambassador in *France*, had been commended to her as one worthy of her love; so as between them there passed often Letters in unknown Characters. In short time, *Babington* had drawn into the Plot, other Gentlemen as zealous of the *Romish* Religion as himself; namely *Edward Windsor* Brother to the Lord *Windsor*, *Thomas Salisbury* of a good Family in *Devonshire*, *Charles Tilney* one of the Queens Pensioners, *Chydiock Tichburn* of *Hampshire*, *Edward Abington* (whose Father was Cofferer to the Queen) *Robert Gage* of *Surrey*, *John Travers*, and *John Charnock* of *Lancashire*, *John Jones*, *Savage* formerly spoken of, *Barnwell* of a noble Family in *Ireland*, and *Henry Dunne* a Clark in the Office of First-Fruits and Tenths; one *Pollie* also served himself into their company, a fellow throughly acquainted with the affairs of the Queen of *Scots*, who was thought to have revealed all their Consultations to *Walsingham* day by day. To these Gentlemen, *Babington* communicateth his affairs, but not every particular to every one, but to *Ballard*, *Tichburn*, and *Dunne*, he sheweth the Letters which passed between him & the Queen of *Scots*: with *Tilney* and the rest, he dealeth to be assistants; of whom, some at first loth, at last consented, and in a foolish vain-gloriousness, a Picture of the Assassinates was made to the life, and *Babington* in the midst, with these words, *Quorsum hæc alia properantibus?* This Picture (they say) was gotten and privately shewed to the Queen, who knew none of them by face, but only *Barnwell* (who had oftentimes come to her in the causes of the E. of *Kildare*, whose servant he was.) Certain it is, that the Queen one day walking abroad, spied this *Barnwell*, and turning to *Hatton*, said, Am not I well Guarded, that have not so much as one man in the company with a Sword by his side? Thus much *Barnwell* himself told the rest of his Confederacy, and how easie a matter it had been to have dispatched her at that time, if the rest had been present. The chief discoverer of the Plot, was the aforesaid *Gifford*: This was a Gentleman of a good House at *Chellington* in *Staffordshire*, not far from *Chartley*, where the Queen of *Scots* was kept prisoner, and was now sent by the *English* Fugitives in *France*, under the counterfeit name of *Lufon*, to put *Savage* in mind of the Vow he had made, and to convey Letters between them and the Queen of *Scots*. But he, whether pricked in Conscience, or dismayed in mind, came to *Walsingham* privately, revealing who he was, & for what end, and by whom sent into *England*. *Walsingham* courteously entertained him, & sent him down into *Staffordshire*, to do the work he had undertaken. Here *Gifford* bribing the Brewer of the house, where the Queen of *Scots* lay, contrived the matter in such sort with him, that by a hole in the Wall, in which a loose stone was put, he should give in, and receive forth Letters, the which by messengers purposely laid by the way, came evermore to *Walsinghams* hands; who broke them open, copied them out, and by the rare cunning of one *Thomas Philips*, found out the meaning of the Private Characters, and by the singular Art of *Arthur Gregory*, sealed them again so curiously, that no man would imagine them to have been opened, & ever sent them to the parties, to whom the superscription directed them. In like manner were the former Letters from the Queen of *Scots* to *Babington* intercepted; as also other Letters written at the same time to *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Ambassador, *Charles Paget*, the Lord *Paget*, the Arch-Bishop of *Glasco*, and *Francis Englefield*. The Queen as soon as she understood by these Letters of the storm hanging over

The chief discoverer of this Conspiracy was one *Gifford*, & by what means.

Walsingham's Statecraft.

her head, both at home and abroad, commanded *Ballard* to be apprehended, who on a ſuddain is taken in *Babingtons* houſe. *Babington* hereupon goeth to *Walſingham*, with whom he had long been a ſuiter, for licence to go into *France*, promiſing to do great matters in diſcovering the practices of the Fugitives. *Walſingham* with fair promiſes drives him off from day to day; and now perſwades him, that for a ſmall ſpace till he could get his licence ſealed, he would lodge at his houſe in *London*, where they might have ſecret Conference without ſuſpicion. This web *Walſingham* himſelf had ſpun hitherto, and no other of the Queens Counſel were made acquainted; and longer yet he would have drawn the thread, out but that the Queen was unwilling; left (as ſhe ſaid) by not avoiding danger when ſhe might, ſhe ſhould ſeem rather to tempt God, than to truſt in him. Whereupon, *Walſingham* ſent a Note to his man *Scudamore* from the Court, to look carefully to *Babington*: This Note was delivered in ſuch manner, that *Babington* ſitting by a Table when *Scudamore* read it, overlooked him, and read it likewiſe: Hereupon ſuſpecting that all was diſcovered, the next Night he and *Scudamore*, and one or two more of *Walſinghams* ſervants ſupping at a Tavern, and being very merry, he made an excuſe that he muſt needs ſtep aſide, and roſe up, leaving his Cloak and his Sword, and ſo made haſt through the dark to *Weſtminſter* where *Gage* and he changed apparel, and then together withdrew themſelves into St. *Johns* Wood near the City, whither *Barnwell* and *Dun* betook themſelves. In the mean ſpace they were proclaimed Traytors all *England* over. Hereupon they lay lurking in Woods & by-places; they ſhave *Babingtons* face, diſfigure the beauty of his Countenance (for he was of an extraordinary beauty) with the huſks of green Walnuts; and when they were half ſtarved, went to the houſes of the *Bellamies*, near *Harrow* on the Hill, who were great Papiſts; There they were hid in Barns, and put into a countrey habit: But notwithſtanding all their ſhifting, within ten days after they were diſcovered and brought to *London*. The other Complices were ſoon after taken, moſt of them in the Suburbs of the City, *Salisbury* and *Traverſe* in *Cheſhire*, and *Jones* in *Wales*, who harboured them in his houſe, after he knew they were proclaimed Traytors; *Windſor* only was never heard of. Many days were ſpent in the examination of them, who cut one the others Throats, with their own Confeſſions. All this while, the Queen of *Scots* and her ſervants are ſo narrowly looked to by *Pawlet*, that ſhe knew nothing of all theſe paſſages; As ſoon as they were apprehended, *Thomas George* was ſent to acquaint her with the whole matter, which yet he did not do, till ſhe was got on Horſe-back to ride a hunting, & was not then ſuffered to return, but in ſhew of Courteſie was carried up and down, to ſee the houſes of the Gentry thereabouts. In which mean while *John Manners*, *Edward Aſton*, *Richard Bagot*, and Sir *William Wade*, took *Nave* and *Curle* the Queen of *Scots* Secretaries, and the reſt of her ſervants, and delivered them to Keepers apart, that they might have no ſpeech between themſelves, nor with their Lady the Queen of *Scots*. Then they broke open all dores, and ſuch Desks & Boxes as they found with any Papers in them, they ſet their ſeals upon, and ſent them to the Court. In which being broken open before the Queen were found a number of Letters from Foreign parts, the Copies likewiſe of Letters ſent to ſeveral perſons, and threeſcore Alphabets at leaſt of private Characters; as alſo, Letters to her from ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility, containing great proffers of love and ſervice, which the Queen notwithſtanding took no notice of, but paſſed over in ſilence, according to her Motto, *Video & Taceo*, I ſee and ſay nothing. *Gifford* now, who had all this while ſerved their turn, is ſent into *France*; but ere he went hence, left an Indenture with the *French* Ambaſſadour here in *England*, with Inſtructions that he ſhould deliver no Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, or the fugitives in *France*, but to him that exhibited an Indenture matching with that, the which he ſent under-hand to Sir *Francis Walſingham*.

Babington ſeeks to eſcape.

But is diſcovered & taken.

The Qu. of *Scots* hath her Cloſet broken open, and her Boxes ſearched.

The twentieth of *September*, ſeven of the forenamed Conſpirators were Arraigned, and pleading guilty, were condemned of High Treaſon. Two days after, ſeven other were called to the Bar, who pleaded not guilty, but notwithſtanding were found guilty by their own confeſſions, & condemned; *Pollie* only, though he were privy to all paſſages, yet becauſe he had diſcloſed many things to *Walſingham*, was not called in queſtion. The twentieth day of the month, the firſt ſeven in St. *Giles* Fields, where they were wont to meet, were hanged, cut down inſtantly, their privy members cut off, and themſelves yet living and beholding it, were in cruel manner bowelled & quartered; namely, *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Savage*, (who, the roap breaking, fell down from the Gibbet, and was preſently taken by the hangman, his privy members cut off, and bowelled while he was perfectly living) *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney*, and *Abington*. The next day, the other ſeven were drawn to the ſame place, and executed in the ſame faſhion, but in a more gentle manner, by the Queens ſpecial charge who deteſted the former cruelty, for they were to hang till they were quite dead, *Salisbury* firſt, then *Dun*, then *Jones*, *Chernock*, *Traverſe*, *Gage*, and with them *Hierome Bellamy*, who had concealed *Babington* after he was proclaimed Traytor (whoſe Brother being guilty of the ſame fact, had ſtrangled himſelf in priſon.)

Fourteen of the Conſpirators are arraigned & hanged.

When theſe men were executed, *Nave* a *French* man, and *Curle* a *Scotch* man, Secretaries to the Queen of *Scots*, were examined concerning the Letters, the copies of Letters, and private Characters found in the Queen of *Scots* Cloſet; who under their own voluntary ſubſcriptions acknowledged, that they were their own handwritings, dictated in *French* by the Queen her ſelf, taken by *Nave*, turned into *Engliſh* by *Curle* and copied out in ſecret Characters. Hereupon Sir *Edward Wotton* was ſent out of hand into *France*, to make known to the King, the order of the Treaſon, and to ſhew him the copies of the Queen of *Scots* Letters, confirmed by the teſtimony of ſundry of the *Engliſh* Nobility, that the *French* King might ſee what dangerous plots were by *Charles Paget*, and the *Engliſh* Fugitives contrived againſt the Queen of *England*.

Sir *Edw. Wotton* is ſent into *France* to acquaint the King with this Conſpiracy.

And now, what ſhould be done with the Qu. of *Scots*, was a great conſultation; wherein the Counſel-

Consultation is held what should be done with the Qu. of *Scots*, and the resolution.

Counsellours were not all of one mind: some conceived; That it were not good to take any rigorous course against her, but only to hold her in fast Custody; both for that she was not Author of the Treason, but only conscious to it, and because she was crazie, and not likely to live long. Others, out of a care of Religion, were of opinion, to have her forthwith arraigned and put to death according to Law; *Leicester* thought it better to have her poysoned, and sent a Divine to *Walsingham* to prove it lawful, but *Walsingham* protested against that course. A difference then arose amongst them, by what law to proceed against her; Whether by the Law of the 25 of *Edward* the Third; (in which they are pronounced guilty of Treason, who plot the destruction of the King or Queen, raise War in his Dominions or adhere to his Adversaries) Or else by the 27 of the Queen Enacted a year since: Their opinion at last prevail'd who thought best to proceed against her by this latter Law, as being indeed in this case provided. Whereupon, divers of the Lords of the privy Council, & others of the Nobility, are Authorized by the Queens Letters, to enquire by vertue of that Law, and pass sentence against all such as raised Rebellion, invaded the Kingdom, or attempted any violence against the Queen. These Commissioners therefore upon the eleventh day of *October* repaired to *Fotheringay* Castle in *Northamptonshire*, where the Q. of *Scots* was then held prisoner; and the next day, sent unto her *Walter Mildmay*, *Paulet* and *Edward Barker*, publick Notary; who delivered her the Queens Letters; which having with a setled countenance read, she said, It seems to me strange that the Q. should lay her Command upon me, to hold up my hand at the Bar, as though I were a Subject, seeing I am an absolute Queen, no less than her self; but howsoever, I will never do any thing prejudicial to Princes of my degree, nor to my Son the King of *Scotland*. After many meetings, she standing still upon her Innocency, and upon her exemption from answering, as being an absolute Prince, and specially for yielding to be tryed by the *English* Laws, of which, One (she said) had lately been made of purpose for her destruction: It was at last told her plainly, by the Chancellour and Treasurer, that if she refused to answer to such Crimes as should be objected, they would then proceed against her, though she were absent. Being brought at last with much ado to consent, the Commissioners came together in the Presence Chamber; a Chair of Estate was set for the Queen of *England*, in the upper end of the Chamber under a Canopy; beneath over against which was placed a Chair for the Queen of *Scots*; on both sides of the Cloth of Estate stools were set, upon which on the one side sate the Lord Chancellour, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Lincoln*, & Viscount *Montacute*: On the other side sate the Lords *Aburgaveny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, St. *John* of *Bletsho*, *Compton*, and *Cheyney*; Next to these sate the Knights that were Privy Counsellors, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and Sir *Amias Pawlet*; Forward before the Earls, sate the two Chief Justices, and the Lord Chief Baron; on the other side, the two Barons, and the other Justices; *Dale* and *Foord* Drs. of the Civil Law: at a Table in the midst, *Popham* the Queens Attorney General, *Egerton* her Solicitor, *Gawdy* her Serjeant at Law, the Clark of the Crown, and two Notaries. When the Qu. of *Scots* was come, and had placed her self, silence being made, *Bromley* Lord Chancellor turning towards her, said, That the Queen had appointed these Commissioners, to hear what she could answer to Crimes laid to her charge, assuring her, That nothing would be cause of more joy to the Queen, than to hear that she had proved her self innocent. Upon this, she rising up said, That although being an absolute Prince, she could not be compelled to appear before the Delegates, yet to manifest her innocency, she was now content to appear. Then *Gawdy* opened every specialty of the Law lately made (against which she had taken Exception) shewing by *Babingtons* Confession, by Letters passed between them, by the Confessions of *Ballard* and *Savage*, by the Confessions of her Secretaries *Nave* and *Curle*, that she was privy to their Treasons, and consented to the Invasion of *England*, and destruction of the Queen. To which she answered, That Letters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be corrupted; the rest in hope of life might be drawn to confess that which was not true: In this she stood peremptorily, That she never consented to any attempt against the Queens Person; though for her own delivery, she confessed she did. After many other charges by the Commissioners, and replies by the Queen of *Scots*; at last, she requested, that she might be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen her self, and her Council. But this request prevailed not; for on the 25th day of *October* following at the Star-Chamber in *Westmin.* the Commissioners met again, & there pronounced sentence against her; Ratifying by their Seals and Subscriptions, that after the first day of *June*, in the Seven and twentieth year of our Soveraign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*, divers matters were compassed and imagined in this Kingdom, by *Anthony Babington* & others, with the privity of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, pretending Title to the Crown of *England*, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royal Person of our said Soveraign Lady the Queen.

Commissioners are sent to the Queen of *Scots* to acquaint her with the resolution.

But she stood upon her innocency, & upon her exemption from answering as being an absolute Prince.

Yet at last she was brought to consent

Hereupon she appears before the Commissioners.

And the Qu. Counsel open the Crimes with which she was charged.

Upon which afterward, in the Star-chamber, Sentence was pronounced against her.

After a few dayes, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, the which was begun by Authority from the Queen derived to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Derby*; and the same, not without some Presidents. At this Parliament, the Proscription of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chydiock Tichburn*, *Charles Tilney*, and other the Complices was confirmed, and their goods and possessions adjudged confiscate. Also the Peers of the Kingdom with an unanimous consent, exhibit a Petition to the Queen by the Lord Chancellor, That for the preservation of the true Religion, & safety of the Queen, of themselves, and their Posterity, the Sentence passed against *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, might according to Law be presently promulged: They put the Queen in mind of the fearful Examples of Gods Judgments extant in Scripture, upon King *Saul*, for sparing of *Agag*;

And in a Parliament presently following, the Lords petition the Queen that the Sentence passed against her might presently be promulged.

and upon *Ahab*; for not putting *Benhadad* to death. But the Queen answereth them to this effect: First, acknowledging Gods miraculous preservation of her, and then their constant affection towards her, for whose sakes only she desires to live: Otherwise, when she calls to mind things past, beholds the present, and expects what may happen in time to come, that she accounts them most happy, who go soonest hence. That the Law lately made, by which the Queen of *Scots* is condemned, was not made (as some maliciously have imagined) to ensnare her, but contrariwise, to forewarn and deter her from attempting any thing against it, which though it had not been made, yet were there other antient Laws enough to condemn her. Nothing could have bin more grievous to me, than that a Prince, and one so near allied unto me, should deserve the sentence pronounced against her; and seeing the matter is of rare example, and of a very weighty consequence, I hope you will not expect, that I should at this present determine any thing; yet that there may be no danger in delay, I will in due time signifie my mind unto you; and in the mean time, would have you expect from me, whatsoever good Subjects look for from a Gracious Prince.

And the Queens Answer.

Twelve dayes after, having deeply weighed the matter in her mind, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the Peers, and *Puckering* to the Lower-House, entreating them to advise more diligently concerning so weighty a matter, and to bethink themselves of some wholesome remedy, by which the life of the Queen of *Scots* might be spared, and their security also provided for. They, when they had a long time in a most serious manner deliberated hereof, return at last this Verdict, That the Queens life could not be in safety, while the Queen of *Scots* lived, unless she either repented and acknowledged her Crimes, or were kept in strait custody, or bound by her Oath and Obligations, or gave Hostages; or lastly departed the Kingdom. And seeing none of these were likely to be remedies, it remained, that only her death would be a remedy. Repentance in her they could little hope for, who would not so much as acknowledge her self faulty: Close imprisonment, Obligations, Oath, and Hostages, they accounted as nothing, which all vanished, if the Queens life were once taken away; and if she departed the Kingdom, they feared she would straightway go about to invade it again. These things the Lord Chancellor, and *Puckering* the Speaker of the Lower-House, declared to the Queen at large, and urged her in their names, to have the Sentence put in execution. Hereupon the Queen after a short pause, spake at last to this effect: I protest, my chief desire hath been, that for your security, and my own safety, some other way might be devised, than that which is now propounded; but seeing it now evident and certain, that my safety without her destruction, is in a more deplorate estate, I am most grievously affected with inward sorrow; that I, who have pardoned so many Rebels, have neglected so many Treasons (either by connivence, or silence) should now at last exercise cruelty upon a Prince so nearly allied to me. As for your Petition, I beseech you to rest in an Answer, without an Answer: If I say, I will not grant your Petition, I shall happily say what I mean not; If I should say, I will grant it, then cast I my self into destruction headlong, whose safety you so earnestly desire; and that I know, you in your wisdoms would not I should do.

A while after the Qu. entreats the Lords to think of some way by which the Qu. of *Scots* life may be saved, and her own not endangered. The Lords return answer, That there can be no way of her safety but the Queen of *Scots* death.

After this, the Parliament was prorogued, and then were the Lord *Buckhurst*, and *Beal* sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to let her understand that Sentence was pronounced against her, and confirmed by Parliament, and that the execution of it was earnestly desired by the Nobility and the Commons; and therefore perswaded her, that before her death, she would make acknowledgment of her offences against God and the Queen; Intimating, that if she lived, the Religion received in *England*, could not subsist. Hereupon she was taken with an unwonted alacrity, and seemed to triumph for joy, giving God thanks, and gratulating her own felicity, That she should be accounted an Instrument, for establishing Religion in this Island; and therewith requested, she might have some Catholick Priest to administer the Sacrament to her; but was denied, which some deemed, not inhumane only, but tyrannical and heathenish. The Bishop and the Dean, whom for this cause they commended to her, she utterly rejected, and jeered at the *English* Nation, saying, The *English* were ever and anon wont to murther their own Kings, and therefore no marvel, they should now thirst after her destruction. In *December* following the Sentence against her was proclaimed in *London* first, and after over all the Kingdom, wherein Queen *Elizabeth* seriously protested, that this promulgation of the Sentence was extorted from her, to her great grief, by the importunity of the whole body of the Kingdom. The Qu. of *Scots* being told hereof, seemed not a whit dejected with it: but writing to the Queen, never maketh intercession for her self, nor expostulateth her death, but only makes three small requests; one, That she might be buried in *France* by her Mother; another, That she might be put to death privately, but her servants to be present; the third, That her servants might freely depart, and enjoy such Legacies as she had given them. Of which Requests, she desireth the Queen to vouchsafe her answer; but whether this Letter ever came to Queen *Elizabeth*, is uncertain.

Upon this the Qu. of *Scots* is made acquainted with the Lords Petition to have the Sentence executed, at which she seemed to rejoyce.

This condemnation of the Queen of *Scots*, as a thing strange, and scarce credible, was soon spread far & near; so as intercessions came thick in her behalf to Queen *Elizabeth*, but especially from the King of *Scots*, and the King of *France*, who sent their several Ambassadors, using all the reasons that natural affection in the one, and likeness of condition in the other could urge, for sparing of her life; but when the necessity of the State seemed to obstruct all wayes of clemency, the *French* Ambassador *L' Aubespine*, falleth from reasons to action, and thinketh no way so effectual for saving of the Queen of *Scots* life, as to take away Queen *Elizabeths* life; and thereupon first, he dealeth covertly with *William Stafford*, a young Gentlemen, and prone to embrace hopes (whose Mother was of the Bed-chamber to Qu. *Elizabeth*, & his Brother at that time, Ambassador Lieger in *France*) and afterward more openly by *Trappe* his Secretary, to murther the Queen. *Stafford*, though not daring to act such a Villany him-

The King of *Scots* & the K. of *France* solicite for her life.

L' Aubespine the *French* Ambassador sets Agents a-work to kill Queen *Elizabeth*.

himself, yet commended one *Moody* to him a resolute fellow, and one that for Money would be sure to do it. Upon this *Stafford* brings *Trappe* to *Moody*, being then in the common Gaol, who upon *Trapps* offer, undertakes it: But then the consultation was, by what way it should be done. *Moody* propounded poison, or else to lay a bag of Gunpowder under the Queens bed, and suddenly fire it. But *Trappe* liked of neither of these wayes, but would rather have it done, as was done to the Prince of *Orange*. But while they are thus consulting about the way of doing it, *Stafford* discovers all to the Lords of the Council: Whereupon *Trappe* who was now bound for *France*, was apprehended, and being examined, confessed the whole matter. Upon this, the Ambassador himself was sent for to *Cecils* house, the twelfth of *January*; where met him by the Qu. appointment, *Cecill* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, and *Davyson* one of her Secretaries; who declare to the Ambassador every particular which *Stafford*, *Moody*, and *Trappe* his Secreatry had confessed. Assoon as *Stafford* was brought forth, and began to speak, the Ambassadour interrupted him, and reviling him, made asseveration, that *Stafford* first propounded it; when *Stafford* falling on his knees, made fearful imprecations, that the Ambassadour first propounded it himself. But whosoever propounded it (saith *Burleigh*) in appears that you were made acquainted with the matter. To which he presently replied; that if he had known of any such thing, yet being he was an Ambassadour, he ought not to give notice of it, but to his own King. After much reasoning in this manner, the Lord *Burleigh* admonished him to beware how he offended hereafter in this kind; and let him know, That he is not quitted from the offence, though for this time the Queen be pleased to forbear him.

Qu. *Elix.* terrified with many rumors, seals a Warrant for executing her.

But upon this Treason, the Queen of *Scots* Adversaries put many terrours into Queen *Elizabeths* mind, giving out that the *Spanish* Navy was come to *Milford Haven*, That the *Scots* were broken into *England*; That the Duke of *Guyse* with a great Army was landed in *Sussex*; That the Queen of *Scots* was escaped out of Prison, & had gotten a Company up in Arms, and many other such feigned suggestions; Through which, at length they drew the Queen to this: That she sealed Letters for executing the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots*; and one of the greatest perswaders to it (as the *Scots* reported it) was one whom the King of *Scots* had sent to diswade her from it; namely *Patrick Grey*, who sounded often in her ears, *Mortua non mordet*, when she his dead she cannot bite,

But being long in suspense about it, at last she commanded Secretary *Davison* to get the Commission made: but not disclose the matter to any.

The Qu. notwithstanding, began to weigh with herself, whether it were better to rid her out of the way, or else to spare her; and many great reasons offered themselves on both sides, but where only speculative reasons presented themselves for sparing her, many practical reasons, and those pressed both by Courtiers & Preachers, were presented to her; so as long holden in suspence, she would oftentimes sit speechless, and her countenance cast down; at last, her fear prevailing, she delivered to Secretary *Davyson*, Letters under her hand & Seal, to get the Commission made under the great Seal of *England*, for the Execution of the Qu. of *Scots*, which might be in a readiness upon any fear of danger; charging him not to disclose the matter to any whomsoever. But the next day her mind was altered, and sent Sir *William Killegrew* to *Davyson*, to countermand the making of the Commission. Whereupon *Davyson* goes to her, and lets her know, That the commission was already made, and the Seal put to it; Whereat the Queen extremely angry, rebuketh him sharply for his hastiness; yet *Davyson* imparteth the matter to Privy-Counsellors; and perswades them, That the Queen commanded, the Commission should be put in execution. Hereupon *Beale* Clark of the Council is sent down with Letters, wherein authority is deputed to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others, that she should be put to death according to the Law, with wch proceeding the Q. was not once made acquainted; & more than this, although she had intimated to *Davyson*, That she would take some other order concerning the Queen of *Scots*, yet did not he stay *Beal* from going.

Yet *Davyson* acquaints divers of the Privy-Council with it. Hereupon *Beale* is sent down to give authority to the E. of *Shrewsbury* and others to see her executed.

And now comes in the last Act of the Queen of *Scots* Tragedy; for as soon as the Earls were come to *Fotheringay*; they together with Sir *Amias Paulet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, with whom she was then in custody, go unto her, and reading the Commission, signifie the cause of their comings and in a few words admonish her to prepare her self for death, for that she must dye the next day: whereto, without any change of countenance or passion of mind, she made answer; I had not thought that my Sister the Queen would have consented to my death, who am not subject to your Laws; but since it is her pleasure, death shall be to me most welcome. Then she requesteth, that she might confer with her Confessor, and *Melvyn* her Steward, which would not be granted: The Bishop or Dean of *Peterborough* they offered her, but them she refused. The Earls being departed, she gave order that Supper should be hastned, where she eat (as she used to do) soberly, and sparingly; and perceiving her men and women servants to lament and weep, she comforteth them, and bids them rather rejoyce, that she was now to depart out of a world of misery. After Supper she looketh over her Will, read the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and writ their names severally by them, to whom she gave any of them; at her wonted hour she went to bed, and after a few hours sleep, awaking, spent the rest of the night in her Devotion. And now the fatal day being come, which was the eighth of *February*, she getteth up, and makes her ready in her best Apparel, and then betook herself in her closet to Almighty God, imploring his assistance with deep sighs and groans; until *Thomas Andrews* Sheriff of the County gave notice that it was time to come forth, and then with a Princely Majesty, and Chearful Countenance she came out, her head covered with a linnen Vail, and carrying an Ivory Crucifix in her hand; In the Gallery the Earls met her, and the other Gentlemen, where *Melvyn* her servant upon his bended knees, deplored his own fortune that he should be the messenger to carry this sad news into *Scotland*; whom she comforted, saying, Do not lament *Melvyn*, Thou shalt by and by see *Mary Steward* freed from all cares. Then turn-

1587.

The Commissioners acquaint her with it, with which she was not a whit daunted.

She makes her Will.

Her devout carriage at her death.

turning her self to the Earls, she requested that her Servants might stand by her at her death, which the Earl of *Kent* was very loth to grant, for fear of Superstition, to whom she said, Fear nothing, these poor wretches desire only to give me my last farewel. I know the Queen my Sister would not deny me so small a request. After this the two Earls and the Sheriff of the County leading the way, she came to the Scaffold, which was set up at the upper end of the Hall, where was a Chair, a Cushion, and a Block, all covered with Mourning. Then the Dean of *Peterborough* going to Prayers, she falling upon her knees, and holding up the Crucifix, in both her hands, prayed with her servants in *Latine*, out of the Office of the blessed Virgin. Prayers being ended, she kissed the Crucifix and signing her self with the sign of the Cross, said, *As thy Arms, O Christ, were spread forth upon the Cross, so embrace me with the open arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my sins.* Then the Executioner asking her pardon, she forgave him. And now her women helping off her outer Garments, and breaking forth into shrieks and cries, she kissed them, signed them with the Cross, and willed them to leave lamenting, for now an end of her sorrows was at hand; and then shadowing her face with a linnen cloth, and lying down on the Block, she repeated the Psalm, *In te Domini speravi ne confundar in æternum*; at which words she stretching forth her Body, her head at two blows was taken off. Her body was afterward Royally buried in the Cathedral Church at *Peterborough*; but since that, her Noble Son *James*, King of Great *Britain*, erected a Royal Monument for her, in King *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel at *Westminster*. This end had *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, in the Six and fortieth year of her age, and of her Imprisonment in *England* the eighteenth; a Lady so compleat in all excellent parts of body and mind, that it must needs have made her a happy woman, if she had not been a Queen; and perhaps a happy Queen too, if she had not been Heir to the Crown of *England*; For why did all her Endeavours want success, but only from the fear of that Succession? and no innocency of hers could be a Defence, where the fury of Jealousie made the Assault.

She is beheaded.

Her Age when she died.

As soon as it came to the Queens knowledge that the Queen of *Scots* was put to death, her Countenance grew dejected, and her speech failed her, insomuch that all in mourning weeds, she gave her self over to sorrow, commanded her Counsellors from her Presence, & caused *Davyson* to be cited to the Star-Chamber. And as soon as grief would suffer her, she wrote a Letter with her own hand to the King of *Scots*, & sent it by Sir *Sobert Cary*, to this effect; That her mind was infinitely disquieted, in regard of this lamentable event, against her meaning and intent; entreating him to believe, That if she had commanded it, she would never have denyed it, and withal protesting her true affection towards him, and her assiduous watchfulness for the prospering of his affairs.

Qu. *Eliz.* hearing of her death is infinitely dejected.

And soon after writes to the King of *Scots* to satisfie him in it, that it was done against her meaning.

While *Cary* was on his journey, *Davyson* is cited to the Star-Chamber before these Delegates, Sir *Christopher Wray* Chief Justice of the Kings-Bench, for that time made Lord Privy Seal the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Earls of *Worcester*, *Cumberland* and *Lincoln*, the Lords *Gray*, and *Lumley*, Sir *James Croft*, Comptroller of the Queens House, Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Edmund Anderson*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir *Roger Manwood*, Lord Chief Baron (where note, that *Bromley* Lord Chancellour, *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer, *Leicester*, and *Hatton*, who were indeed more guilty of the fact than *Davyson*, were none of the number.) Before these Delegates, *Popham* the Queens Atturney layeth to *Davysons* charge, Contempt of the Queens Majesty, violating of his trust, and neglect of his duty laying open all particulars of his fact; which after *Egerton* the Queens Solicitor, *Gawdy* and *Puckering*, Serjeants at Law, urged also against him with great aggravation: To which *Davyson* mildly answered, That he would not contest with the Queen: only protests, That if he had done any thing otherwise then he ought, it was out of ignorance and mistaking, and not out of any purpose to disobey her Majesty. It seems the Queen had carried her self as one that would have it done, and yet was loth to do it, scarce knowing her own mind, and yet would have another know it; meaning to make it the work of mistaking, rather then of purpose, that so at least she might leave some place of satisfaction to her self, that it was not absolutely of her doing.

Davyson is cited in the Star-chamber, & charg'd with violating her Majesties Trust.

And his Answer.

The pleadings ended, the Commissioners went to censure; *Manwood* began, and gave his Opinion, That *Davyson* for the inconsiderateness of his fact, should be fined ten thousand pounds, and imprisoned during the Queens pleasure; the rest went on in that Sentence, only the Lord *Gray* excused *Davyson* so far, That he thought him worthy of reward rather than of punishment; The conclusion was, the first Sentence for his Fine and Imprisonment, was by *Wray* Keeper of the Privy Seal confirmed; and *Davyson* never after recovered the Queens favour, though she relieved him sometimes in his necessity. A man ingenious indeed, but not throughly acquainted with the wayes of the Court; and thought to have been raised to this place, of purpose to act this part, and for nothing else.

His Censure in the Star chamber.

By this time Sir *Robert Cary*, Son to the Lord *Hunsdon*, who was sent to excuse the Queen, was come to the Borders; but being come thither, was not suffered to set foot in *Scotland*; The King would scarce hear him by another, and with much ado received his Letters. He called home his Ambassador out of *England*, and thought of nothing but revenge.

The K. of *Scots* will not admit the Qu. Messengers, and threatens revenge.

But the Queen still laying the fault upon *Davyson*, and the unadvised credulity of her Counsellors, by little and little allayeth his passion; & expecting till time had somewhat asswaged his grief, that it would indure to be toucht, at length by her Agents in *Scotland*; & soon after by the Lord *Hunsdon* Governour of *Berwick*, she admonished him, how dangerous it would be for him, to break out into war against *England*, and what little help he could justly expect from either *Spain* or *France*, but if he persisted in amity with *England*, he might be sure the Queen of *England* would most lovingly account him for her Son: & to the end that he should assure himself, that the Queen his Mother was put to death without her privity, she sent him the sentence against *Davyson*,

Qu. *Eliz.* seeks to pacifie him, & by what reasons.

son, under the Seals of all the Delegates, and attested under the Great Seal of *England*; and another Instrument likewise signed with the hands of the Judges of *England*; in which they aver, That the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots*, could in no wise be prejudice to his right in the Succession.

Drake is sent to the Coast of *Spain*, and what mischiefs he did the K.

Having now by these and the like Courses somewhat assuaged the King of *Scots* indignation; to prevent the war which they foresaw was imminent from the King of *Spain*, they sent forth *Drake* with four of the Queens ships and others, unto the Coast of *Spain*, to set upon their ships in the Havens, and to intercept their Munition. *Drake* entring into the Port of *Cales*, sunk, took, and fired about an hundred Ships, wherein was great store of Munition and Victuals: Then returning to the Cape of St. *Vincent*, he set upon three Forts, and compelled them to yield. Thence setting sail to the Western Islands, called *Azores* under the great Meridian; by great good fortune he hapned upon an huge and wealthy Carack, called St. *Philip*, returning from the *East-Indies*, and easily vanquished it; Whereupon the Mariners on both sides, from the name of *Philip*, portended no good luck to *Philip* King of *Spain*.

And the like also did *Tho. Cavendish* of *Suffolk*.

At the same time, *Thomas Cavendish* of *Suffolk*, in the other part of the World, who two years before had set sail from *England* with 3 ships, passing through the Straits of *Magellan*, in the Coast of *Chily*, *Peru*, and *Nova Hispania*, fired a great number of *Spanish* Towns, took and pillaged Nineteen great Ships, and amongst them a wealthy ship of the Kings nigh unto *Californa*, in North *America*; and so by the *Philippine* Isles, the *Molucces*, the Cape *de bone Esperance*, and the Island of St. *Helene*, returned home the next year, being the third after *Magellan*, that sailed about the World.

York and *Stanley* in the *Low-Countries*, perfidiously delivered up Towns to the *Spaniards*, and their ends.

As *Drake* and *Cavendish* at this time gained great fame and renown; so two other men in the *Netherlands* (*Stanley* and *York*) purchased as great infamy and disgrace: This *York* was a *Londoner*, a bold fellow, and of loose behaviour; famous for bringing first into *England*, the manner of turning the point upon the Adversary in single Combats, whereas the *English* till this time were wont to be armed with Bucklers and Swords, and to strike with edge, and it held no manhood to turn the point, or strike below the Girdle. He suffered some affront from the Earl of *Leicester*, fled away, and for a time, served under the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, till at last being reconciled to *Leicester*, he was set over the Fort near *Zutphen*; but being bribed, he not only yielded up the place to the Enemy, but drew to the like villany one *Stanley*, who with great valour had served in an *Irish* Expedition, to yield up *Daventry* to the *Spaniards*, a Wealthy and well fortified Town. But what got they by their treachery? The *Spaniards* set *York* and *Stanley* at variance, they poyson *York* and seize upon his goods, his Carcase was three years after digged up by the States Commandment, and hanged upon a Gibbet till it rotted away; *Stanley* went into *Spain*, where there was no credit given to him; for the *Spaniards* have a saying, It is lawful to give honor to a Traytor sometimes, but never to trust him.

Upon the complaint of the States against the E. of *Leicester*, the Lord *Buckhurst* is sent to examine his doings.

These late Treacheries wrought the Earl of *Leicester* much Envy with the Confederate *Netherlands*, because the Traytors were very intimate with him; whereupon the *States* in large letters to the Queen, accuse *Leicester* for his ill managing of the Weal Publick, in the matter of money, Merchandize, and Military affairs; and to his credulity, they impute the harm which accrewed by *York* and *Stanly*. The Queen, for the narrow sifting of the matter, and composing it; sent thither *Thomas Sackvile*, Lord *Buckhurst* (lately taken into her Privy Council in *Leicester*'s absence) *Norris* and *Bartholomew Clerk*: But when the officious diligence of *Buckhurst*, seemed to trench upon *Leicesters* Reputation; his grace with the Queen prov'd so forcible, that *Buckhurst*, at his return, was for certain months confined to his house.

Afterward *Sluce* being beleaguered by the Prince of *Parma*, *Leicester* was by the *States* sent for out of *England*, to succour it; the Town was furiously assaulted with Seventeen thousand great shot, and a mighty breach was made into it; which nevertheless *Roger Williams*, *Francis Vere*, *Nicholas Baskervile*, with the Garrison of the *English* and *Walloons*, valiantly defended for a while, but at last were enforced to yield it up; *Leicester*, that came to relieve it, finding himself too weak for the Besiegers, being gone away. And indeed, the *States* would not commit any great Army to his Command; who (they knew) had a determination to seize *Leyden*, and some other Towns into his own hands, and had a purpose to surprize the absolute Government. Whereupon the States used means, that *Leicester* was called home, gave up the Government to the States, and in his room succeeded *Maurice* of *Nassaw*, Son to the Prince of *Orange*, being now but twenty years of age. *Perigrine* Lord *Willoughby*, was by the Queen made General of the *English* Forces in the *Low-Countries*, to whom she gave command to reduce the *English* Factions into the States Obedience; the which, with the help of Prince *Maurice*, he easily effected.

Leicester is called home, and gives up the Government to the States.

Leicester being now come home, and perceiving that an Accusation was preparing against him by *Buckhurst* and others, for his unfaithful managing of Affairs in *Holland*; privately with tears he cast himself down at the Queens feet, entreating her, that she should not receive him with disgrace at his return, whom she had sent forth in honour; and so far prevailed with her, that the next day being called to examination before the Lords, he took his place amongst them, not kneeling down at the end of the Table, as the manner of Delinquents is: and when the Secretary began to read the heads of his Accusation, he interrupted him, saying, That the Publick Instructions which he had receiv'd, were limited with private restriction; and making his appeal to the Queen eluded the whole crimination, with the secret indignation of his Adversaries.

Being called to examination before the Lords of the Council, how he eludes it.

How the Honour of *Abergavenny* came to the Family of *Nevil*.

This Year was famous for the Death of many great Personages: In the month of *February*, dyed *Henry Nevill* Lord of *Aburgaveny*, great Grandchild to *Edward Nevill*, who in the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, got his Title in right of his Wife, only Daughter and Heir to *Richard Beauchamp* Earl of *Worcester*, and Lord of *Aburgaveny*,

gaveny, In which right, when as the only Daughter of this *Henry*, wife to Sir *Thomas Fane*, challenged the Title of Baroneſs of *Aburgaveny*, a memorable Contention aroſe concerning the Title between her and the next Heir Male, to whom by Will (and the ſame confirmed by Authority of Parliament) the Caſtle of *Aburgaveny* was bequeath'd. This queſtion being a long time debated; at laſt, in a Parliament holden in the Second year of King *James*, the matter was tryed by Voices; and the Heir Male carried the Lordſhip of *Aburgaveny*, and the Barony *Le Diſpenſer*, was ratified to the Female. This year alſo in the month of *April*, dyed *Anne Stanhope*, Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* Ninety years old, who being the Wife of *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerſet*, and Protector of *England*, contended for Precedence with *Katharine Parre*, Queen Dowager to King *Henry* the Eighth. There dyed alſo Sir *Ralph Sadler* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, the laſt Banneret of *England*, with which Dignity he was adorned at the Battel of *Muſſelborough* in *Scotland*. After him dyed *Thomas Bromley* Lord Chancellor of *England*; and ſix dayes after, he, whom the Queen meant ſhould have ſucceeded him, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*; but he now failing, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* was made Lord Chancellor, who though he were a Courtier, yet the Queen knowing him to be an honeſt man, thought him not unfit for the Place, where Conſcience hath, or ſhould have more place than Law: Although ſome were of Opinion, That it was not ſo much the Queens own choice, as that ſhe was perſwaded to it by ſome that wiſht him not well; both thereby to be a cauſe of abſenting him from the Court, and thinking that ſuch a ſedentary place, to a corpulent man that had been uſed to exerciſe, would be a means to ſhorten his life; and indeed he lived not full out three years after.

Anne Stanhope Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* dies of great age.

Sir *Ralph Sadler* dies, the laſt Banneret of *England*.

Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* is made Lord Chancellour.

This year Sir *John Perrot* was called home out of *Ireland*, and left all in great quiet to *Fitz-Williams* his Succeſſor. For hitherto the *Engliſh* found it no hard matter to vanquiſh the *Iriſh*, by reaſon of their unskilfulneſs in Arms; eight hundred Foot, and three hundred horſe, was held an invincible Army: but after by *Perrots* command, they were exerciſed in Feats of Arms, and taught to diſcharge Muskets at a Mark, and had in the *Low-Countries* learned the Art of Fortification, they held the *Engliſh* better to it, and were not ſo eaſily overcome.

And now we are come to the one and twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, being the year 1588, long before ſpoken of by Aſtrologers, to be a wonderful year, and even the Climacterical year of the World. And yet the greateſt Wonder that happened this year, was but the wonderful Fleet that *Spain* provided for invading of *England*, if the defeat of that wonderful Fleet were not a greater wonder.

1588.

It is true, there was at this time a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Spain*, and the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Crofts*, *Dale* and *Rogers* Doctors of Law, Commiſſioners for the Queen; for the Prince of *Parma*, the Count *Aremberg*, *Champignie*, *Richardot*, *Mais*, and *Garvyer*, Doctors, had many meetings about it near to *Oſtend*; but it ſeemed on the part of *Spain*, rather to make the *Engliſh* ſecure, that they ſhould not make proviſion for war, than that they had any purpoſe of real proceeding, ſeeing they accepted not of any reaſonable Conditions that were offered, but trifled out the time, till the *Spaniſh* Navy was come upon the Coaſt, and the Ordnance heard from Sea, and then diſmiſſed the *Engliſh* Delegates.

In the time of a Treaty of Peace between *England* & *Spain*, the K. of *Spain* ſends his great Armado againſt *England*.

The *Spaniſh* Navy conſiſted of one hundred and thirty Ships; whereof Galeaſſes and Galleons ſeventy two, goodly ſhips, like to floating Towers; in which were Souldiers 19290; Mariners, 8050; Gally-ſlaves, 2080; Great Ordnance, 2630. For the greater holineſs of their Action, twelve of their Ships were called the twelve Apoſtles. Chief Commander of the Fleet was *Don Alphonſo*, Duke of *Medina*; and next to him, *John Martin Recalde*, a great Sea-man. The twentieth of *May* they weighed Anchor from the River *Tagus*, but were by tempeſt ſo miſerably diſperſt, that it was long ere they met again: but then they ſent before to the Prince of *Parma*, That he with his Forces, conſiſting of fifty thouſand old Souldiers, ſhould be ready to joyn with them, and with his Shipping conduct them into *England*, and to land his Army at the *Thames* Mouth.

Of what number of Ships the Armado conſiſted: and who was General.

The Queens Preparation in the mean time was this; The Lord *Charles Howard*, Lord Admiral, with all her Navy, and Sir *Francis Drake* Vice-Admiral, were to be ready at *Plimouth*; and the Lord *Henry Seymour* (ſecond ſon to the Duke of *Somerſet*) with forty *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips, to keep the Coaſts of the *Netherlands*, to hinder the Prince of *Parma*'s coming forth. Then for Land Service, there were laid along the Southern Coaſt, twenty thouſand Souldiers, and two Armies beſides of Trained men were levyed; over one of which, conſiſting of a thouſand Horſe, and two and twenty thouſand Foot, the Earl of *Leiceſter* commanded, and pitched his Tents at *Tilbury*, near the *Thames* mouth: Over the other, appointed to guard the Queens Perſon, and conſiſting of four and twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, the Lord *Hunſdon* was General. *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and other Military men, were choſen to make a council of war, & conſult how the Land Service ſhould be ordered. Theſe declared amongſt other things, That the places which lay fitteſt for the Enemies landing, as *Milford*-haven, *Falmouth*, *Plimouth*, *Portland*, the Iſle of *Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the *Downs*, the *Thames* mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, and ſuch other, ſhould be fortified with works and Garriſons; the Train'd Souldiers of thoſe Shires, which lay near the Sea Coaſt, ſhould defend thoſe places, and be ready at the Alarm to hinder the Enemy from Landing; but if he did land, then to ſpoil the country round about, that he might find no Food; and by continual crying, Arm, Arm, give the Enemy no reſt, but yet ſhould not give Battle, till good ſtore of Commanders were come together.

The Qus. preparations both by Sea and Land to reſiſt it.

At this time many fearing the Papiſts at home no leſs than the *Spaniards* abroad, perſwaded the Queen to take off the heads of ſome of the greateſt of them; but ſhe deteſting ſuch cruelty, took order only, That ſome of them ſhould be committed to cuſtody to *Wisbych* Caſtle.

Many Papiſts are committed to cuſtody in *Wisbych* Caſtle.

And

And now all things on both sides prepared, the *Spanish* Navy set forth out of the *Groyn* in *May*, but was dispersed and driven back by weather. The *English* Navy set forth somewhat later out of *Plimouth*, bearing up towards the Coast of *Spain*; but partly by occasion of contrary winds, partly by advertisement that the *Spaniards* were gone back, and upon some doubt also that they might pass by towards the Coast of *England*, whilst they were seeking them afar off, they returned to *Plimouth*: At which time, a confident (though false) advertisement came to the Admiral, That the *Spaniards* could not possibly come forward that year: whereupon the *English* Navy was upon the point of disbanding, and many of the men were gone on shore, when suddenly the invincible *Armada* (for so it was called in a *Spanish* ostentation) was discovered upon the Western Coast: whereof the Lord-Admiral being informed, had much ado to get the Queen's Navy out of the Haven (the wind being contrary) yet at length he haled it forth. The next day, the *English* beheld the *Spanish* Ships, in height like to Castles, sailing slowly along, whom they suffered peaceably to pass by, that they might have the benefit of the wind to follow after. The one and twentieth day of *July*, the Admiral of *England* sent a Pinnace before, called *The Defiance*, which by a great shot, challenged the *Spaniards* to fight, and by and by they fell to it. Then *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbisher*, let fly against the outmost Squadron, which *Recalde* commanded, making him glad to fly to their main Navy for succour. The night following, a mighty *Biskayner* of *Oquenda*'s (in which the King of *Spain*'s Treasure was) was by chance fired with Gun-powder, but was timely quenched by other Ships sent to her succour; one of which Ships, was the Galeon of *Don Pedro*, whom Sir *Francis Drake* took Prisoner, and sent him to *Dartmouth*. The *Biskayner* it self (the Treasure being taken out by the *Spaniards*) they left behind them, which the *English* brought into the Haven at *Weymouth*.

The two Fleets encounter; and the passages and events of it.

The three and twentieth day of this month they had a second fight, in which most of the *Spanish* shot flew over the *English* Ships, and never hurt them; onely *Cock* an *English* man, being with his little Vessel in the midst of the Enemies, died valiantly. The four and twentieth day they rested on both sides; in which time the Lord Admiral ranked his whole Fleet into four Squadrons: The first he ruled himself, *Drake* the second, *Hawkins* the third, and *Forbisher* the fourth.

The five and twentieth day (which was Saint *James*'s day) they fell to it the third time; in which Fight, the *English* had again the better, so as after this time, the *Spaniards* would no more turn upon the *English*, but holding on their course dispatched a Messenger to the Prince of *Parma*; requiring him forthwith to joyn himself to the King's Fleet, and withall to send them Bullets.

The day following, the Lord Admiral Knighted *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townsend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbisher*; and holding a Council of War, they decreed not to set again upon the Enemy, till they came to the straight of *Calice*, where the Lord *Henry Seymor* and Sir *William Winter* waited for their coming. And now so far were the *English* from being terrified with this invincible Navy, that many of the Nobility and other of special note, hired Ships at their own charges, and came to the Admiral; as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brook*, Sir *Charles Blunt*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *William Hatton*, Sir *Robert Cary*, Sir *Ambrose Willoughby*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Arthur Gorge*, and others.

The seven and twentieth of *July*, towards the Evening, the *Spaniards* cast Anchor near unto *Calice*, and not far from them rode the *English* Admiral, within shot of a great Ordnance, to whom *Seymor* and *Winter* joyned themselves: so as by this time there were in the *English* Navy a hundred and forty Ships, nimble and serviceable for Fighting or Sailing, yet onely fifteen of them bore the stroke of the Battel. And now again the *Spaniards* sent post after post to the Prince of *Parma* to send them forty fly-boats, without which they were not able to skirmish with the *English*, by reason of the greatness and unweildiness of their Ships, and importune him presently to put to Sea with his Army; but he was unprepared, and his Flat-bottomed Boats were full of chinks, and leaked; and besides, the *Hollanders* hovered before the ports of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, in such sort, that he durst not look forth.

The Prince of *Parma* is unprepared to put to Sea.

The eight and twentieth day, the Lord-Admiral made ready eight of his worst Ships, on the out-side dawbed with Wild-fire, Rozin and Brimstone, within full of combustible matter, and under the Conduct of *Young* and *Prowse*, sent them down with the wind in the silent time of the night towards the *Spanish* Fleet; the which when the *Spaniards* saw approach them, and the Sea as it were all on a light fire, imagining withall, that those Fire-ships might carry in them some murthering Engine, they made a hideous noise, took up Anchors, cut Cables, spread Sails, and betook themselves to their Oars, but more to flight: One of the *Spanish* Galeasses having lost her Rudder, and floating up and down, was held in fight by *Amias Preston*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvie*, who slew Captain *Hugh Moncado*, cast the Souldiers over board, and carried away a great deal of Gold, but the Vessel and Ordnance was wreck to the Governour of *Calice*.

A stratagem used by the *English* Admiral.

Drake and *Fenner* in the mean while perceiving the *Spanish* Fleet to gather together again before *Graveling*, set upon them with great violence, to whom straightways *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beeston*, *Cross*, and *Riman* joyn themselves; and soon after the Admiral himself, Sir *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*; the Galeon called Saint *Matthew*, was sorely battered by *Seymor* and *Winter*, driven toward *Ostend*, and set upon again by the *Zealanders*, and at last was taken by the *Flushingers*.

And now the *Spanish* Navy having want of many necessaries, and no hope of the Prince of *Parma*'s coming, they resolved to return Northward for *Spain*; in which passage they lost both many Ships and men; the *English* Navy still following them close, till they were fain to give them over for want of Powder. Whilst these things passed at Sea, the Queen in person came to *Tilbury*, to view the Army and Camp there, where

The *Spanish* Navy returns home.

The Queen in person comes to *Tilbury* to the Army.

where ſhe ſhewed ſuch undaunted Courage and Reſolution, that it wonderfully animated the ſpirits of them all.

And thus this Navy, which was three whole Years in preparing, in the ſpace of a Month was often beaten, and at length put to flight, many of their men being ſlain, more than half of their Ships taken and ſunk (of the *Engliſh* not above a hundred at the moſt miſſing, nor ſo much as a Ship, but *Cock's* little Veſſel) and ſailing about all *Britain* by *Scotland*, the *Orkneys* and *Ireland*, they returned into *Spain* with as much diſhonour as they came out with boaſting, for indeed *Mendoza* in *France* by a Book in Print, triumphed before the Victory.

Queen *Elizabeth* comes to *Paul's*, and gives publick thanks to God for this Victory.

For the happy ſucceſs of this Action, Queen *Elizabeth* appointed Prayers and Thankſgiving over all the Churches in *England*, and ſhe (as it were in Triumph) came in Perſon, attended with a great Troop of Nobility into the City, and went into the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* (where the Banners taken from the Enemy were placed in view) and there in moſt humble manner gave thanks to Almighty God. And that which increaſed the publick joy, was the News which Sir *Robert Sidney* brought out of *Scotland*, That

The King of *Scots* is reconcil'd to the Queen.

the King had over-paſt all injuries, was lovingly affected towards the *Engliſh*, and deſired to embrace ſincere and perfect amity with the Queen. For as for the King of *Spain*, he wittily told the Embaſſadour, that he expected no other courteſie from him, but ſuch as *Polyphemus* promiſed *Ulyſſes*, that he ſhould be the laſt whom he would devour.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* dies.

And now dyed the great Earl of *Leiceſter* the fourth day of *September*, at his Mannor of *Killingworth*, of a violent Feaver; I may well ſay the great Earl, conſidering the many great Honors he injoyed, which are extant in the Story; yet one honour greater than he had before, he effected even then when he was ready to go out of the World, and that was, To be Vice-gerent in the high Government of *England* and *Ireland*, for which the Patent was already drawn, and had been ſealed, but that *Burleigh* and *Hatton* ſhewed the Queen how dangerous a thing it might prove, for ſo great Authority to reſide in one Subject. He was while he lived in ſo great favour with the Queen, that ſome thought (and himſelf not the leaſt) that ſhe meant to marry him; yet when he died his Goods were ſold at an Out-cry to make payment of the Debts he owed her.

Philip Earl of *Arundel* is cited to be tried by his Peers, by whom he is condemned, but the Queen ſpares his life.

About this time *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, who three years before had been caſt in priſon, was now cited in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, to the Judgment of his Peers, and *Henry* Earl of *Derby* was made High Steward of *England* for the time. The matters laid to his Charge were theſe: That he had contracted friendſhip with Cardinal *Allen*, *Parſons* the Jeſuite, and other Traytors, exciting divers both abroad and at home to reſtore the *Romiſh* Religion, promiſing his aſſiſtance thereunto: and for that reaſon had a purpoſe to depart the Kingdom. That he was privy to the Bull, in which Pope *Sixtus Quintus* had depoſed the Queen, and given *England* to the *Spaniard*; That being impriſoned in the Tower, he cauſed Maſs to be ſaid for the proſperous ſucceſs of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and for that purpoſe had framed peculiar Prayers for his own private uſe. Being demanded whether he were guilty of theſe things; turning himſelf to the Judges, he asked them theſe queſtions: Firſt, whether it were lawful to heap up ſo many Crimes together in one Bill of Indictment? They anſwered, that it was: Then whether Arguments taken from preſumptions were of force? They anſwered, that it was lawful for him to interpoſe exceptions, if he ſaw cauſe. Then again, if he might be Arraigned for thoſe things which were Capital, by the Law made the thirteenth year of the Queen, after that the time expreſſed in the Act was expired? They promiſed, they would proceed againſt him by no Law, but the old Statute of Treaſon, made in the Reign of King *Edward* the third. But now again asked, if he were guilty or not? he pleaded, Not Guilty; whereupon *Puckering* the Queen's Serjeant at Law, *Popham* Attorney-General, *Shuttleworth* Serjeant at Law, and *Egerton* the Queen's Solicitor, in their turns, urged and proved the Crimes objected; ſome whereof he denied, ſome he extenuated; but in concluſion was by his Peers found guilty, and condemned; yet the Queen ſpared his life, and was content with thus much done in terror to the Papiſts.

1589.

Norris and *Drake* undertake an Expedition into *Spain*, to ſet *Don Antonio* in his Kingdom of *Portugal*, but prevailed not, and why.

It was now in the year 1589. and the two and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when to be in ſome ſort revenged of the *Spaniards* for their Invaſion, the gave leave to Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* to undertake an Expedition at their own private Charges, requiring nothing of her but a few Ships of War, who took along with them *Anthony* the Baſtard, laying Claim to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and of Souldiers to the number of eleven thouſand, of Seamen about fifteen hundred: ſetting ſail from *Plimouth* the fifth day of *April*, they arrived at the Groyne in *Galizia*; whereof with great valour they took firſt the Lower Town, and afterward the Higher, and from thence ſailing towards *Portugal*, they met *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, who without the Queen's leave had put to Sea; After two days they arrive at *Penycha* a Town of *Portugal*, which they took; and left the Caſtle to *Don Antonio*, and from thence they march by Land towards *Lisbon* threeſcore miles off: The Foot Companies led by *Norris*, whom *Drake* promiſed to follow with the Fleet, being come to the Weſt ſuburbs of *Lisbon*, they found no body there but a few poor diſarmed *Portugals*, who cryed out, *God ſave King Antonio*. The day following the *Spaniards* made a ſally out, in which Skirmiſh, *Bret*, *Careſly* and *Carre* (ſtout Commanders) were ſlain; yet did the Earl of *Eſſex* drive the *Spaniards* to the very Gates of the City. And having now tarried here two days, and ſeeing no ſign of the *Portugals* revolting; which *Don Antonio* had aſſured them would be, finding freſh ſupplies come into the Town, their own Army ſickly, Victuals and Powder failing; and which was moſt of all, Sir *Francis Drake* not bringing the great Ordnance as he promiſed, they departed from the Suburbs of *Lisbon* towards *Caſcais*, a little Town at the mouth of the River *Tagus*, which Town *Drake* had taken this mean while, who excuſed his not coming to *Lisbon*, by reaſon of the flats he muſt have paſſed, and the Caſtle of Saint *Julian* Fortified with fifty pieces of great Ordnance. Near this place they found three

threescore Hulks of the Hanse Towns of *Germany*, laden with Corn and all manner of Munition, which they took as good prize towards their Charges, in regard the Queen had forbidden them to carry Victuals or Munition to the *Spaniard*. From hence they set sail to *Virgo*, a forlorn Town by the Sea-side, and pillaging all along that Quarter, returned for *England*, having lost in the Voyage of Souldiers and Mariners about six thousand; yet not so much by the Enemy, as by eating of strange Fruits, and distemper of the Climate.

It concerns the state of *England*, to look at this time into the state of *France*, for while those things were in doing between *Spain* and *England*, the Popish Princes of *France*, under pretext of defending the Catholick Religion, entred into a Combination, which they call'd, *The Holy League:* The purpose whereof was to root out the Protestants, and to divert the Right of Succession to the Crown of *France*; for they bound themselves to each other by Oath, to suffer no person but a Catholick to be King of *France*; which was directly to exclude the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, if the present King without Issue-male should fail. The head of this League was the Duke of *Guise*, who having given some overthrows to the *German* Forces that came into *France* in aid of the Protestants, was immeasureably extolled by the Clergy and others; and grew to such a height of Reputation, that entring into *Paris*, he made the King glad to leave the City, and in an Assembly at *Bloys*, to make him great Master of the *French* Chavalry, and to consult by Edict, to the cutting off the Protestants. So as the King standing now in fear of him, used means at last, even in the very Court, to have him murdered; and soon after, the Cardinal his Brother to be strangled. Hereupon so great a confusion followed, that the people every where disobeyed the Magistrates, and spoiled the Kings very Palace at *Paris*. Some Cities affected a Democracy, others an Aristocracy, but few liked of a Monarchy. The Confederates in the mean while made a new Seal, usurped the Royal Authority, seized into their hands the best fortified places, intercept the Kings Revenues, call in *Spanish* Souldiers, and in all places denounce war and violence against the King. And the King in this case being forced to fly to the Protestants for succour, they then most wickedly, by one *James Clement* a Monk, made him away. The King being ready to die, Declareth the King of *Navarre* to be his lawful Successour, but the Confederates would exclude him as an open Heretick; and yet whom to make choice of they cannot well agree; some would have the Duke of *Lorrain*, as being descended from the ancient Kings of *France*; some the Duke of *Savoy*, as born of the *French* King's Daughter, a Prince Potent and Couragious; others would have the Duke of *Guise*'s Brother that was murdered; others the King of *Spain*; but the greatest part gave their Voices for the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was one degree nearer allyed to the slain King, than the King of *Navarre* his Nephew. He therefore was proclaimed King of *France*, with the Title of *Charles* the Tenth; but he being a Priest, the King of *Navarre* also was at the same time proclaimed King of *France*, who abode at *Diepe*, a Sea-Town in *Normandy*, and doubted not to drive the Cardinal easily out of *France*.

A Combination, called the Holy League, was made in *France*.

The head of this League is the Duke of *Guise*.

Whom the King for his insolent carriage, caused to be murdered in the very Court.

The Confederates make a new Seal, and usurp the Royal Authority.

The King is murdered by a Monk.

Being ready to die, he declared the K. of *Navarre* to be his lawfull Successor.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* is proclaimed King of *France*, & at the same time also the King of *Navarre*.

The King of *Navarre* being thus raised in Dignity, but weak in means, implored Aid of the Queen of *England*, offering to make a League Offentive and Defensive; the Queen out of a pious respect to a King of her own Religion, sent him presently two and twenty thousand pound sterling in Gold (such a summ of Gold, as he professed he had never seen at one time before) and withal supplied him with four thousand Souldiers, under the Command of *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*; for Colonels, she appointed Sir *Thomas Wilford*, who was made Marshal of the Field, *John Boroughs*, Sir *William Drury*, and Sir *Thomas Baskervyle*, and gave them a months pay in hand. Hereupon the Confederates whom the King had vanquished a little before at *Argues* beyond all expectation, began to quail, and the day before the arrival of the *English*, they vanished away: with this addition of Forces, the King marcheth to *Paris*, and being ready to enter the City, caused a retreat to be sounded, as loth to have spoil made of a City which he hoped shortly should be his own. Afterwards by the assistance of the *English* he won many Towns, and then having marched at least five hundred miles on foot, he gave them leave after a long Winters service, to return into *England*. In which Voyage, of men of note died Captain *Huntings*, but of a natural death, also *Stubbs* (he whose right hand was cut off for writing the Book against the Queen's marriage) and Sir *William Drury* slain by Master *Boroughs* in a single Combat, where the quarrel was, that he being but a Knight, would take place of *Boroughs* that was the younger Son of a Baron, contrary to the Laws of the *English* Gentry.

The K. of *Navarre* is aided by Queen *Elizabeth*, both with mony and men.

Sir *William Drury* is slain by Mr. *Boroughs* in a single Combat, upon a quarrel of taking place, the one being a Knight, the other being a Barons younger Son.

About this time, *James* King of *Scots* (with Queen *Elizabeth*'s good liking) espoused *Anne* the Daughter of *Frederick* the second King of *Denmark* by his Deputy; but she afterward sailing for *Scotland*, was by tempest cast upon *Norway*, and there, through continual storms forced to stay, so as the King in the Winter-season set sail thither, that the marriage according to his Vow might be accomplished within the year: some were of opinion, that those storms were caused by witchcraft, and was confirmed indeed by some witches taken in *Scotland*; who confessed they had rais'd those storms to keep the Queen from landing in *Scotland*, and that the Earl *Bothwell* had asked Counsel of them concerning the King's end; who was thereupon cast into prison, but in a short time breaking loose, occasioned new stirs in *Scotland*.

James K. of *Scots* marries *Anne* the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter.

This year many Noble personages died; *Frances* Countess of *Sussex*, Sister to Sir *Henry Sidney*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellour and Vice-Treasurer of the Exchequer, *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester*, so numerous in his off-spring, that he could reckon more children of both Sexes, than all the Earls of *England*. Also *John* Lord *Sturton*, *Henry* Lord *Compton*, and at *Bruxels* the Lord *Paget*.

Many great Personages die.

William Somerset Earl of *Worcester*, his numerous issue.

At this time, the Queen, who was always frugal, strained one point of Frugality more than ever she had done before; for upon the information of one *Caermarden*, (though *Leicester*, *Burleigh* and *Walsingham* were offended, that credit

Customer *Smith* is raised in his Farm of the Customs and how much.

1590.

should be given to such a one, and themselves neglected) she raised *Thomas Smith* the Customer from thirteen thousand pounds yearly, to two and forty thousand pounds, & at last to fifty thousand.

It was now the year 1590. and the three and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, in which the Earl of *Cumberland* made a Voyage to the Indies, where he laid level to the ground the Fort of the Isle of *Fiala*, and brought away eight and fifty Pieces of great Ordnance.

Many Noble Personages die.

Sir *Francis Walsingham* dies.

This year was fatal to many Noble personages; first dyed *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, (Son to *John* Duke of *Northumberland*) without Issue. After him Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary, a man more skilful in the Politicks, than in the Oeconomicks; more cunning in managing matters of the publick State, than of his own private estate, which he left so mean, and dyed so much indebted, that he was fain to be buried by night, without any Funeral pomp, in the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*; leaving behind him one onely Daughter, famous for her three Husbands, all of them the goodliest men of their time; the first, Sir *Philip Sidney*; the second, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*; the third, *Richard Burgh* Earl of *Clanricard*; by King *Charles* made Earl of Saint *Albans*. Within two months after *Walsingham*, died Sir *Thomas Randol*, who had been fourteen times sent in Embassage to several Princes, yet was never rewarded with any greater dignities, than the Chamberlainship of the Exchequer, and the Postmastership of *England*. Soon after him dyed Sir *James Crofts*, who had done good service in *Scotland*, in *Edward* the Sixth's time; in Queen *Mary*'s time was condemned of High Treason; in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time set at liberty, and made Governour of *Berwick*, and afterwards Comptroller of her house. After him died *George Talbot*, the seventh Earl of *Shrewsbury* of this House; he was made Earl-Marshal of *England*, and left behind him a memorial of Wisedom and Integrity. Lastly, died *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*, the last of the *English* that had been Governour of *Calice*.

Some disturbances in *Ireland*, but soon composed.

In *Ireland* at this time *Hugh Gaveloc* (so called, because he had been long kept in Fetters) the natural Son of *Shain O Neale*, accused *Hugh* Earl of *Tir-Oen*, for holding private consultations with certain *Spaniards*, who in 88 were by Shipwrack cast upon the coast of *Ireland*: *Tir-Oen* to prevent the Accusation, took the said *Hugh*, and when others refused to doe it, took a cord, and with his own hands strangled him. Hereupon he was sent for into *England*, and came, and upon pardon obtained, solemnly undertook in the presence of the Queen at *Greenwich*, to maintain the peace with *Turlogh Leynigh*, Not to usurp the Title of *O-Neale*, nor any authority over the Gentry about him; to reduce the Territory of *Tir-Oen* to the form of a County, and civil behaviour, and many such matters; giving Hostages for his true performance; and indeed for a time he observed all things very duly. This trouble allayed, another arose; for soon after this, *Hugh Roe Mac-Mahon*, a Potentate in the Territory of *Monagan*, compelled those under his Jurisdiction to pay him Tribute; whereupon the Deputy caused him to be taken, and tryed by a Jury of common-Souldiers, and then to be hanged up, dividing his lands amongst certain *English*, and some of the *Mac-Mahons*, reserving a certain yearly Rent to the Crown of *England*, by this means thinking to extinguish the Power and Title of *Mac-Mahon*. But hereupon, *O Rork* fearing that he should be served in like manner, took up Arms against the Queen, whom *Bingham* President of *Connaught* soon distressed, and drave into *Scotland*, and at the Queen's request, was by the King delivered up into his hands.

1591.

It was now the year 1591. and the four and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when she, careful lest *Britany* should come into the *Spaniards* hands, sent *Edmund York* into *France*, to advertise the King to take care thereof; and promising to send him Forces to that end, if he would name some Towns, where they might be in safety. Hereupon he named *Cherburg*, *Granvile* or *Brest*, as the fittest; and it was agreed, that three thousand *English* should be sent into *Britany* and *Picardy*; but in the mean time *Henry Palmer* was sent to Sea with certain Ships, who seized upon thirteen *Spanish* Ships, as they were returning from *Nova Francia*. And now *Roger Williams*, with a Company of six hundred Souldiers, passeth over to *Diepe* in *Normandy*; and Sir *John Norris*, with the rest of the Forces hasted into *Britany* soon after. *Roger Williams* with his own six hundred, and the help of *Charter* Governour of *Diepe*, put to rout the Confederates, that had blocked up the passages; whose valour, the *French* King, in his Letters to the Queen, highly extolled. Whereupon growing more couragious, and not minding his Charge, which was to stay at *Diepe*, he accompanied the King to the very Suburbs of *Paris*, where, in honour of his Nation, he sent a Challenge to the *Spaniards*, to encounter two hundred Pikemen of the *English*, and a hundred Musqueteers, with as many *Spaniards*, in open Field.

Sir *Roger Williams* extolled by the K. of *France*.

After this the King of *France* acquainted the Queen, that he had a purpose to set upon *Roan* or *New-haven*, before the Prince of *Parma* should come into *France*, and thereupon requested her to send four thousand *English* into *Normandy*, which upon certain conditions she willingly did, and sent them under the Command of *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, accompanied with Sir *Thomas Leighton* and Sir *William Killegrew* as his Counsellours. When the Earl came into *France*, he found that the King was at *Noyon*, and in *Normandy* no preparation for the War at all, which seemed strange, and much troubled him; but by and by Sir *Roger Williams* comes to him from the King, requesting him to come to *Noyon*, that they might confer concerning a course of War. Thither the Earl made a tedious journey; and being come thither, the King told him, he was now of necessity to go himself into *Champagine*; but promiseth to send Marshal *Biron*, and the Duke of *Montpensier* forthwith to him, to lay siege to *Roan*. Hereupon the Earl returned to his Tents, expecting their coming, but neither of them came, which troubled the Earl more than before; so as being weary now of doing nothing, he made himself one approach to *Roan*, where his Brother *Walter Devereux* was unfortunately slain. Indeed the affairs of the King of *France* were at this time upon so uncertain terms, that before he could act what he had resolved, something still intervened, that diverted him; for which, by his Letters he excused himself to the Queen

Robert E. of *Essex* is sent with an Army to aid the King of *France*.

Queen of *England*, and by the mediation of the Earl, and *Mornay* Lord *du Plessie*, whom to that end he sent into *England*, obtained new supplies, and then besieged *Roan*.

Hacket's prodigious carriage.

At this time was memorable the prodigious carriage of one *Hacket*, born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonshire*, a mean fellow of no learning, whose first prank was this; That when, in shew of Reconciliation to one with whom he had been at variance, he imbraced him, he bit off his Nose, and the man desiring to have his Nose again, that it might be sewed on, while the wound was green, he most villanously eat it up, & swallowed it down before his face. After this, all on a sudden he took upon him a shew of wonderful holiness, did nothing but hear Sermons, and getting Scriptures by heart, and counterfeiting Revelations from God, and an extraordinary calling, grew to be magnified by certain zealous Ministers, and specially of one *Edward Coppinger*, (a Gentleman of a good house) and one *Arthington*, a great admirer of the *Geneva* Discipline; that they accounted him as sent from heaven, and a greater Prophet than *Moses* or *John Baptist*; and finally, that he was Christ himself, come with a fan in his hand, to judge the World. And this they proclaimed in *Cheapside*; giving out that *Hacket* participated of Christs glorified Body, by his especial Spirit, and was now come to propagate the Gospel over *Europe*, and to settle a true Discipline in the Church of *England*; and that they themselves were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, and the other of Judgment; with many other such incredible Blasphemies; whereupon *Hacket* was apprehended and arraigned; and at last, hanged, drawn and quartered, continuing all the time and at his death, his blasphemous Assertions, *Coppinger* a while after starved himself to death in Prison, *Arthington* repented, and made his Recantation in a publick Writing.

He takes upon him to be Christ.

The calling of Bishops at this time cried down by some; but maintained by the Queen.

Besides these, others also at this time opposed the established Government of the Church of *England*, crying down the calling of Bishops, with whom sided some common Lawyers also, affirming, that the Queen could not depute, nor these men exercise any such Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and that the Oath *Ex Officio* was unchristian. But the Queen conceiving, that through the sides of the Prelates, she her self was shot at, suppressed them what she could, and maintained the Government formerly established.

The great Ship called the *Revenge* is taken by the *Spaniards*.

About this time the Lord *Thomas Howard*, six of the Queens ships having waited at the *Azores* six whole Months for the coming of the *Spanish* Fleet from *America*, was at last set upon by *Alphonso Bassano* with three and fifty Ships, sent out for the Convoy of the *American* Fleet, where *Richard Greenvil* Vice-Admiral, being in the *Revenge*, and separated from his company, was so hemmed in by the *Spanish* Ships, and so battered with great shot, that most of his men being slain, his Main-mast cut off, himself sore wounded in the head, he commanded to sink the Ship, that it might not come into the *Spaniards* hands; but this being countermanded by most voices, it was agreed, to yield it to the *Spaniards*, upon condition that the men should be set at liberty. *Greenvile* himself was carried into the *Spanish* Admiral, where within two days he died, not without praise of his very enemies; Thus the great Ship called the *Revenge*, was yielded, but had so many leaks in the Keel, that soon after it was cast away in a storm; and the loss of this one Ship soon made good upon the *Spaniards* by taking many of theirs.

Sr *Richard Greenvile's* valour.

About this time also *Cavendish*, who in the year 1578. had sailed round about the World, now with five Ships bent his course towards the *Magellan* Straits; but by reason of foul weather, was not able to pass them, and being driven to the coast of *Brasile*, was there cast away.

Cavendish cast away in the Straits.

And now, enmity increasing daily between *Spain* and *England*, two Proclamations were set forth; one, prohibiting upon pain of High Treason, to carry Victuals or Munition into any of the King of *Spain's* Dominions: Another, forbidding all persons to entertain any in their Houses, till inquiry be made, what they were, lest they might entertain Popish Priests, who at this time came swarming into *England*, by reason the King of *Spain* had lately founded a Seminary at *Valadolid* for the *English*.

A Seminary for the *English* founded at *Valadolid* by the King of *Spain*.

At this time died Sir *Christopher Hatton* Lord Chancellour, whom of a mean Gentlemans house, the Queens favour raised to this height of Dignity; a goodly personage of body, of a noble, but no aspiring spirit; the onely of all the Queen's special Favourites, that died a Batchelour; and therefore left *William Newport* his Sister's Son his Heir, who erected for him, in St. *Paul's* Church, a sumptuous Monument. After his death, the keeping of the great Seal was for certain Months committed to the Lord *Burleigh* Treasurer, *Hunsdon*, *Cobham* and *Buckhurst*: Afterward *Puckering* the Queen's Serjeant at Law was elected not Chancellour, but Keeper of the Great Seal.

Sir *Christopher Hatton* Lc Chancellor dies.

Puckering the Queens Serjeant at Law is made Lc Keeper.

At this time also, *Brian O-rork*, the *Irish* Potentate, was arraigned at *Westminster*; his Indictments were, for raising Rebellion against the Queen, for dragging her Picture at a Horse-tail, for giving the *Spaniards* entertainment; which things being told him by an Interpreter, (for he understood no *English*) he said, He would not be tried, unless the Queen her self in person sate to judge him. Yet being told, that it was the Law, he onely said, If it must be so, let it be so; and so condemned, was executed at *Tyburn* as a Traytor, whereof he seemed to make as little reckoning, as if it had been but in jest. And now this year, the Queen made the Colledge of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, an University, which was formerly the Monastery of *All-Saints*, endowing it with power to confer Scholastical Dignities.

Brian O-Rork an *Irish* Potentate, condemned, and hanged, and why.

The Colledge at *Dublin* made an Universsity.

At this time, Sir *John Perot*, who had been Deputy of *Ireland*, and done good service there, was yet by the malice of his Adversaries of whom *Hatton* was one, called in question, before the Baron *Hunsdon*, the Lord *Buckhurst*, Sir *Robert Cecill* (lately made a Councellour) Sir *John Fortescue*, Sir *John Wolley*, and some of the Judges: His accusations were; First, that he had spoken opprobrious words against the Queen, saying, She was illegitimate and cowardly; Secondly, that he had fostered notorious Traytors, and Popish Priests; Thirdly, that he held correspondence with the Prince of *Parma*, and the Queen's enemies. To the first of which he confessed, that in his passion he had spoken of the Queen unadvisedly, for which he was infinitely grieved; the rest he denyed: And all men knew

Sir *John Perot* arraigned and condemned, and why: yet his life was spared, and he died in the Tower.

knew he was never popishly affected. His accusers were one *Philip Williams*, sometime his Secretary; *Denys O-Reghan* an *Irish* married Priest, whose life he had saved; and one *Walton*, a fellow of no worth or reputation. Yet the crimes being urged against him by *Popham* and other Lawyers, till eleven a clock at night; he was at last condemned of High-Treason, but Sentence was not pronounced till twenty days after; and yet was not put to death, but died a natural Death in the Tower; he was a man of a goodly personage, stout and cholerick, and one whom (many thought) the Queen had the more reason to respect for her Father King *Henry* the Eighth's sake.

The Earl of *Essex* challengeth Monsieur *Villerse* to a single Combat, but is refused.

The Earl of *Essex*, after a tedious Winters Siege in *Normandy*, challenged Monsieur *Villerse* Governour of *Roan* to a single Combat; who refusing to meet him, he then returned into *England*, being called home by the Queen, whose favour, by his long absence, might else have suffered prejudice.

And now the King of *France*, hearing that the Prince of *Parma* was coming into *France*, once again was fain to flie to the Queen for succour, to whom, upon certain conditions, she granted an Army of four thousand men, and some great Ordnance, with which Sir *John Norris* was sent into *France*; whom yet the *French* King employed not, as was agreed, to the great displeasure of the Queen. But as for the Prince of *Parma*'s coming into *France*, he was prevented by death, when he had governed the *Netherlands* under the *Spaniards* fourteen years, a Prince of many excellent parts, and whom Queen *Elizabeth* never mentioned but with honour.

The Prince of *Parma* dies.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* considering that the King of *Spain*'s chiefest strength was in his Gold of *America*, sends forth Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a Fleet of fifteen Ships to meet with the *Spanish* Fleet; who passing by a Promontory of *Spain*, received certain intelligence, that the *Spanish* Fleet was not come forth that year: Whereupon dividing his Navy into two parts; whereof the one he committed to Sir *John Boroughs*, the other to Sir *Martin Forbisher*; he waited other opportunities, when, soon after, a mighty Caraque came in view, called *The Mother of God*, which from the Beak to the Stern, was a hundred threescore and five foot long, built with seven Decks, and carrying six hundred men, besides rich Merchandize. This great Vessel they took, and in it, to the value of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, over and above what the Commanders and Sea-men pilfered.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* sent with 15 Ships against the *Spaniards*; and what he did.

The Queen in her Progress goes to *Oxford*; her entertainment there, and her Counsel to the University.

This year the Queen going in Progress, passed through *Oxford*, where she was entertained by the Scholars with Orations, Stage-Playes and Disputations; and by the Lord *Buckhurst* Chancellour of the University, with a sumptuous Feast. At her departure she made a *Latine* Oration, wherein she vowed a Vow, and gave them Counsel; Her Vow was, That as she desired nothing so much, as the prosperity and flourishing estate of her Kingdom, so she as much wished to see the Universities and Schools of Learning to flourish likewise. Her Counsel was, That they would serve God above all, not following the curiosity of some Wits, but the Laws of God, and the Kingdom; That they would not prevent the Laws, but follow them, nor dispute whether better Laws might be made, but observe those which were already enacted.

Anthony Brown Viscount *Montacute* dies, and how this honour came to his Family.

This year died *Anthony Brown* Viscount *Montacute*, whom Queen *Mary* honoured with this Title; because his Grandmother was Daughter, and one of the Heirs of *John Nevill* Marquess *Montacute*; who though he were a great *Roman* Catholick, yet the Queen finding him faithful alway, loved him, and in his Sickness went to visit him. There died at this time also, *Henry* Lord *Scroop* of *Bolton*, Knight of the Garter, and long time Governour of the Western Borders towards *Scotland*.

Henry Barrow a seditious Secretary is put to death.

At this time *Henry Barrow*, and his Sectaries condemning the Church of *England* to be no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queen's Authority in matters Ecclesiastical; he the said *Barrow*, as Ring-leader of the rest, was put to death, in terror to all such disturbers of the peace of the Church.

About this time, by reason of the Queen's correspondence with the *Turk*, to the end her Subjects might have free Trading in the Territories; it was maliciously given out by some, that she had excited the *Turk* to a War against the Christians; which caused the Queen to write to the Emperour, shewing him the falseness of this report, wherein she gave him full satisfaction.

The K. of *France* embraceth the *Romish* Religion: and acquaints the Queen with the necessity of his doing it.

And now a constant report came into *England*, That the King of *France* had already embraced, or was ready to embrace the *Romish* Religion: which so much troubled the Queen, that she presently sent *Thomas Wilkes* into *France*; with Reasons (if it were not too late) to divert him from it. But before *Wilkes* came, the King indeed had openly professed the *Romish* Religion at the Church of St. *Denis* in *Paris*, of which his Conversion, he declared the causes to *Wilkes* at large, shewing the necessity of it, unless he would suffer himself to be utterly thrust out of the Kingdom. And the *French* Ambassador signifying as much to the Queen, in great perplexity, she writ to him to this effect.

The Queen's Letter to him, out of her sorrow for it.

Alas, what grief, what anxiety of mind hath befallen me, since I heard this news? was it possible that worldly respects should make you lay aside Gods fear? Could you think, That he, who had hitherto upheld and kept you, would now at the last leave you? It is a dangerous thing to doe evill that good may come thereof. But I hope your mind may alter. In the mean while, I will pray for you, and beg of God, That the hands of Esau *may not hinder the blessing of* Jacob.

And the King's Answer.

To this the King answered, That though he had done this in his own person out of necessity; yet he would never be wanting to those of the Reformed Religion, but would take them into his special care and Protection.

Rich. Hacket condemned, and executed; and why.

And now was *Richard Hacket* condemned and executed for Treason, being sent from the *English* Fugitives beyond Sea, to perswade *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby*, Son to *Henry* newly deceased, to assume the Title of the Kingdom, by right of Descent from *Mary*, Daughter to *Henry* the Seventh; and threatning him, that unless he undertook this enterprize, and withall, conceal'd him the Abbettor, he should shortly die in most wretched manner. But the Earl fearing a trap was laid for him, revealed the matter; yet the fellows

Ferdinand Earl of *Derby* his horrible death.

fellows threatning proved not altogether vain, for the Earl within four months died a moſt horrible death. This year Death had his tribute paid from the Nobility; for there died *Henry Ratcliffe* Earl of *Suſſex*, and three Renowned Barons, *Arthur Grey* of *Wilton*, *Henry* Lord *Cromwell*, and *Henry* Lord *Wentworth*; beſides Sir *Chriſtopher Carlile*, whoſe warlike Proweſs at Sea and Land, deſerves to be remembred.

Tir-Oen in *Ireland* aſſumes to himſelf the title of *O-Neal*, more eſteemed than to be called Emperor.

In *Ireland*, at this time, divers great men in *Connaught* rebelled; and *Turlogh Leynigh* being dead, *Tir-Oen* aſſumed to himſelf the Title of *O-Neale*, (which in *Ireland* is more eſteemed, than to be called Emperour;) but upon a ſudden, diſſembling his diſcontent, he ſubmitted himſelf to the Deputy, and promiſed all Obedience.

1594.

It was now the year 1594. and the ſeven and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when the good correſpondence between the King of *Scots* and Queen *Elizabeth*, gave the Papiſts ſmall hope that ever he would prove an Inſtrument to reſtore the Catholick Religion. Whereupon they began to bethink themſelves of ſome *Engliſh* Papiſt that might ſucceed the Queen; but finding none of their own Sect a fit perſon, they fixed their thoughts upon the Earl of *Eſſex*, who always ſeemed a very moderate man; and him they deviſed to have ſome right to the Crown, by Deſcent from *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, King *Edward* the Third's Son. But the *Engliſh* Fugitives were for the *Infanta* of *Spain*; and deſiring to ſet the King of *Scots* and the Earl of *Eſſex* at odds, they ſet forth a Book, which they Dedicated to *Eſſex*, under the name of *Doleman*, but was written indeed by *Parſons* (*Doleman*'s bitter Adverſary) Cardinal *Allen*, and *Francis Engleſield*. The ſcope of which Book was to exclude from Succeſſion all perſons whatſoever, and how near ſoever allied to the Crown, unleſs they were *Roman* Catholicks; Contending further for the right of *Iſabella*, *Infanta* of *Spain*, as being deſcended from *Conſtance*, Daughter of *William* the Conquerour; from *Eleanor* eldeſt Daughter to *Henry* the Second, married to *Alphonſo* the Ninth King of *Caſtile*; from *Beatrix*, Daughter to King *Henry* the Third; Titles obſolete, and which exceed the bounds of Heraldry to diſcuſs. This year the nineteenth of *February*, was *Henry* Prince of *Scotland* born, to whom the Queen was Godmother, and ſent *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex* for her Deputy.

The Papiſts think upon a Succeſſour to the Queen. Some would have the Earl of *Eſſex* and frame a Right to him by Deſcent.

The moſt are for the *Infanta* of *Spain* as having divers juſt Titles.

Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* is born.

But now greater matters were in hand, Plots were laid againſt the Queen's life; ſome *Spaniards* thinking to make her away by Poyſon, and not daring to truſt any *Engliſh* man in ſuch a buſineſs, they treat to that purpoſe with *Roderick Lopez* a *Jew*, and Phyſician to the Queen, with *Stephen Ferreira*, *Emanuel Loyſie*, and other *Portugals*; for divers of that Nation came into *England* at this time, in relation to *Don Antonio*; who being diſcovered by Letters of theirs that were intercepted, were arraigned at *Guild-hall*, and by their own confeſſions convinced, to have conſpired againſt the life of the Queen; they were all condemned and executed at *Tyburn*; *Lopez* profeſſing that he loved the Queen as well as Jeſus Chriſt: which was the cauſe of laughter to them that knew him to be a Jew. The next day after them, was condemned *Patrick Cullen* an *Iriſh* Fencer, ſent hither by the *Engliſh* Fugitives, to kill the Queen, who was ſtraightway executed, though he were at that very time ſick and ready to die.

The *Spaniards* ſent *Lopez* a Jew, and Phyſician to the Queen to kill her, and how the matter was carried.

He is executed at *Tyburn*.

About this time, Sir *John Norris* having been in a hot conflict at Sea againſt the *Spaniard*, where Sir *Martin Forbiſher* received his death's wound, was now called home, with a purpoſe to ſend him into *Ireland*. In which mean while, *Richard Hawkins* Son of Sir *John Hawkins* the famous Sea Captain, had been ſet forth a year ſince, with three of the Queen's Ships, and two hundred men in them; whereof one of them at the Iſle of St. *Anne* was by chance fired, another of them ſeparated by Tempeſt, returned into *England*; himſelf in the third, paſſed the Straights of *Magellan*, being the ſixth man in the *Spaniſh* accompt, that had ever done it; and being now come into the wide Southern Sea, he took five Ships laden with Merchandize; one whereof he took away, the reſt he ſuffered to redeem themſelves for two thouſand Duckats: But at laſt being ſet upon by *Bertrandus à Caſtro*, who was ſent out by the Vice-Roy of thoſe parts, with eight Ships againſt him, after three days battery, he yielded, and though upon Compoſition, yet was nevertheleſs ſent into *Spain*, and there for divers years kept priſoner.

Richard Hawkins taken priſoner by the *Spaniards*.

But *James Lancaſter* in another part of *America*, had better ſucceſs; for being ſet forth by ſome *London* Merchants (whoſe goods the *Spaniards* had ſeized) with three Ships and a long Boat, he took nine and thirty *Spaniſh* Sips, and at *Fernanbucke* in *Braſile*, where the wealth of an *Eaſt Indian* Caraque was lately unloaden, he deſperately venturing upon the ſhoar, loaded fifteen Ships with the wealth of the *Indian* Caraque; Sugar Reed, Red-wood called Braſil, and other Merchandiſe, and then ſafely and victoriouſly returned home.

James Lancaſter takes nine and thirty *Spaniſh* Ships, and much rich Merchandize.

At *Rome*, about this time died Cardinal *Allen*, born in *Lancaſhire*, of an honeſt Family, brought up in *Oxford*, in *Oriel* Colledge. In Queen *Mary*'s daies he was Proctor of the Univerſity, and after Canon of the Cathedral Church at *York*: Upon the change of Religion in *England*, he left the Kingdom, and was Divinity Profeſſor at *Doway* in *Flanders*, and made Canon of the Church at *Cambray*. He procured a Seminary to be ſet up in *Doway* for the *Engliſh*; another at *Rheims*, and a third at *Rome*; and through zeal of the *Romiſh* Religion, forgot whoſe Subject he was born.

Cardinal *Allen* dies, and of his Education.

At home, at this time, died *John Peers* Archbiſhop of *York*, in whoſe place ſucceeded *Matthew Hutton*, tranſlated from the See of *Durham*. There died alſo *Ferdinand Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, being in the flower of his age, miſerably tormented, and vomiting ſtuff of a dark ruſty colour, being thought to have been poyſoned or bewitched. There was found in his Chamber a little Image of wax, with hairs of the colour of his hairs, thruſt into the belly: which ſome thought was done of purpoſe that men ſhould not ſuſpect him to be poyſoned; his vomit ſo ſtained the ſilver Andirons, that it could never be gotten out, and his body though put in ſearclothes, and wrapped in lead, did ſo ſtink and putrifie, that for a long time none could endure to come near where he was buried. The Maſter of the Horſe was much ſuſpected, who the ſame day the Earl took his bed, took one of his beſt horſes, and fled away. About this time alſo died *George Fines*, Lord

The ſtrange death of *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby*.

Lord *Dacres*, a man somewhat crazed, the Son of *Thomas* Lord *Dacres*, hanged in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth.

William Russel is sent Deputy into *Ireland*, to whom *Tir-Oen* submits himself, but dissemblingly.

And now Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Deputy of *Ireland* was called home, and *William Russel* youngest Son of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*, was sent in his room; to whom presently came the Earl of *Tir-Oen*, and in humble manner craved pardon of his fault, that he had not presented himself at the call of the late Lord Deputy. *Bagnal* Marshal of the *Irish* Forces, exhibited many Articles against him, but he so pleaded for himself with promise of loyalty hereafter, that he was dismissed. But see the subdolousness of this man, for he would never after be gotten to come again, though the Deputy sent for him with many kind messages.

1595.

Edmund York and *Richard Williams* executed for being bribed to kill the Queen.

It was now the year 1595. and the eight and thirtieth year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when *Edmund York* and *Richard Williams*, who were formerly apprehended came to their tryal, and were executed at *Tyburn*, for being bribed to kill the Queen.

A new rumor spread of a new Fleet of *Spaniards*. to invade *England*, but false.

At this time a constant rumour was blown abroad from all parts of *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* were coming again against *England*, with a far greater Fleet than that in Eighty eight, and that it was already under Sail; whereupon Souldiers were levied, and placed on the Sea-coast. Two Navies were made ready, one to expect them at home in the Chanel; the other to go for *America*, under *Hawkins* and *Drake*; but when all came to all, it was but certain *Spaniards*, who loosed from the Sea-coast of *France*, with four Gallies, which betimes in the morning landing in *Cornwall*, fired a Church standing alone in the fields, and three Villages of Fishermen, *New-lyne*, *Monshole* and *Pensans*, and then presently retired, not taking or killing any one person; and these were the first and last *Spaniards* that in hostile manner ever set Foot upon *English* ground.

And now mischiefs growing daily in *France*, a great number perswaded the King to conclude a Peace with *Spain*, and the Queen her self began to mistrust him, especially, having lately received Intelligence out of the Pope's Conclave; that he was received into the bosome of the Church of *Rome*, with the Pope's Benediction, and upon conditions prejudicial to the Protestants.

Sir *Walter Rawleighs* voyage to *Guyana*, and what he did.

And therefore at this time, were divers undertakings of the *English* against *Spain*; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Captain of the Guard, having defloured a Maid of Honour (whom afterward he married) had lost the Queen's favour, and was held in prison for certain months; but afterward being set at liberty, though banished the Court, he undertook a Voyage to *Guyana*; setting sail from *Plimouth* in *February*, he arrived at *Trinidada*, where he took St. *Joseph*'s Town, but found not one jot of money there. From hence, with boats and a hundred Souldiers, he entred the vast River *Orenoque*, ranging up into *Guyana* four hundred miles, but getting little but his labour for his travel. In like manner, *Amyas Preston* and *Sommers*, pillaged sundry Towns of the King of *Spain*'s in the Western parts, and three Ships of the Earl of *Cumberland* set upon a huge Caraque, which by casualty was fired when they were in fight, and these were the enterprises of private persons: but the Queen being informed, that great store of wealth for the King of *Spain*'s use was conveyed to *Port-Rico*, in St. *John*'s Island, sent thither *Hawkins*, *Drake* and *Baskerville*, with land Forces, furnishing them with six Ships out of her own Navy, and twenty other men of War. They set sail from *Plimouth* the last of *August*, and seven and twenty days after came upon the coast of the great *Canary*, which being strongly fortified, they forbore to assault. A month after, they came to the Isle of St. *Dominick*, where five *Spanish* Ships being sent forth to watch the *English*, lighted upon one of the small *English* Ships which was strayed from the Company, and putting the Master and Mariners upon the Rack, understood by them, that the *English* Navy was bent to *Port-Rico*; whereupon they make all possible speed to give notice thereof, that being forewarned, they might accordingly be armed. And thereupon as soon as the *English* had cast Anchors in the Road of *Port-Rico*; the *Spaniards* thundred against them from the shore; Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and *Brute Brown* were wounded as they sate at supper, and two days after dyed: *Hawkins* also and *Drake*, partly of disease, and partly of grief for their ill success, died soon after. At the end of eight months, the Fleet came home, having done the Enemy little hurt, fired onely some few Towns and Ships, but received infinite damage themselves; lost two such Sea-men, as the Kingdom, I may say, all *Europe* had not their like left. For the *Spaniards* having of late years received great harms by *French* and *English*, had now provided for themselves with Fortifications which were not easily to be won.

Hawkins, *Drake* and *Baskervile* are sent to *Port Rico*.

Their ill success, through grief whereof *Hawkins* and *Drake* died.

At this time the Queen made known to the States in the *Low-Countries*, the great charges she had been at in relieving them ten years together; for which she required some considerable recompence: The States again alledge the great charges they were at in Eighty eight, in repelling the *Spaniards* in her cause; yet (not to fall out about the matter) they were content to allow some reasonable retribution; but yet for the present, nothing was concluded. Likewise at this time, the Hanse Towns in *Germany* make a complaint to the Emperour, and the Princes of the Empire, That the Immunities from Customs anciently granted them by the Kings of *England*, began to be antiquated, and that a Monopoly of *English* Merchants was set up in *Germany*; To which the Queen by Sir *Christopher Perkins*, first shewing the cause of the first Grant, and then the reason of Queen *Mary*'s prohibiting it afterward, makes them so satisfactory an answer, that those very Hanse-Towns which complained, brought into *England* at this time such store of Corn, that it prevented a mutiny, which through dearth of Corn, was like to have hapned in *London*.

This year many great personages died.

This year was famous for the death of many great Personages, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, condemned in the year 1589. the Queen had all this while spared, but now death would spare him no longer, having since that time been wholly given to contemplation, and macerated himself in a strict course of Religion, leaving one onely Son,

Son, *Thomas* by his Wife *Anne Dacres* of *Gilsland*. He had two brothers, *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* made Baron of *Suffolk*; and *William* Lord *Howard* of the North, who yet liveth; and one Sister, the Lady *Margaret* married to *Robert Sackvile*, afterward Earl of *Dorset*, and father of *Edward* Earl of *Dorset* now living; a Lady so mild, so vertuous, and so devout in her Religion, that if her Brother macerated himself being in prison, she certainly did no less, being at liberty; whom I the rather mention, because I had the happiness to know her living, and the unhappiness to be a Mourner at her Funeral. There died this year also, *William* Lord *Vaulx*, a zealous Papist, and Sir *Thomas Hineage*, Vice-Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, whose only Daughter married to Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, was no small advancer of that House. There dyed also *William Whitaker*, Master of St. *John*'s Colledg in *Cambridge*, and Divinity Professor: As likewise Sir *Roger Williams*, and Sir *Thomas Morgan*; so as this year was honoured with the deaths of two great Lords, one exquisite Courtier, one great Scholar, and two famous Souldiers.

In *Ireland* at this time, *Russel* the Deputy doubting a storm of War from *Tir-Oen*, sent into *England*, requiring to have some experienced Souldiers sent to him with Forces, who though he desired *Bukervyle* to be the man, yet Sir *John Norris* was sent unto him with thirteen hundred old Souldiers, besides a further supply; whom *Tir-Oen* hearing to be coming, set presently upon the Fort of *Blackwater*, and in the absence of *Edward Cornwall* the Governor, took it. But now being doubtful of his case, in a subdolous manner (as he was a double dealing man) he both offereth his help to the Earl of *Kildare*, against the Deputies servants; and at the same time, maketh promise to the Earl of *Ormond*, and Sir *Henry Wallop*, of loyalty and obedience; but notwithstanding he was forthwith proclaimed Traytor, under the name of *Hugh O-Neal*, bastard Son to *Con O-Neal*. There was at this time with the Rebels in *Ulster* a thousand Horse, and 6280 Foot: And in *Connaght*, two thousand three hundred, all at *Tir-Oens* command: And the Forces of the *English* under *Norris*, not much fewer, with whom the Deputy himself joyned, and marced together to *Armach*; which so terrified the Rebels, that *Tir-Oen* forsaking the Fort of *Blackwater*, began to hide himself. Whereupon the Deputy returned, leaving *Norris* to follow the War, with the title of General of the Army. But this satisfied not *Norris*, and therefore out of emulation betwixt himself and the Deputy, he performed nothing worth the speaking of, and seemed to favour *Tir-Oen*, as much as the Deputy hated him; insomuch, as he had private Conference with him (a thing not lawful with proclaimed Traytors) and upon his submission, and Hostages given, a Truce was granted both to him and *Odonell*, till the first of *January*. When the Truce was expired, *Tir-Oen* exhibited certain petitions, protesting, if they were granted, he would then perform all duties of a loyal subject. In consulting about which Petitions, another Truce was concluded, till the first of *April*: During which Truce, *Tir-Oen* dealt secretly with the King of *Spain* for Aid to be sent him, making nevertheless a fair shew of willingness to obedience, so far, that by the procurement of *Norris* and *Fenton*, a pardon was granted him; the which he pretended to receive more joyfully, than the Instrument which conferred the Earldom upon him; yet all this was but dissimulation, to win time for his own ends.

Sir *John Norris* is sent into *Ireland* with an Army to aid the Deputy.

The Earl of *Tir-Oen* proclaimed Traytor.

Norris out of emulation to the Deputy favours *Tir-Oen*.

Tir-Oen to win time, dissembles.

In the midst of these *Irish* Affairs, *Albertus* Arch-Duke of *Austria* and Cardinal, whom the King of *Spain* had newly set over the *Netherlands*, muttered together the *Spanish* Forces, upon pretence of raising the Siege of *La Fere* in *Picardy*; but upon a sudden turneth aside, and besiegeth *Calice*; and taking *Newnham* Fort, the very first day became Master of the Haven. The Queen informed hereof, forthwith upon the very Sunday in time of Divine Service, commanded to levy Souldiers, whom she committed to the Earl of *Essex*; but before they could be shipped, certain news came, that the Town and Fort were taken by the *Spaniard*: Whereupon the Queens Army was dismissed, and only some money lent to the *French* King.

Albertus Duke of *Austria* takes *Calice* by a sudden assault.

But a few days after, a far greater, and more select Army is raised in *England*, wherein many of Noble Houses served as Volunteers: For the Queen, to divert the King of *Spain* from invading her Borders, thought it the best way to invade his: Whereupon a Navy of a hundred and fifty Ships was made ready; where were Souldiers under pay, Six thousand three hundred and threescore; Volunteers of the Nobility and Gentry, One thousand; Mariners, Six thousand seven hundred seventy and two, besides the *Dutchmen*, who brought two and twenty Ships, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, were made Generals with equal Authority; but the Admiral to hold Prerogative at Sea, *Essex* at Land. To these, for a Council of War, were joyned the Lord *Thomas Howard*, *Walter Rawleigh*, *Francis Vere*, *George Carew*, and *Conyers Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; The Admiral commanded the first; *Essex*, the second; the Lord *Thomas Howard* the third, and *Rawleigh* the fourth. The Officers of the Army were *Francis Vere* Serjeant Major General, or Marshall; *John Winkfield* Quarter-Master General; *George Carew* Master of the Ordnance; *Conyers Clifford* Serjeant Major. Colonels were *Robert* Earl of *Sussex*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Sir *Richard Winkfield*; *William Winkfield* was Commander of the Volunteers, and *Anthony Ashley* Secretary to the Council of War, was to Register their acts and Consultations. The Commission being drawn, the Queen gave them private Instructions, and withal, a Prayer of her own making, to be daily used in every Ship.

Robert Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord Admiral, are sent with Forces against *Spain*, who take *Cales*, and the passages of it.

This Fleet set forth from *Plimouth* at the beginning of *June*. Nigh unto *Cabo S. Vincent* they lighted upon an *Irish* Barque, which told them, That at *Cales* they were secure, and then in the Haven there were at Anchor Gallies, ships of War, and a great many Merchant Vessels. The twentieth of *June*, they cast Anchor on the West side of the Island; within two days they were

agreed to set upon the *Spanish* Ships, whereat the Earl of *Essex* cast up his Cap for joy. This business was allotted to the lesser Ships, because the Road was too shallow for the great. The Gallies quickly fled, and creeping along the shore, shifted away, but the *Spanish* Ships that lay at Anchor at *Puntal*, turned their broad-sides; so as the *English* fight with them lasted from break of day till noon; at which time the *Spaniards* having their Gallions miserably torn, and many of their men slain, resolved to fire the ships, or run them on shore. The *Spanish* Admiral being fifteen hundred Tun of Burthen, was fired by a *Moor*, and two other Ships which lay next her took the fire, and were lost likewise. When this Sea-fight was ended, *Essex* landed Eight hundred Souldiers at *Puntal*, a league from the Town of *Cales*, when half a mile from the Town, the *Spanish* Horse and Foot shewed themselves, and presently gave back again; but straightway cometh forth a greater number: Then *Essex* commanded his Forces to make a fair retreat; and having enticed forth their Enemies, they turned upon them with such violence, that they forced them back into the Town. Then the Earl got up to a Bulwark newly raised, near the Gate, where he spyed a passage into the Town, but so high from ground, that they must leap a Spears length to get down. Yet *Evans* the Earl of *Sussex* his Lieutenant, *Arthur Savage*, and others leaped down; and the mean while Sir *Francis Vere* broke the Gate, and rushed in, and the rest with him. In the Market-place *John Winkfield* was shot in the head, and with stones from the top of Houses divers were wounded; amongst whom *Samuel Bagnall* received eight Wounds, and *Arthur Savage* was bloody all over, which two were Knighted in the place. The next day the Castle was yielded, upon condition, That the Inhabitants might depart with the Cloaths on their backs, the rest to be left for spoyl. For five hundred and fourscore thousand Duckets the Castle was to be redeemed; and for the payment, forty of the chief Citizens to be sent Hostages into *England*. Now *Rawleigh* was commanded to fire the Merchants Ships lying at *Port-Reall*, when they promised two Millions of Duckets to redeem them: But this the Admiral would not hear of, saying, He was sent to destroy Ships, not to dismiss them upon Composition. A world of Munition was found in the City, and great store of Money privately carried away, every one shifting for himself. It was thought by the wiser sort, That the *Spaniard* could not be damnified less by this Expedition, than Twenty Millions of Duckets. None of Note was slain amongst the *English*, but only *Winkfield*, who also slew a *Spanish* Captain; and now at last, threescore Military Men were honoured with Knighthood. After this, having spoyled the whole Island, and demolished the Fort, they returned into *England*, much against the will of *Essex*, who would fain have been attempting some other enterprise.

The Queen received them home with much affability, giving many thanks to those of principal Note, but extolling the Earl of *Essex* and the Admiral above the rest. And now bethinking her self of a fit man to be Governour of the *Bryll*, which was given by the *States* as a Caution Town for money due, she made choice of Sir *Francis Vere*, although *Essex* commended other to her for the place: But another thing he took with great indignation, That in his absence she had made Sir *Robert Cecyll* Secretary, whereas he had formerly with great instance commended Sir *Thomas Bodley* to her.

Sir Robert Cecil is made Secretary of State.

And now the King of *Spain* to recover his Honour lost at *Cales*, setteth forth a Navy for *England* and *Ireland*, with a great number of *Irish* Fugitives; but being at Sea, most of his Ships were either run upon Rocks, or cast away in storms; so as this Expedition came to nothing.

But the Queen, at this time, for her better security, entred a League of Defence and Offence with the *French* King, against the *Spaniard*, upon certain Conditions; which League she confirmed by Oath, in the Chapel at *Greenwich*, the nine and twentieth of *August*, laying her hand upon the hand of *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bulloigne*, and Marshal of *France*; the Bishop of *Chichester* holding forth the Evangelists, and a great Company of the Nobility standing round about. In *September* following, *Gilbert Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was sent on Ambassage into *France*, to take the *French* Kings Oath, and to present Sir *Anthony Mildmay* for the Queens Ambassadour in Ordinary in the room of Sir *Henry Unton* lately there deceased, and to invest the King with the Order of the Garter. Soon after, *Baskervile* wasted into *Picardy* with Two thousand Souldiers; for no more were by agreement to be sent this year.

Queen Elizabeth enters a League Offensive and Defensive with the King of France.

It was now the year 1596, and the Nine and thirtieth year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when *Thomas Arundel* of *Warder* returned into *England*, from the War in *Hungary* against the *Turk*, whom, for his good service done there, the Emperor by his Letters Patents, had created Earl of the Sacred Empire, and all and singular his Heirs and their Posterity, Males or Females, lawfully descended from him, to be Earls and Countesses of the holy Empire for ever. Those who are graced with this Title, have a Place and Voice in the Imperial Diets, may purchase Lands in the Emperor's Dominions, may take up voluntary Souldiers, and are not bound to answer any matter before any Judge, but only in the Chamber of the Empire. At his return, a great Question came in agitation, Whether Titles of Honour given to the Queens Subjects without her privity, ought to be accepted by them, or admitted by her. For this new Earl stuck in the stomachs of the *English* Barons, who inwardly grudged to give him place. The matter was long disputed on both sides, but what issue it had, or whether he were permitted this honour here at home, I find not: Certain it is, That Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and Sir *Anthony Sherley*, whom the *French* King two years since received into the Order of St. *Michael*, were laid in Prison at their coming home, and charged to resign their Robes of the Order.

1596.

An. Reg. 39. Thomas Arundel of Warder is by the Emperour made Earl of the Empire; and what the Priviledges of that honour are.

Whether Honours given to the Queens Subjects without her privity, are to be admitted.

This

Many great persons die.

This year many great Persons dyed; *John Puckering* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, whom *Thomas Egerton* succeeded; *Richard Fletcher* Bishop of *London*, who for marrying the Lady *Baker* (as goodly a Lady as he was a Prelate) incurred the Queen's Displeasure; and to cure his Cares, fell immoderately to drinking of Tobacco, and so expired. *Henry Cary* Baron of *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's House, and her Cousin german. Sir *Francis Knolls*, who married *Hunsdon*'s Sister, in Queen *Mary*'s days an Exile in *Germany* for the Gospel, by Queen *Elizabeth* made first Vice-Chamberlain, then Captain of the Guard, afterward Treasurer of the Houshold, and Knight of the Garter. *Henry Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*, and President of the Council in the *North*; who spent his estate upon Puritan Ministers: *Francis* Lord *Hastings*, Nephew to him by his Brother *George*, who succeeded him in the Earldom; and *Margaret Clifford* Countess of *Derby* (who descended of the Blood Royal from *Charles Brandon*) consulted with Sorcerers and cunning men, and thereupon a little before her end, was in a manner excluded from the Queen's favour.

The Earl of *Essex*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* and others are sent to seize the *Spanish*, but are distressed by Tempests.

The Queen at this time was told, That the King of *Spain* was preparing a new Fleet against *Ireland*; whereupon to encounter him, she also prepared a Navy of a hundred and twenty Ships, seventeen of the Queen's, three and forty lesser Ships of War, the rest for the carriage of Provision. They were parted into three Squadrons: *Essex* commanded the first, who was also chief Commander in the Expedition, the Lord *Thomas Howard* the second, and *Rawleigh* the third. In this Fleet were sundry of the Nobility and Gentry, *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, *Vere*, *Carew*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Grey*, *Cromwel*, *Rich*, and many others. The ninth of *July* they weighed Anchor from *Plymouth*, and were to direct their course to *Ferall* and the *Groyn*, to seize upon the *Spanish* Fleet in the Harbour, and towards the Isles called *Azores*, and to intercept the *Indian* Fleet at their return into *Spain*; but this Expedition was crossed and overthrown by tempests, for they had not sailed forty Leagues from *Plymouth*, when they were shaken with such a terrible Tempest for four days together, that the Mariners themselves were at their wits end, and the Fleet had much ado to recover *Plymouth*: The Navy being amended, they hoised up Sail the second time, but the Wind fell presently again so cross, that for a whole months time they could not get out of the Haven; returning to *Plymouth*, the seventeenth of *August* they got out of the Haven; and now the third time, with a side-wind hoise up sail, but before they came in view of *Spain*, they were dispersed by another horrible Tempest, wherein of the two great Ships which were taken at *Calice*, one was dashed in pieces, the other wandred no man knew whither. At the Island *Flores* the Fleet met again, where *Rawleigh* being distressed for Water went on shore without leave; and ere he had watered, had charge to follow *Essex* to *Fayal*: but not finding him there, he observed the Port, and calling a Council, the Commanders wished him to set upon the place, and not let slip so fair a Booty. Upon this *Rawleigh* with some of the prime Voluntiers, got to shore, and won the Town, but found no booty in it. The next day *Essex* came thither, whom *Mericke* informeth what *Rawleigh* had done, affirming spitefully, That he had done it onely to prevent his Lordship in the honour of the Exploit: whereupon some perswaded the Earl to call a Council of War, and then displace him: others again, to take off his head for going to Land without the Chief Commanders leave; saying, He was never like to have such another opportunity to be rid of his Adversary; upon this *Sidney*, *Brett*, *Berry*, and others of *Rawleigh*'s Company were displaced, and laid by the heels; *Rawleigh* himself was sent for, and entertained with a grim look by *Essex* and all his Party; *Essex* rebuketh him angerly, for landing his Forces, which none upon pain of death might do, without the Generals command; *Rawleigh* made answer, That the Captains indeed, Shipmasters, and the rest were within the compass of that Law; but not the Three prime Commanders, of whom himself was One: That he had a long time waited his coming, and longer would have waited, but that the Islanders provoked him to fight. And now the Lord *Thomas Howard* mediated, that no severity might be used against *Rawleigh*, and perswaded him to acknowledge his fault; which being done, all were friends, and the displaced Captains were restored to their places, for the Earl was of a placable disposition; easily apt to take offence, and as easily to remit it.

Rawleigh without leave goes ashore, and takes *Fayal*.

For this he is questioned by the Earl; but his Answer and the Lord *Tho. Howard*'s mediation, reconciles all.

From hence they sail to *Gratiosa*, where the Inhabitants craved mercy and obtained it; and here *Essex* would have tarried, in expectation of the *Indian* Fleet; but that *Graves* the Pilot disswaded, because the Harbour was not good. And now see the unluckiness of ill counsel, for the *English* were not gone above an hour or two from this place, when loe, the *American* Fleet (wherein were forty Ships, and seven of them loaden with treasure) cometh thither, which hearing that the *English* were thereabouts, directed their course to *Tercera*, where they gained the Haven, all but three Ships, indifferent wealthy; which the *English* took: and then were minded to set upon the rest in the Port; but finding the attempt not feasible, they passed from hence to St. *Michaels*; where *Southampton*, *Rutland*, *Evers*, *Bredon* and *Dockwray* were Knighted. And then *Essex* landed within six miles of the Town, nigh unto *Villa Franca*, a fair Town, and well furnished with Merchandize, Wine, Wood, and Corn; where they tarried six days: and the common Souldiers found good booty. And now a Caraque was espied, coming out of the *East-Indies* which by a warning piece shot off in a *Dutch* Ship, perceiving that the *English* were there; run her self ashore, unloaded her Merchandize, and then fired her self. Thus the *English* had ill luck every where in this expedition: And the ninth of *October* they hoised sail for *England*; but within two days, a terrible tempest from the Northward dispersed them; and the *Spanish* Fleet also at the same time, so as they never came in view of one another: one *Spanish* Ship was cast upon *Dartmouth*, the Mariners and Souldiers half starved in her; who intimated, that the *Spanish* Fleet intended to seize upon some Haven in *Cornwall*, which being nigh the mouth of the Chanel, might be convenient to receive Forces from

The *English* miss the *Spanish* Fleet, through ill Counsel.

Spain: but the Divine Providence frustrated the designs both of the *Spaniard* and the *English*.

But now at his return, the Earl of *Essex* found that done in *England*, in his absence, which infinitely discontented him; Sir *Robert Cecil* made Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*; and which was more, *Charles* Lord *Howard*, created Earl of *Nottingham*, with relation in his Patent to the Victory in Eighty eight, and his good service at *Cales:* This glory he envied him, and besides stomached it, that he must now take place of him: It being enacted in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, That the chief Officers of the Kingdom should have Precedence of all men of their degree. Whereupon the Queen, to give him content, was fain to create him Earl Marshal of *England*; by which he recovered his place again.

Charles Howard Lord Admiral is created Earl of *Nottingham*, to the discontentment of the Earl of *Essex*. The Earl of *Essex* is made Earl Marshal, of purpose to take place of the Admiral.

About this time, an Ambassadour came into *England*, from the King of *Poland*; who, when the Queen expected he should give her thanks for having procured a peace between the King his Master, and the *Turk*; he clean contrary expostulated unkindness, for breach of Priviledges, in trading with *Spain*, requiring a present remedy, or else the King would otherwise right himself. The Queen not a little offended, suddenly replied; How was I deceived? I expected an Ambassadour, and behold a Herald; such a speech I never heard in all my life-time. And after some further checking of him for his boldness, she referred him to her Council; and then retired into her Closet. The Ambassadour afterward in private Conference with some of the Council, excused himself, saying, That his Speech was penned by others, and then given him in Writing. To his Message, the Council gave the like answer as they had given before to the Hanse-Towns, upon the like occasion: though now again, the Hanse-Towns obtain of the Emperour, to prohibit the *English* from trading in *Germany*, which made the Queen to prohibit the Hanse-Towns from trading in *England*, and put them out of the Steel-yard till this difference was accorded.

The sawcy speech of a *Polish* Ambassador to the Queen, and her Answer.

This year the Chancellour of *Denmark* came into *England* to restore the Garter, which she had bestowed upon the King's Father, and withal offering the King's help, to make a Peace for the Queen with the *Spaniard*. The Queen thanked him; but meant not to use his help for that which she did not desire, and especially not now, when he had newly molested the King of *France* her Ally, and had taken *Amyens* the strongest Town of *Picardy:* Though why should the Queen be so tender of the *French* King, when now to get an Aid of Four thousand Souldiers from her, he fell to devices; intimating unto her, That he was now offered by the Pope's Nuntio a very commodious Peace, if he would but forsake her. But while these things were in Treaty, *Amyens* was recovered again by the valour of *Baskerville*, (who died at the Siege) and of Sir *Arthur Savage*, as the King in his Letterts to the Queen thankfully acknowledged.

Baskerville and Sir *Arthur Savage's* Service in recovering of *Amyens*.

About this time a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, where Subsidies were willingly granted; and to this Parliament was called the Lord *La Ware*, and restored to his blood, which by Act of Parliament in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth was tainted. Also to this Parliament was called *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, by the Title of Baron *Howard* of *Walden*.

The Lord *Tho. Howard* is made Baron of *Walden*.

In *Ireland* at this time, a great part of *Ulster*, and almost all *Connaught* was in Rebellion; whereupon *Russel* the Deputy was called home, and *Thomas* Lord *Burroughs* sent in his place, a man very stout and couragious, but no Souldier: This infinitely discontented *Norris*, who thought himself sure of the place, and now to see his Rival preferred before him, and himself to be under him, President of *Munster*, drave him into such a melancholy, that in a very short time (and as he thought to himself with much disgrace) he ended his life.

The Lord *Burroughs* is sent Deputy into *Ireland*. *Norris* that expected the place, discontented, falls sick and dies.

And now the Earl of *Tir-Oen* craveth and obtaineth a months Truce of the new Deputy, at the months end the Deputy marcheth against the Rebels, and gaineth the Fort at *Black-water*, when suddenly the Rebels shew themselves upon a hill hard by, against whom the Earl of *Kildare* marcheth and puts them to flight; but yet with some loss of his own side, as *Francis Vaughan* the Deputies Brother in Law, *Turner* a Serjeant Major, and two *Foster*-Brothers of the Earl of *Kildare*, whose death he took so heavily, that within a few daies he died himself.

The Fort of *Black-water* gained by the Deputy.

As soon as the Deputy had fortified the Castle at *Black-water*, and withdrawn his Army, the Rebels began to besiege it again; (for this was the main place of their strength) which caused the Deputy with all possible speed to make thither, but unhappily dyed by the way. Whereupon the Rebels set upon the Fort more fiercely than before: but being still repelled, they comforted themselves with this, that there was not many days provision left in the Fort; yet the admirable fortitude of *Thomas Williams* the Captain and the Garrison Souldiers saved the place, who, when their Horse-flesh was all spent, fed upon weeds growing within the Trenches, and endured all kind of misery.

The Lord *Burroughs* dies.

And now the Lord *Burroughs* the Deputy being dead, the Army by direction from *England*, was committed to the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Government to two Lords Justices, *Adam Loftbouse* Archbishop of *Dublin* and Chancellour, and *Robert Gardner:* to this new Lieutenant, *Tir-Oen* exhibiteth a Bill of his oppressions and grievances with request of pardon, and at the same time stirreth up *Mac Hugh* to a new Rebellion in *Lenster*.

Tir-Oen complains to the new Lieutenant of his grievances; and at the same time stirreth up *Mac-Hugh* to a new Rebellion.

In *France* at this time, the *French* King being importuned by the Pope, and by his own Subjects began to incline to a Peace with *Spain*; which the Queen understanding, she sent into *France* Sir *Robert Cecil*, *Herbert* and *Wilks*, (who died at his landing in *France:*) The States likewise sent thither *Justine* of *Nassaw*, and *Barnevelt*, and others likewise into *England* to dissuade the Peace; but notwithstanding all they could say or do, the *French* King shortly after concluded a Peace, to the great discontentment of the Queen and the States, but to the great good, and establishment of the *French* Commonwealth.

The King of *France* concludes a Peace with *Spain* against Q. *Elizabeths* liking.

And now the Queen providing for her own and her Peoples safety, sent Sir *Francis Vere* to the States, to know if they were willing to joyn in a Treaty of Peace with the *Spaniard:* if not, what

what they would afford towards a War; and to deal earneſtly with them about repayment of money due to her from them. At home in the mean time was holden a great Conſultation, Whether a Peace with *Spain* were convenient for *England*, or no? and many Reaſons were on both ſides alledged. *Burleigh* Lord Treaſurer was for Peace, *Eſſex* for War, and ſo vehement in it, that the Treaſurer, after a long debating, in a ſtrange manner of Preſage, reached forth the Book of the *Pſalms* to him, pointing him to that Verſe, *The bloody minded man ſhall not live out half his days.* Which made *Eſſex* afterward ſet forth an Apology, with Reaſons for juſtification of his Opinion.

A Conſultation, whether a Peace with *Spain* were convenient for *England* or no. *Burleigh* is for it, *Eſſex* againſt it.

But now another Conſultation was held, about a fit man to be Deputy of *Ireland*; The Queen intended to ſend Sir *Williams Knolles*, *Eſſex* his Uncle; but *Eſſex* was violent for Sir *George Carew*, whom he had a mind to remove from the Court; and when he could not by any means perſwade the Queen to it, he then, forgetting himſelf and his duty, uncivilly and contemptuouſly turned his back upon the Queen, muttering certain words. Whereupon ſhe growing impatient, gave him a box on the ear, and bid him be gone with a vengeance; *Eſſex* laid his hand upon his Sword hilt, and ſwore a great Oath, That he could not, nor would not put up ſuch an indignity; and that he would not have taken it at King *Henry* the Eighth his hands; and ſo in rage flung away from the Court. But afterward, admoniſhed by the Lord Keeper, he became more milde; and in a ſhort time returned into the Queen's favour.

The Queen gives the Earl a box on the Ear, and why: and how he took it.

The Lord *Burleigh* Ld Treaſurer dies.

About this time, *William Cecill* Lord *Burleigh*, and high Treaſurer of *England*, finding himſelf to droop with age, (for he was now threeſcore and ſeventeen years old) ſent Letters to the Queen, intreating her to releaſe him of his publick charge; whereupon ſhe went to viſit and comfort him; but within a few days he ended his life, after he had been the principal ſtay of the *Engliſh* Common-wealth for many years together. One great good he did to his Country a little before his death, that he brought the States of the *Low-Countreys* to a Compoſition for the payment of Eight hundred thouſand pounds, by Thirty thouſand pounds yearly; likewiſe a new League to be concluded with them.

The King of *Denmark's* Subjects having lately ſeized upon ſome goods of the *Engliſh* as Prize, to the value of a hundred thouſand Dollars; the Queen ſent the Lord *Zouch*, and *Chriſtopher Perkins* Doctor of Law, in Embaſſage to the *Dane*, both to congratulate his late marriage with the Elector's Daughter of *Brandenburg*; and alſo to crave reſtitution of the *Engliſh* Goods; who obtained, that in lieu thereof, Threeſcore thouſand Dollars were repayed. And now *George Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*, having with a Navy of eleven Ships, waited for *Portugal* Caraques, and the *American* Fleet, till the ſeaſon of the year was paſt (they not daring to ſtir forth) he at laſt ſet upon *Port-Rico* and took it; but ſeven hundred of his men falling ſick of Calentures, and dying within forty dayes, he was fain to return home with ſome honour, but little profit.

The Earl of *Cumberland* takes *Port-Rico*.

About this time, one *Edward Squire* was Arraigned of high Treaſon; he had been at firſt an ordinary Scrivener, afterwards a Groom in the Queen's Stable, and going as a Souldier in *Drakes* laſt expedition, was taken priſoner and carried into *Spain*, there he came acquainted with one *Wallpole* an *Engliſh* Jeſuite, who cauſed him to be put into the Inquiſition for an Heretick, and the fellow taſting of miſery, was eaſily drawn to become a Papiſt, and afterward to attempt any thing for the Catholick cauſe. His ghoſtly father perſwaded him it were meritorious to make away the Queen and the Earl of *Eſſex*, and ſent him into *England* with a certain poiſon, wherewith to anoint the pommel of the Queen's Saddle, and the chair in which the Earl ſhould ſit, which he accordingly performed, but neither of them took effect, whereupon *Wallpole* ſuſpecting *Squire*'s fidelity was bent to revenge it, and ſent one into *England*, who in general terms ſhould lay this aſperſion upon him; whereupon *Squire* is called in queſtion, and never thinking that his Confeſſor would detect him, directly denied all at firſt, but after ſeeing himſelf betrayed, confeſſed all the matter and was executed.

Edward Squire executed and why.

This whole year the Rebellion was hot in *Ireland*; for *Tir-Oen* notwithſtanding his pardon lately obtained, all on a ſudden beſieged the Fort at *Black-water*, to the raiſing of which Siege, the Lieutenant General (for there was as yet no Deputy) ſent thirteen Companies under the command of the Marſhal. *Tir-Oen*'s ſworn adverſary, him *Tir-Oen* ſlew, and put his whole Army to rout, and atchieved ſuch a Victory, with ſo great loſs to the *Engliſh*, as they had never felt the like ſince they firſt ſet footing in *Ireland*; for thirteen valiant Commanders, and fifteen hundred common Souldiers were ſlain at this skirmiſh, and ſoon after the Fort of *Black-water* was yielded up. And now *Tir-Oen*'s fame began to reſound as the Aſſertor of the liberty of the Nation, and upon a ſudden all *Munſter* brake forth into Rebellion. For the Cheriſhing whereof *Tir-Oen* ſent thither *Owny Mac-Rorye* and *Terrell* (who originally an *Engliſh* man, was grown a deadly enemy to the *Engliſh* Nation) with four hundred *Kerns*. Againſt theſe, *Thomas Norris* Preſident of the Province, marched to *Kilmallock* with a good force; but finding that the *Iriſh* Souldiers of his Company were ready to revolt, he was fain to diſperſe his Army and retire to *Corke*. Hereupon the Rebels grew inſolent, ſpoiled the Country, and in cruel manner put all the *Engliſh* to the ſword. Furthermore they declare *Fitz Thomas* to be Earl of *Deſmond*; but upon condition he ſhould hold of *O-Neale*, that is, of *Tir-Oen*, who now diſpatched Letters to the *Spaniard*, relating his Victories to the full, and vowing to accept no terms of peace with the *Engliſh*, and yet at the ſame inſtant (after his wonted treacherous manner) proferred ſome kind of ſubmiſſion to the Lieutenant, but withal made unreaſonable demands.

Tir-Oen breaks openly into Rebellion, and gives the *Engliſh* a great defeat.

Yet at the ſame time makes ſome offer of Submiſſion.

The State of *Ireland* being thus in combuſtion a ſerious conſultation is holden whom to ſend to quench it: the Queen and moſt of the Council thought Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* the fitteſt man; but *Eſſex* covertly intimated, that he had no military experience, and beſides was too Bookiſh to prove a good Commander: he ſeem'd to aim at the place for himſelf, though he made a ſhew modeſtly to refuſe it, and yet ſtill ready with

1597.

A Conſultation is held, whom to ſend againſt *Tir-Oen*.

with his exceptions if any other were nominated: many thought it dangerous to have an Army put into his hands, for his followers talked of great matters, that he (forsooth) was descended of the blood Royal of *Scotland* and *England*, and had better Right to the Crown then any other of the Competitors. In conclusion, he is appointed Vice-Roy, with ample Authority, to make War or conclude Peace, and pardon all offenders, even *Tir-Oen* himself. An Army is allotted him as great as he desired: Indeed greater than ever *Ireland* had seen before, twenty thousand Foot and thirteen hundred Horse: with these, and a great Retinue besides of the Nobility, he passeth into *Ireland*; where as soon as he had taken the Sword, contrary to his Commission (which was to go immediately against the Arch-rebel) he marched towards *Munster* against the petty Rebels, taketh the Castle of *Cahir*, and driveth the Rebels into the Woods and Groves adjoyning. His Forces being now impaired, he tarrieth to make them up, but in the mean time sendeth directions to Sir *Conierds Clifford*, President of *Connaught*, to set upon the Rebels in one place, (thereby to sever their forces) while he assaulted them in another; *Clifford* marched toward *Belike*, with 1500 Souldiers, where the Rebels are upon them at unawares, under the conduct of *O-Rork*, (his Son that was hanged here in *England*.) The *English* repel them at first with ease, and march along, but the Rebels finding they wanted Powder, set upon them again, and put them to flight; in which skirmish, *Clifford* and many of the old Souldiers were slain.

At last the Earl of *Essex* is sent with ample authority.

Essex having by this received new supplies out of *England*, and a check for neglecting the Queen's Command, setteth forth at length towards the Borders of *Ulster*, with thirteen hundred Foot and five hundred Horse; being come thither, *Tir-Oen* by a messenger requested parley, *Essex* refuseth, saying, he might speak with him the next morning between the two Armies; the next day word is brought to *Essex* that *Tir-Oen* craved the Queen's mercy, and that he might onely be heard speak, appointing the shallow of *Balla Clinch* for a most convenient place; thither came *Essex* alone, with whom *Tir-Oen* (riding his Horse up to the girts) had private conference a full hour; A while after, *Con* (*Tir-Oens* base Son) came to *Essex*, requesting in his Fathers name a second parley, and that some of the chief on both sides might be present: *Essex* consented, so there came not more than six. At the day appointed, many words had not passed, but it was agreed, that their Delegates should Treat the next day concerning a Peace: between them it was concluded, that a Truce should be held from six weeks to six weeks till *May-day*.

He hath private Conference with *Tir-Oen*.

A Truce is concluded.

By this time, the Queen understanding that no more was done, after so much time and money spent, in a great anger taxeth the Earls proceedings, and I know not how, it fell from her to some others that stood by, that he had other thoughts in his mind, than the good of his Prince and Country: And thereupon dispatched very sharp Letters to him, blaming his delay, and letting slip every fair opportunity: with which Letters *Essex* was so nettled, and chiefly troubled that the Queen had now made *Cecil* Master of the Wards, which he expected himself; that he began to cast strange projects within his mind, and held private consultations of returning into *England* with part of his Forces, to surprize his Adversaries; But from this course, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *Christopher Blunt* dissuaded him, as being dangerous and wicked. Yet within a month over he went, and came to the Court at *Nonesuch*, to inform the Queen of the State of *Ireland*. By the way the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* crossed him, but saluted him not; whom one of his followers offered to kill for his contempt: but *Essex* would not suffer him: and made such haste, that early in the morning he was upon his Knees before the Queen in the Privy Chamber. She entertained him courteously, but not with the countenance she was wont: and after a little talk bid him keep in his Chamber; and soon after, committed him to Custody, in the Lord Privy Seal's house; where entring into consideration of his case, he giveth himself wholly to Divine Contemplation, and writeth wonderful Letters to his friends, of the vanity of the things of this life.

Essex without leave comes over to the Queen.

Is welcomed with committing him to the Lord Privy Seal.

The Queen writes to *Essex*, blaming his delay.

It was now the year one thousand six hundred, and the two and fortieth of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when after the departure of the Earl of *Essex*, *Tir-Oen* began to carry himself as Monarch of *Ireland*, and sendeth *Kernes* to make spoil in the possessions of such as continued in their loyalty to the Queen, under *Mac-Guir* their Captain, who lighting casually upon Sir *Warham Saint-Leger*, thrust him through with a spear, and was himself thrust through withal. Whereupon the Queen sent Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* to take upon him the Deputies place, who loseth no time, but first of all marcheth towards *Ulster*, buildeth a Fort within eight miles of *Armagh*, which in honour of Sir *John Norris*, under whom he had his first military schooling, he called by the name of *Mount Norris*; there he placed *Edward Blayne*, who kept the Rebels in awe in those parts, from thence back he goeth into *Leinster*, wherein the *Glynnes* he reduceth into order, *Donel-Spaniah*, *Phelim Mac-Pheoph*, and the rebelling Nation of the *O-Tooles*, taking hostages of them, then back into *Ulster* again, being Victor wheresoever he cometh, and at *Tredah*, receiveth into protection *Mac-Henry*, *Mac-Cowly*, and other Rebels, who fell at his feet for mercy. All this and more he did in his first year, and no less successful was *Carew* President of *Munster*, who drave out of the County the Titular Earl of *Desmond*, and having found *Munster* a turbulent Province, in *April*, he overcame it, and made it so quiet by *December* following, that the Rebels maintained no one Fort in it against the Queen.

1600.

The Earl of *Tir-Oen* upon *Essex* his departure carries himself as Monarch of *Ireland*.

Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* is sent Deputy into *Ireland*.

And now a new Consultation was holden in *England*, touching a Peace with the King of *Spain*, the which he sought both by the *French* King, and by *Albertus* the Arch-Duke, who was now returned into the *Netherlands* out of *Spain*, where he was married to the *Infanta*. The Queen consenting to a Treaty, left it to the *French* King to nominate both the time and place for the meeting of the Delegates, who set down the month of *May*, and *Bulloign* in *France*; But now foreseeing that a question would arise about Precedency, some were appointed to search Ancient Records concerning that point. These men found in the Book of the Ceremonies of the Court

A Treaty of Peace is agreed on with *Spain*.

Court of *Rome*, which (according to the Canons) giveth Rule to the reſt, as the Lady and Miſtreſs; that amongſt Kings, the firſt place is due to the King of *France*, the ſecond to the Kings of *England*, and the third to the King of *Caſtile*; That the *Engliſh* quietly held this priviledg in the General Councils of *Baſil*, *Conſtance*, and others: beſides the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, (which is the *Spaniards* firſt Title, and which is but an upſtart in regard of *England*) had Earls, but no Kings till the year 1017. In like manner, Pope *Julius* the third gave ſentence for *Henry* the ſeventh of *England*, againſt *Ferdinand*, who was then King of *Caſtile*.

The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners have a charge not to give Precedence to *Spain*; and why!

At the day appointed, the Delegates met at *Bulloign*, Sir *Henry Nevill*, Leiger Ambaſſador, Sir *John Herbert*, *Robert Beal*, and *Thomas Edmunds* for the *Engliſh*, and other for the King of *Spain* and the Archduke. The *Engliſh* had inſtructions, firſt concerning Precedency, in no caſe to give way to the King of *Spain*; yet if they contended, to put the matter to the deciſion of Lots, rather than the Treaty ſhould be diſſolved; and for the reſt, to propoſe and mention the reviewing of the ancient *Burgundian* League, freedom of Commerce, &c.

The *Spaniards* being denyed Precedence, break off the Treaty.

At the meeting, when they had ſeverally ſhewed their Commiſſions; the *Engliſh* challenge the Precedency, the *Spaniards* do the like, and in ſo peremptory a manner, that without it they would diſſolve the Treaty. Hereupon the *Engliſh* made a propoſition, to let paſs the queſtion of Precedency; and to tranſact the buſineſs by writing, and Meſſengers between them: Or that the Treaty might be intermitted only for threeſcore days, not quite broken off; but all was to no purpoſe; and at three months end they parted.

The States the mean while were ſo far from regarding a Peace, that at this time they thought upon reducing the Sea Coaſt of *Flanders* into their Command; and thereupon they landed an Army there, of fourteen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, under the conduct of *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*; and fifteen hundred of the *Engliſh* under the command of Sir *Francis Vere*, and his Brother *Horatio*. At which time happened the famous Battel of *Newport*, againſt the Archduke, where nine thouſand of the *Spaniards* were ſlain; and the Victory, by the valour of the *Engliſh*, fell to the *Dutch*; for ſo forward were the *Engliſh* in this Battel, that of their fifteen hundred, eight hundred were ſlain and ſore wounded, eight Captains killed, and of the reſt every man hurt.

The Famous Battel of *Newport*, won by the valour of the *Engliſh*.

All this year, and the year paſt, ſundry quarrels and complaints aroſe between the *Engliſh* and *French*, touching repriſals of goods taken from each other by Pirates of either Nation: Alſo touching Cuſtoms and Impoſitions, contrary to the Treaty of *Bloys*, and deceit in *Engliſh* Clothes, to the great Infamy of the Nation. In *Denmark* likewiſe aroſe controverſies touching commerce, and the Fiſhing of the *Engliſh* upon the Coaſt of *Iſland* and *Norway*. The Queen alſo at that time, for the increaſe of Navigation and Commerce, Founded the Company of *Eaſt-India* Merchants, allowing them large Priviledges: But whether this hath proved beneficial to the Common-wealth, (there having been by this means ſuch a maſs of money and great ſtore of other commodities carried out of the Kingdom, and ſo many Mariners loſt every year) wiſe men make a queſtion.

The Company of *Eaſt-India* Merchants Founded by the Queen.

About this time alſo, Pope *Clement* the eighth, perceiving the Queen to be in her declining age, ſent two Breves into *England*, the one to the Popiſh Clergy, the other to the Laity, to ſuffer no perſon whatſoever, to take the Kingdom upon him after the Queens death, but one that ſhould promiſe by Oath, to promote with all his might the *Roman* Catholick Religion, how near ſoever otherwiſe, he were allyed to the Blood Royal of the King of *England*.

This year by reaſon of intemperate weather, happened a great ſcarcity of Corn in *England*, and thereby many grievous complaints were occaſioned. The common people caſt out reproachful ſlanders againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, as the granter of Licenſes for tranſportation of Corn; but he appealing to the Queen, ſhe forthwith defended his Innocency, and made it known by open Proclamation, imputed the fault upon Broggers of Corn, and Foreſtallers of Markets, and gave order that the ſlanderers ſhould be apprehended and puniſhed.

The Earl of *Eſſex* upon his penitence is allowed to live at his own houſe.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, who had now been Priſoner ſix months in the Houſe of the Lord Privy Seal, he then began to repent in good earneſt, reſolving to put away his perverſe Counſellors *Gilly Merrick* and *Henry Cuffe*, and then he ſhewed ſo much patience and great ſubmiſſion, that the Queen then ſent him to his own houſe, and to be there confined, always proteſting, that ſhe would do nothing that ſhould be for his ruine, but only that, which ſhould be for his amendment. Nevertheleſs, when as the common people extolled his Innocency, ſhe could not for the removal of ſuſpicion of injuſtice, free her ſelf and her Counſellors, but bring him to trial; not in the Star-Chamber, leſt the Cenſure ſhould fall too heavy on him, but in the houſe of the Lord Privy Seal, where the cauſe ſhould have a plain hearing before the Lords of the Council, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges of the Realm. The objections were, That contrary to his Commiſſion he had made the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horſe, had drawn his Forces into *Munſter*, neglecting the Arch-rebel *Tir-Oen*, entertained a Parlee with him againſt the Dignity of the Queens Majeſty, and the perſon of a Viceroy, which he repreſented: And that the ſaid Parlee was ſuſpicious, in regard it was private. Some aggravations the Lawyers added from abrupt ſentences in his Letter to the Lord Privy Seal, written two years ſince, as theſe: *No ſtorm is more fierce than the indignation of an Impotent Prince. What? cannot Princes err? May they not injure their Subjects?* and ſuch like.

Yet he is brought to a private Trial in the Lord Privy Seals houſe, and what was obiected againſt him.

The Earl proteſts his innocency, and ſheweth his Repentance with tears.

He falling upon his knee at the end of the Board, proteſted he would not conteſt with the Queen, nor excuſe the faults of his young years either in whole or in part; Proteſting that he always meant well, howſoever it fell out otherwiſe, and that now he would bid the World farewell; withall ſhedding many tears, ſo as the ſtanders by wept alſo. Yet could he not contain himſelf, but began to plead excuſes, till the Lord Privy Seal interrupted him, adviſing him to proceed

ceed as he began, to fly to the Queens Mercy, who would not have him queſtioned for diſloyalty, but only for a contempt; and that he did not well to pretend obedience in words, which in deeds he had not performed. At length, in the name of the reſt, he pronounceth this Sentence againſt him; That he ſhould be depoſed from the Office of a Privy Counſellor, ſuſpended from the functions of the Earl Marſhall, and Maſter of the Ordnance, and be impriſoned during the Queens pleaſure. She had given expreſs charge, not to ſuſpend him from the Office of Maſter of the Horſe (minding ſhortly to take him into favour) and that his Cenſure in no caſe ſhould be Recorded. After this he made ſhew of wonderfull humility & mortification, which ſo affected the Queen, that ſhortly ſhe removed *Barkeley* his Keeper, and gave him leave to go at large; only admoniſhing him, To make his own Diſcretion his Keeper, and not to come at the Court, or in her Preſence.

What his Cenſure was.

Yet upon his humility he had leave to go at large.

After this Sentence, *Cuffe*, who always perſwaded the Earl to ſtand ſtoutly in his own defence, began ſo plainly to tax him of cowardize and puſillanimity; that the Earl in anger, commanded his Name to be put out of the Roll of his Servants; yet *Merrick* the Steward did it not, as being of *Cuffes* mind himſelf.

Cuffe taxeth the Earl for cowardize.

Eſſex being now ready to go into the Country, remembred himſelf to the Queen, by the Lord *Henry Howard*, in theſe words; *That he kiſſed the Rod, and the Queens hands, which had only corrected, not overthrown him; yet he ſhould never enjoy ſolid comfort, till he might ſee thoſe bleſſed Eyes, which had been his load-ſtars, whereby he had happily ſteered his courſe, while he held on his way at lawful diſtance; But now he reſolved to eat graſs with* Nebuchadnezzar, *till it pleaſed the Queen to reſtore his Senſes.* She being greatly joyed with theſe his ſpeeches; *Would to God* (ſaid ſhe) *his deeds be anſwerable to his words, He hath long tryed my Patience, I muſt now make tryal of his humility.*

The Earls ſubmiſſive Letter to the Queen.

1601.

And now the Earl grew ſo confident of the Queens Favour, that he became a Suitor to her for the Farm of ſweet Wines; but ſhe to try his temper, and with what mind he would bear a repulſe, made him Anſwer, That ſhe muſt firſt know what it was worth, & not give away things hand over head; & had oftentimes in her mouth, the Aphoriſm of Phyſicians, That foul bodies, the more you nouriſh them, the more you corrupt them. And indeed, this was the right way to find whether the Ulcer of his Mind were throughly cured or no; for being not throughly cured, it would endure no touching; and no more did his, but as though every denyal of a courteſie, were an injury that required revenge; his Melancholy was preſently turned into Choler, now he began to hearken to *Cuffe* again; telling him, That it was now plain, the Queen determined to make him as poor as *Job*, that he ſhould live of the Basket, and gather crums under the Table. Hereupon he returned to *London*, *Southampton* is ſent for out of the *Low-Countries*, his doors are ſet open for all comers, *Merrick* his Steward receiveth to his own Table decayed Souldiers, diſcontented and audicious perſons; Sermons are made there every day by Puritan Miniſters, to which the Citizens flock, and all ſigns of Popularity appeared; which matters coming to the Queens ears, alienated her affection from him daily more and more; but eſpecially ſhe was exaſperated, that her Perſon was deſpiſed by him; for (not to ſay the worſt) he had muttered, That the Queen was now old and decrepit, and withered as well in mind as body.

Being denyed the Farm of ſweet Wines, he grows again diſcontented.

Uſeth all the ways of popularity.

And now again, he runneth upon deſperate counſels, for the removal of his adverſaries from the Court, ſeeketh to ſcrue himſelf into the King of *Scots* favour, to whom he traduceth his adverſaries, by name *Rawleigh*, *Cobham*, *Carew*, *Cecill*, and the Admiral as inclined to the *Spaniſh* Faction, and at one and the ſame time, ſeeketh to win to him both Puritans and Papiſts. Many were of his party, but few of his Counſel; and theſe were the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* Captain of the Garriſon of *Plymouth*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, and ſome others. With theſe he met privately in *Drury* Houſe to avoid ſuſpicion, where he firſt giveth them a Catalogue of the Nobility and Gentry that favoured him, to the number of a hundred and twenty. Then they conſult, Whether it were better to ſet upon the Tower of *London*, or the Queens Palace; this latter they reſolve upon, which ſhould be done in this manner; *Blunt* ſhould keep the great Gate with a ſelect number of men, and *Davers* ſeize upon the Preſence Chamber: Then *Eſſex* with his Company ſhould come from the *Mues*, and preſent himſelf before the Queen. But now ſuſpicions ariſing from divers circumſtances, Secretary *Herbert* was ſent to call him before the Council, at the Treaſurers Houſe; but he doubting the matter, excuſeth himſelf that he was not very well. And now the Plot of ſeizing upon the Court, which had been four months in contriving, was by this means quite daſhed, for they had ready at the preſent, neither Souldiers, nor Munition, ſo as ſome ſpeedier courſe muſt now be thought on: At which time very opportunely cometh one to them (ſet on no doubt by *Eſſex* his Adverſaries) as if he had been ſent on purpoſe from the Citizens, to promiſe him their Aid; which made *Eſſex* to applaud his own great good fortune.

Who were his chief adherents and Counſellors.

They reſolve to ſet upon the Queens Palace, &c. in what manner.

But are prevented.

And now were four of the Lords, namely the Lord Keeper, the Earl of *Worceſter*, Sir *William Knolles*, & the Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, ſent by the Queen to *Eſſex* Houſe, who could hardly be ſuffered to come in, all their Attendants were kept out, ſave he that carried the Seal before the Keeper. In the Court they found a confuſed number of people, and the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Rutland*, and *Southampton*, in the midſt of them. The Keeper turning himſelf to *Eſſex*, told him, The Queen had ſent him and the reſt to underſtand the cauſe of this concourſe, promiſing Juſtice, if any perſon had done them wrong. *Eſſex* with a loud voice cryed out, They lye in wait for my life, we are met to defend our ſelves. The Keeper urging *Eſſex* again to unfold ſome part of his grievance; the unruly multitude cryeth out, Away, let us be gone, they come to betray you, Kill them, caſt away that Great Seal. *Eſſex* retireth into the houſe, the Lords follow him; he chargeth them to make the doors faſt, & turning him to the Lords, Have patience for a while (ſaith he) I muſt go into the City to diſpatch a little buſineſs with the Mayor and Sheriffs, I will return preſently. There

The Lord Keeper & three other of the Privy Council, ſent to *Eſſex* Houſe, to know the cauſe of this concourſe, & his Anſwer.

But preſently giving charge to keep the Lords, he goes into the City.

There the Lords are kept prisoners; *Essex* maketh haste into the City, with a Troop of 200 men at his heels; the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Cromwell*, and other Lords meeting him by the way, joyn themselves: coming into *London*, he cryeth out aloud, *For the Queen, for the Queen, they lay wait for my life.* The Citizens came running to gaze, but not so much as one person took Arms to take his part. Passing along the City, he came all in a sweat to the Sheriff *Smith's* house, who shifteth himself forth at a Back-door, and goeth to the Lord Mayor. By this time certain of the Nobility entred the City with a Herald, declaring *Essex* and his adherents Traytors. Hereupon, hearing also that the Lord Admiral made towards him with an Army, he began to be disheartned; *George* taketh care for himself, requesteth he might be sent to release the Counsellors, and with them to crave the Queens mercy, whiles the issue was yet doubtful. The Earl was content that *Popham* only should be freed; but he refused, unless the Keeper also might be dismissed. Then *George* freeth them all, and goeth along with them to the Court by water.

He comes to Sheriff *Smith's* house, looking for aid, but *Smith* was gone. *Essex* is proclaimed a Traytor.

George goeth and setteth all the Lords at liberty.

Now when *Essex* thought to return, he found a chain fastened cross the street, at the West end of *Pauls*, and men in Arms on the other side: then he began to draw his Sword; and having once given the word, *Blunt* letteth fly at them, slew one of them incontinent, himself being sorely wounded and taken. *Essex* himself had his Hat shot through; whereupon retiring, he took Boat at *Queen-Hythe*, and went to *Essex* House; where, finding the Counsellours all dismissed, he grew extream angry and dismayed, and cast certain papers into the fire, saying, They should tell no tales. By and by the Admiral besiegeth the House, commandeth them to yield. *Southampton* offereth, if the Admiral would give Hostages to secure them, they would present themselves to the Queen. The Admiral answereth him by *Sidney*, That Rebels are not to proffer Conditions. Within an hour, *Essex* finding the case desperate, resolveth to rush forth; and the Lord *Sands* (the most aged in the company) greatly urged it, saying, it were better to die valiantly than by the hands of a Hang-man. But *Essex* his mind upon a little deliberation altering, they fell upon their knees, and deliver their Weapons to the Admiral, when it was ten a clock at night. *Owen Salisbury*, and one or two more were slain with Musket shot, and as many of the Besiegers. The next day *Thomas Lea*, Commander of a Company of Souldiers in *Ireland*, who to one *Crosse* a Sea-Captain (that detected him) intimated, how noble an exploit it were, for six stout Fellows to go to the Queen, and compel her forcibly to release *Essex* and *Southampton*, was presently apprehended, examined, found guilty, and executed. *Essex* and *Southampton* were carried first to *Lambeth*, to the Archbishops house, because it was a dark night; but anon were sent to the Tower, by the Queens direction; and with them *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Mounteagle*, *Danvers*, and *Bromley*, the rest were put in common prisons.

Essex returning & finding the Counsellors all dismissed, grows much dismayed.

At ten a clock at night, *Essex* yields himself to the Lord Admiral.

He is sent to the Tower, together with the Earl of *Southampton* and other Lords.

Essex and *Southampton* are arraigned.

On the nineteenth of *February*, *Essex* and *Southampton* were called to their Arraignment before their *Peers* in *Westminster*-Hall, where *Buckhurst* Lord Treasurer, was appointed Lord High-Steward of *England* for that time. The Peers being severally called by their names, *Essex* demanded if it were not lawful for them to except against some of the Peers, as private persons might do against the Jurors. The Judges made answer, That the credit and fidelity of the Peers of *England* was presumed to be such, That in Tryals they were not bound to take an Oath, nor are they lyable to any exception. Then were they joyntly indited of High-Treason; namely, that they plotted to deprive the Queen of her life and Kingdom, To surprize her in her very Palace; and that they brake forth into open Rebellion, by imprisoning the Counsellors of the Kingdom; by exciting the *Londoners* to Rebellion with vain fictions; by assaulting the Queens loyal Subjects in the City; and by defending of *Essex* House against the Queens Forces. Hereunto they pleaded, Not guilty: *Essex* withall averring, That they had done nothing but of necessity, and the Law of Nature. *Yelverton* aggravateth the specialties; and *Edward Coke* Attorney argueth, That the Earl could not excuse himself from the Law of Nature, seeing Majesty is not to be affronted for private revenge. The Earl of *Essex* with great confidence made answer, That to his Prince and Country, he always had and would bear a loyal affection. Then *Francis Bacon* (one that was little expected to speak against *Essex* by whom he had been raised) in defence of *Cobham*, *Cecil* and *Rawleigh*, aggravateth his crying out, That the Crown of *England* was sold to the *Spaniard*: whereto *Essex* replyed, That he heard indeed, that *Cecill* the Secretary should say to one of the Lords of the Council, That the right of the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Kingdom of *England*, was as good as any of the Competitors. Upon this *Cecill* (who stood by as an Auditor) steppeth in, and falling upon his knees, beseecheth the Steward, that with his good leave, he might quit himself from this foul aspersion: which leave being granted him, he provoked *Essex*, if he durst, to name the Counsellor; but he would not: therefore (saith *Cecill*) it is a Fiction; still *Essex* averreth it. Then *Cecill* turning himself to *Southampton*, besought him by all manner of Obtestations to name the man. He referreth it to the Honourable Assembly, and to *Cecill* himself, if in Honour and good Reason he ought to do it: they affirming, He might, *Southampton* named Sir *William Knolles*, *Essex* his Uncle. He being sent for, at *Cecills* intreaty, said, That *Cecill* two years since told him, that one *Dolman* in a Book, had asserted the Right of the *Infanta*; and had spoken no otherwise than so.

They plead not guilty.

Now after the Judges had delivered their opinion what was Law in the matters alledged, the Earls, by the Stewards direction, were taken aside: Then the Peers rose, and went apart, and having consulted about an hour, returned to their seats, and in their order, pronounced the Earls guilty of High-Treason. Then the high Steward advising *Essex* to implore the Queens mercy, giveth Sentence, and that done, brake his Staff, and departed.

But are found guilty by their Peers.

The next day, Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Edward Baynham*, *Littleton*, *Cuff*, Captain *Whitlock*, *John* and *Christopher Wright*, and *Orell* an old Souldier, were called to their Tryal: but the Queen (informed by Sir *Fulk*

Grevil, That moſt of them were drawn unwittingly into the danger) commanded that only *Littleton*, *Baynham*, and *Orell* ſhould have their Tryal, the reſt to be ſent back to priſon. Theſe were all condemned, but their lives ſpared, which favour *Rawleigh* (for a good ſum of money received of *Baynham*) procured.

Eſſex in the mean while, requeſted he might ſpeak with ſome of the Counſellors, to whom he reconciled himſelf, and to *Cecill* eſpecially; and then intimating that the Queen could not be in ſafety while he lived; he requeſted he might be executed privately in the Tower: He grievouſly inveigheth againſt ſome of the Conſpiracy, and wiſheth to ſpeak with ſome of them, but eſpecially with *Blunt* and *Cuffe*; whom as ſoon as he ſaw, he brake forth into theſe words; *O* Cuffe, *ask pardon of God, and the Queen, for thou haſt chiefly provoked me to this diſloyalty.* Alſo he intimated Sir *Henry Nevill*, ordinary Ambaſſadour in *France*, to have been acquainted with the Conſpiracy; and that others in *Scotland*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, and the Lord *Mountjoy* Deputy of *Ireland* knew of his purpoſe, and others in *England*; who being many in number, and the Lord *Mountjoy*, ordering the Affairs of *Ireland* in good faſhion, the Queen wiſely would take no notice of it.

Eſſex complains of *Blunt* & *Cuffe*.

The five and twentieth day of *February*, which was to be the fatal day, there were ſent to the Earl divers Miniſters, to give him ghoſtly comfort. The Queen now wavering in her ſelf, one while remembring the ancient kindneſs ſhe had ſhewed him, ſhe commanded he ſhould not be executed; then again, thinking of his ſtubborneſs, that he would not once ask her mercy, and had ſaid openly, That he could not live, but ſhe muſt periſh; countermanding her former word, ſhe gave order that he ſhould be executed.

Then was he brought forth into the Yard, where a Scaffold was erected, and ſundry of the Nobility preſent, among whom *Rawleigh* alſo; but being told, it was an inhumane thing to ſtand by and behold the death of his Adverſary, he withdrew himſelf into the Armory, and from thence beheld the Tragedy. *Eſſex* being aſcended the Scaffold, uncovered his head, caſt up his eyes towards Heaven, and crying God mercy for the manifold ſins of his youth, but this laſt ſpecially, which he ſaid was a bloody, crying and contagious ſin; craved pardon of the Queen and her Counſellors, commended his ſpirit into the hands of God, and had his head taken off at the third blow, though the firſt bereft him both of his ſenſe and motion.

He is executed in the *Tower*.

The fifth of *March*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gyllie Merrick* and *Cuffe*, were brought to their Tryal in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, before the Queens delegates. The Heads of their Indictments, were the ſame which were objected to *Eſſex* and *Southampton*. The others ſaid little in their defence, only *Cuffe* ſtood upon theſe two Anſwers; Whereas (ſaith he) I am challenged of Treaſon, becauſe I was in *Eſſex* houſe the day of the Rebellion; by the ſame Argument the Lyon in the Cellar might be indited: all that day I lamented the Earls fortune, and dealt with him to fly to the Queens mercy. And as for the Conſultation in *Drury*-Houſe, it is no more to be called High Treaſon, than an Embryo may be accounted a perfect man. The Lawyers on the other ſide demonſtrated, That no neceſſity lay upon him to tarry in the Houſe; and that the Conſultation in *Drury*-Houſe was it ſelf a Treaſon, though it had never broke forth into act. *Merrick* ſaid only this, The Earl of *Eſſex* raiſed me, and he hath overturned me.

Cuffes pleading for himſelf at his Tryal.

The thirteenth of *March*, *Merrick*, and *Cuffe* are drawn to *Tyburne*, where *Cuffe* entring into a long Speech, was by the Sheriff interrupted; and then, after prayers to God, and deſiring God and the Queen to pardon him, he was caſt from the Ladder: a man of great Wit and Learning, but of a boyſterous and turbulent diſpoſition. In the ſame manner dyed *Merrick*.

Merrick & *Cuffe* are drawn to *Tyburn*, and there executed.

The fifteenth of *March*, Sir *Charles Davers* and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* were beheaded on the Tower-Hill; albeit *Davers* offered ten thouſand pounds to redeem his life, though with perpetual impriſonment. The Earl of *Southampton* and the Sheriff *Smith* were kept priſoners; though *Smith*, after ſome time, was upon ſureties ſuffered to go at large. The eighth of *July*, Sir *Henry Nevill* was cited before the Lords of the Council, where it was laid to his Charge, That he was preſent at the Conſultation in *Drury*-Houſe, yet had not revealed their ſiniſter purpoſes; and had imparted to *Eſſex* the ſecrets of his *French* Embaſſage. He confeſſed, That at the Earls intreaty, he ſhewed him the Commentaries of the *French* proceedings, was preſent at one of their Conſultations only; but contemned their counſels, yet durſt not be an Informer againſt ſo great Perſonages. Hereupon he had a grievous check given him, and was committed to priſon.

Sir *Charles Davers* & Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* beheaded at the *Tower-hill*.

One act of the by, is not here to be omitted. *Eſſex* at his Arraignment had complained, That his hand-writing was counterfeited. It happened the Counteſs of *Eſſex* being fearful in her Husbands behalf, gave a Letter which ſhe had received from him, to the Cuſtody of one *Rhibove*, a *Dutch* woman that waited on her: this *Dutch* womans husband named *Daniel*, lighted by chance upon the Letter, and perceiving ſome paſſages in it which might bring the Earl of *Eſſex* into danger, got a cunning Fellow to draw a counterfeit Copy of the ſaid Letter; with this he cometh to the fearful Lady, who was newly brought to bed, threatning to give the ſame to her husbands Adverſaries, unleſs ſhe would preſently give him three thouſand pounds. She to ſhun the danger, paid him eleven hundred and ſeventy pounds at the very inſtant; yet did he deliver her the counterfeit Copy only, meaning to make uſe of the true one, to get another ſum of the Earls Adverſary. This impoſture being found out, he was cenſured to perpetual impriſonment, condemned in three thouſand pounds (two of which were to go to the Counteſs) and his Ears nailed to the Pillory, with this Writing over his head; *A notorious Cheater.*

Soon after a Parliament was aſſembled, wherein grievous complaints being tendred to the lower Houſe touching Monopolies; the Queen, by way of prevention, ſendeth out Proclamations, declaring the ſaid Licences and Patents to be void in part, leaving ſome part to the diſcuſſion of the Laws: which thing was ſo acceptable to the lower Houſe, that they preſently ſent

The Queen ſets forth a Proclamation, declaring all Monopolies to be void.

eighty

eighty select persons, together with the Speaker, to give the Queen thanks; and she on the other side gave them thanks for being such faithful Monitors to her, to recal her from an error, wherein-to, through ignorance, not wilfulness, she was fallen.

1602. In *Ireland*, the Deputy at the entry of the Spring, draweth his Forces together, and driveth *Tir-Oen* from where he had fortified himself; *Carew* President of *Munster*, taketh the titular Earl lurking in a Cave, and receiveth intelligence, that the *Spaniards* invited by *Tir-Oen*, had a purpose to land in *Munster*, yet could not perswade the Deputy they had any design for *Ireland*; but in the midst of *September*, certain News was brought, the *Spaniards* were in sight, who wanting wind to carry their Fleet to *Cork*, put into *Kinsale* the three and twentieth of *September*, and land their Souldiers without resistance. *Richard Percy* having but few Souldiers to defend the Town, is commanded to come away and leave *Kinsale* to the *Spaniards*, into which they enter with Ensigns displayed, and by the Magistrates and Inhabitants were bidden welcome.

The *Spaniards* land in *Ireland*, & take *Kinsale*.

Tir-Oen joyneth his Forces with the *Spaniards*, which together make a great Army, but in a Battel are defeated.

D' Aquila, who commanded the *Spaniards*, publisheth a Declaration, wherein he sheweth, That Queen *Elizabeth* was deposed from her Kingdom by sentence of the Pope, her Subjects absolved from their Allegiance; And that the *Spaniards* were now come to deliver *Ireland* from the jaws of the Devil. *Tir Oen*, joyneth his Forces with them, so as they were now six thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, and promised themselves assured Victory, the *English* being not near so many. The four and twentieth of *December* a Battel is joyned; where after long fight, the Victory inclined to the *English*. *Tir-Oen*, *Odonell*, and the rest cast away their weapons, and save themselves by flight. *Alphonso O Campo* chief Ruler of the *Spaniards*, together with three other Captains, was taken prisoner, and six Ensign-bearers, twelve hundred were slain, nine colours taken, whereof four belonged to the *Spaniards*: of the *English* not many were slain, but a great number wounded.

Alphonso O Campo their chief Leader is taken Prisoner.

D' Aquila who commanded the *Spaniards*, requires a Composition, and departs.

After six days, *D' Aquila* sendeth Letters to the Deputy by a Drummer, requesting that some person of account might be sent to him, with whom to confer; Sir *William Godolphine* is sent, to whom he complained of the cowardise, and (he feared) treachery of the *Irish*; and therefore, although he wanted nothing to hold out the Siege, and did daily expect great Forces from *Spain*, yet was willing to make a Composition: whereupon, at last it was agreed, The *Spaniards* should yield up *Kinsale* to the Deputy, as also the Castles and Forts at *Baltimore*, *Bere Haven*, and *Castle-Haven*, and should depart with life and goods, and colours displayed. The *English* at a reasonable price, should furnish them with ships and provition into *Spain*; and that they should not carry Arms against the Queen of *England*, till they were arrived in *Spain*, &c.

Sir *Rich. Levison* sets upon the *Spanish* Fleet of Treasure, but cannot prevail.

And now the *Spaniards* being driven out of *Ireland*, the Queen, to prevent their coming again, sendeth out Sir *Richard Levison* and Sir *William Monson*, with eight ships of her own, and some smaller ships of War, to attempt something upon the Coast of *Spain*. On the nineteenth of *March*, *Levison* hoiseth Sayl, and *Monson* afterward, having in vain tarried behind for some *Dutch* ships to joyn with them. *Levison* in the mean time lighted upon the *Spanish* Navy of eight and thirty ships, which brought the Treasure from *America*, and set upon them, but to no purpose. When *Monson* was come with the rest of the Fleet, they had certain notice, That a mighty *Indian* Caraque of sixteen hundred Tun, and richly laden, was upon the Coast of *Portugal*. There indeed they found it, but it lay close under a Fort, attended with eleven Gallies; and the Caraque it self appeared as big as a Castle; yet they resolved to fire it, if they could not take it. The next day they thundred so violently against the Gallies, that within seven hours the Marquess of St. *Cross*, together with the *Portugal* Gallies which he commanded, withdrew themselves; two of them were taken and fired; and in them was great store of powder, which was going for the *Low-Countries*. And now *Levison* signifieth to the Captain of the Caraque, That the Gallies which they trusted to, were driven away, and therefore, if they now refused mercy, they must expect none hereafter. After much speech to and fro, it was at last agreed, That the Caraque, with the Ordnance and Merchandize should be yielded up. Thus the *English* having a fair wind returned home with a Booty, to the value of a Million of Duckets, by the *Portugal* account, and not past five of their men lost in the Voyage.

But he takes a Caraque of 1600 Tun, worth a Million of Duckets.

At this time there arose a Conflagration amongst the Popish Clergy here in *England*; for the Jesuits and secular Priests made bitter Invectives in their writings, one against the other. The original of the Priests quarrel was, That *Blackwell*, one wholly at the beck of the Jesuits, was set over them as Arch-Presbyter, who first of all despoiled them of their Faculties; and when they appealed to the Pope, caused them to be declared Schismaticks and Hereticks. They in sundry Books extolled the Queen very highly, as one that dealt mildly always with the Catholicks, till such time as they set all in a combustion in *England*; and by their Treasons, caused most severe Laws to be enacted against the Catholicks. *Parsons* they traduced as a Bastard, an Equivocator and a Traytor. Whether they contended thus in good earnest, or in jest only, is hard to say; but the Bishop of *London* politickly nourished the contention, and all he gained, was this, That the Queen and her Council, finding them dangerous to the Common-wealth, both the one and the other, upon penalty of the Laws, were by Proclamation commanded to depart out of the Kingdom presently.

The Jesuits and the secular Priests contend against one another.

Both of them are commanded to depart the Realm.

In *France*, the Marshal *Biron*, for entring into dangerous attempts against the Publick Peace, was arraigned, and lost his head. His confession brought some other into danger; and amongst them, the Duke of *Bulloign*, of the Protestant Religion, that when he was cited, he durst not appear, but fled into *Germany*. Hereupon the King of *France* sendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, complaining that the Duke held his marriage unlawful, and the Popes dispensation nothing worth, pronouncing his Sons illegitimate; had destined the Prince of *Conde* to the Succession of the Crown, and conspired the Destruction of the prime of the Nobility. The Queen, by her

The King of *France* complains to the Q. against the Duke of *Bulloign*, & her Answer to it.

Legier Ambaſſadour, adviſeth the King not too credulouſly to entertain thoſe reports, as doubting theſe ſuggeſtions might proceed from ſome of the *Spaniſh* Faction. Hereupon the King grew very angry, ſaying, The Queen held a better opinion of the Duke than he deſerved, and that he was one of the chief Architects of *Eſſex* his Treaſon; and being queſtioned by the King about it, was not able to deny it. About this time alſo, the Duke of *Savoy*, by cunning ſleights, and open force, practiſed againſt the States of *Geneva*; and the Queen relieved them with a great ſum of money, gathered amongſt the Clergy and Laity all over *England*.

Tir-Oen yields himſelf to the Deputy abſolutely without any condition.

And now the Earl *Tir-Oen*, perceiving himſelf in a deſperate eſtate, reſolved to ſue for mercy, and promiſed at laſt to ſubmit his life and fortunes to the Queens pleaſure, abſolutely without condition. Hereupon, being admitted to the preſence of the Deputy, at the very entry of the room, he fell on his knees; and then paſſing on a few ſteps, proſtrated himſelf again, ſaying, I confeſs and crave pardon for my great fault againſt God, & a moſt bountiful Prince my dread Soveraign; I fly to the Queens mercy, as a ſacred Anchor, permitting her to diſpoſe of my life and fortunes at her pleaſure. Upon this his ſubmiſſion, the Deputy commanded him to go aſide, and the next day took him along to *Dublin* with him, meaning to bring him into *England*, that the Queen might deal with him according to her Royal pleaſure: But before he could come into *England*, the Queen dyed.

Her Taxations.

IN a Parliament holden the firſt year of her Reign, a Subſidy was granted, of two ſhilings eight pence the pound of Goods, and four ſhillings of Lands, to be paid at two ſeveral Payments, of every perſon Spiritual and Temporal. In her ſixth year, in a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, one Subſidy was granted by the Clergy, and another by the Laity, together with two Fifteenths and Tenths. In her eighth year, in a Parliament then holden, there were offered to her four Subſidies, upon condition ſhe would declare a Succeſſor; but ſhe refuſed their offer, and directly remitted the fourth Subſidy which they had granted, ſaying, It was all one, whether the money were in her Subjects Coffers, or in her own. In her thirteenth year, in a Parliament then holden, towards her charges of repreſſing the Northern Rebellion, there was granted her by the Clergy, a Subſidy of Six ſhilling in the pound; and by the Temporalty, two Fifteenths with a Subſidy of two ſhillings and eight pence in the pound. In her ſix and thirtieth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein was granted by the Clergy, two whole Subſidies, and by the Laity three, beſides ſix Fifteenths and Tenths; but it was put into the Act, That this great Contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former Ages, ſhould not be drawn into example. In her fortieth year, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, were granted her by the Clergy, three entire Subſidies; and by the Laity as many, with ſix Fifteenths and Tenths. In her two and fortieth year, to furniſh her with money towards the *Iriſh* War, ſhe delegated certain Commiſſioners, to

She refuſeth to burden her Subjects with Subſidies.

confirm the Crown Lands to the Poſſeſſors, that held any of controverted Titles, and to take money for the Confirmation, thereby to take away the troubles by concealers, who at this time were very buſie.

Controverted titles of Crown Lands confirmed by her.

Of her Laws and Ordinances.

IN a Parliament holden in her firſt year, an Act was made, That every perſon ſhould go to Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy-days, or elſe pay twelve pence to the poor. Alſo it was enacted, That Biſhops ſhould not let the Lands of the Church, longer than for one and twenty years, or three Lives, except to the Queen or her Succeſſors. In the third year, a Proclamation was made, That the Teſton coyned for twelve pence, and in the Reign of King *Edward* embaſed to ſix pence, ſhould not be current but for four pence; the Groat, but for two pence; and the piece of two pence, but for a penny: And not long after, all the ſaid baſe moneys were called in, and fine Sterling money was allowed for them after the Rate. For *Ireland* alſo, ſhe coyned Sterling money; where nine pence in *England*, went for twelve pence there. The Queen was the firſt that brought certain Countries to deliver Proviſion at a certain rate, that ſo they might be freed from the Purveyors: Alſo the firſt that granted allowance to Judges for their Circuit. In her ſixth year, in a Parliament then holden, it was made Treaſon to refuſe taking the Oath of Supremacy; yet with this limitation, That by it the blood ſhould not be diſhonoured, nor goods confiſcate; nor the Oath to be required of any Baron of the Kingdom. Alſo this year, by a Common-council in *London*, it was enacted, That all ſuch Citizens as from thenceforth ſhould be conſtrained to ſell their Houſhold-ſtuff, Leaſes of Houſes, or ſuch like, ſhould firſt cauſe the ſame to be cryed through the City, by a man with a Bell, and then to be ſold by the common Outcryer appointed for that purpoſe, and he to receive one farthing upon the ſhilling for his pains. In her three and twentieth year, ſhe repreſſeth by Proclamation exceſs in Apparel, Gold Chains, & Cloaks which men wore down to their heels. The length of Swords was limited to three Foot, and Daggers to twelve Inches, beſides the hilts. Buildings likewiſe in the Suburbs were reſtrained, In-mates forbidden, and expreſs charge ſet forth, That no dwelling houſe ſhould be new built within three miles of any City Gates, under pain of impriſonment, and loſs of the materials. In her time was ſet on foot by Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Law made for the ſerving of Colledges with proviſion, to the great benefit of thoſe Scholaſtical Societies. In her two and fortieth year, ſhe ſetteth forth Proclamations againſt the Tranſportation of Gold or Silver, wrought or unwrought, according to the former Acts of Parliament in that caſe provided. This year alſo ſhe founded the Company of the *Eaſt-India* Merchants, and allowed them ample Priviledges. In her three and fortieth year, all Monopolies are called in by Proclamation. In her four and twentieth year, ſevere Laws are made againſt Papiſts, ſome inflicting death, ſome fine and impriſonment. In her eight and twentieth year, a Proclamation was ſet forth, prohibiting to

Biſhops limited for letting their lands.

All baſe moneys called in.

Proviſion for the Queens houſe firſt ordained.

Allowance to Judges in their Circuit firſt ordained.

Out-crys for ſale of Goods firſt ordained.

Buildings in *London* reſtrained.

Colledge Rents to be paid part in proviſion, firſt ordained.

The Company of *Eaſt India* Merchants firſt ſet up.

All Monopolies called in by Proclamation.

low

Woad not to be sowed near the Queens Houses.

sow Woad within eight miles of any of the Queens Houses, and four miles of any Cities or Towns Corporate. In her five and twentieth year, was first instituted and founded a publick Lecture in Chirurgery, to begin to be read in the Colledge of Physicians in *London*, and the Reader to have a stipend no less than those of the Universities erected by King *Henry* the eighth.

Affairs of the Church in Her time.

The protestant Religion is by degrees established.

ON Sunday the first of *January* next after the Queens coming to the Crown, by vertue of her Proclamation, the *English* Litany was read accordingly as was used in her Graces Chapel, in all Churches through the City of *London*, and likewise the Epistle and Gospel of the day, begun to be read at Mass-time in the *English* Tongue. Also in a Parliament holden in her first year, the first Fruits and Tenths were restored to the Crown, and the Supreme Government over the State Ecclesiastical, and the Book of Common Prayer & Administration of the Sacraments in the *English* Tongue was restored, and by degrees the Protestant Religion was established. The Bishops that refused the Oath of Supremacy, were all removed, and Protestant Bishops placed in their room. It was enacted also, That all persons should go to Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy-days, and a Fine of twelve pence imposed upon every one that should be absent, and the same to be given to the poor. In her fourth year, the Queen was solicited by Pope *Pius*, to send her Oratours to the Council of *Trent*, which she refused, as not acknowledging it a lawful Council. In a Parliament holden in her eighth year, it was enacted and by a general consent declared, That the Election of the Archbishops and Bishops in *England*, together with their Consecration, Confirmation, and Investiture (which some persons slanderously called in question) was lawful and Canonical, and that they were rightly, & according to the Acts and Statutes of the Kingdom, chosen and consecrated. In her eleventh year, there arose in *England* two contrary factions in Religion: on the one side, *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders*, and other Divines that had fled out of *England*, began to exercise the Episcopal Jurisdiction upon the Queens Subjects which they had derived from the See of *Rome*: On the other side, *Coleman*, *Burton*, *Hallingham*, *Benson*, and other, making profession of the pure Religion, would allow of nothing but what was directly taken out of the Scriptures, openly condemning the received Discipline of the Church of *England*, together with the Church Liturgy, and the very calling of Bishops, as savouring too much of the *Roman* Religion, Protesting in the Pulpits, That it was an impious thing to hold any thing common with the Church of *Rome*, and used all diligence to have the Church of *England*, reformed in every point, according to the Rule of the Church of *Geneva*. These, although the Queen commanded to be committed to Prison, yet it is incredible how upon a sudden their followers encreased, known by the envious name of Puritans. This Sect so mightly encreased, that in her sixteenth year, the Queen and Kingdom, was extremely troubled with some of the Clergy, who breathing out nothing but Evangelical parity, cryed down the Ecclesiastical Form of Government (as a thing polluted with *Roman* dregs) and setting forth Books likewise, Intituled, *The Admonition to the Parliament*, and the *Defence of the Admonition*: they refused to resort to the Divine Service Publickly in use, and framed to themselves other Rites, Whereupon, the Queen to suppress them, whom by no means she liked, commanded every where the severity of the Law touching the Uniformity of Common-Prayer to be put in execution, and those Books, upon pain of Imprisonment, to be delivered into the hands of the Bishops, or some of the Queens Council. And this year were taken at Mass in their several houses, the Lord *Morley*'s Lady and her Children, the Lady *Guilford*, and the Lady *Brown*, who being thereof indited and convicted, suffer the penalty of the Law in that case provided. Until the twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, the Papists in *England* were mercifully connived at, while they solemnized their own Rites within their private houses (though that also were against the Laws) but when as that Thunderbolt of excommunicating the Queen came abroad, then was the Law enacted against those who brought into the Kingdom any *Agnus Dei*, or hallowed Beads, or reconciled any of the Queens Subjects to the See of *Rome*; yet for six whole years together after this Law was made, it was not executed upon any Papist, till *Cuthert Mayn* a Priest, and an obstinate maintainer of the Popes authority against the Queen, was executed at *Launceston* in *Cornwall*, and the Gentlemans Goods that harboured him confiscate, and himself adjudg'd to perpetual Imprisonment. In her three and twentieth year, divers Priests and Jesuites came into *England*, amongst whom, *Robert Parsons*, and *Edmund Campian*, *English* Men and Jesuites, being now bound for *England*, to promote the Catholick Cause, at which time a Proclamation was set forth, That whosoever had any Children beyond the Sea, should by a certain day call them home; and that no person should receive or harbour any Seminary Priest or Jesuite. At this time also, there arose up in *Holland* a certain Sect, naming themselves, *The Family of Love*, who perswaded their followers, that those only who were adopted into that Family, were elected, and no other could be saved, but were all Reprobates, and damned, and that it was lawful for them to deny upon Oath whatsoever they pleased, before any Magistrate, or whomsoever that were not of that Family. Many of their Books were printed, under these titles, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, *The Lords Sentences*, *The Prophesie of the Spirit of Love*, *the publication of Peace upon earth*, by the Author *H.N.* but who this Author was they would by no means reveal: at last he was found to be *Henry Nichols* of *Leyden*, who blasphemously preached, That he was partaker of the Divinity of God, and God of his humane Nature: all which Books were by Proclamation commanded to be burnt. In a Parliament holden the eighth and twentieth year of her Reign, some out of a desire of Reformation, began to pick quarrels at the Clergy, desiring to pass Laws for the restraint of Bishops in their granting of Faculties, conferring of Holy Orders, Ecclesiastical Censure, and the Oath *Ex Officio*. They complained likewise of the non-residency of

Puritans how encreased.

Severe laws against Papists, when and why enacted.

Parsons & *Campian* come into *England*.

The Family of Love, where and when it began.

of Miniſters, and the like. But the Queen, who always hated Innovation (which for the moſt part changeth for the worſe) would give no ear unto them; conceiving beſides, That theſe proceedings in Parliament in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs derogated from her Prerogative. In her ſix and twentieth year, the Queen gave a ſpecial charge to *Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to ſettle an Unformity in the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, according to the Laws, which through the connivence of Biſhops, and perverſneſs of the Puritans, lay now almoſt gaſping: Whereupon, he provided three Articles, to which every Miniſter ſhould ſubſcribe.

Parliaments not to medd'le in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

Three Articles to which every Miniſter muſt ſubſcribe.

The firſt, *That the Queen had Supreme Authority over all perſons born within her Dominions, of what condition ſoever they were; and that no other Prince, or Prelate, or Potentate hath, or ought to have any Juriſdiction, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, within her Realms and Dominions.*

The ſecond, *That the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Ordination of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God but may lawfully be uſed, and that they will uſe that and no other.*

The third, *That the Articles agreed on in the Synod holden at* London *in the year* 1562, *and publiſhed by the Queens Authority, they did allow of, and believe them to be conſonant to the Word of God.*

It is incredible what Reproches the Archbiſhop incurred by ſetting forth theſe Articles, both from factious Miniſters and from ſome alſo of the Nobility; yet by his patience and conſtancy, he brought at laſt peace to the Church, making this his Motto, *Vincit qui patitur.* Neither did theſe at home only diſturb the Peace of the Church, but others alſo from abroad, as *Robert Brown*, a young Student of Divinity in *Cambridg*, from whom came the Sectaries called Browniſts; and *Richard Harriſon* a petty Schoolmaſter. Theſe preſuming to judge matters of Religion by their own private ſpirit, by Books ſet forth in *Zealand*, and diſperſed at this time over *England*, condemned the Church of *England* for no Church, and enſnared many in the Nets of their new Schiſm. Neither could they be reſtrained, though their Books were prohibited by the Queens Authority, and ſoundly confuted by ſundry learned men; and one or two of the Ring-leaders executed at Saint *Edmunds Bury*. In her one and thirtieth year, theſe Puritan's flames brake forth again, Books are written by the names of *Martin Mar-Prelate*, and *A Demonſtration of the Diſcipline*, by *Penry* and *Udal* againſt the Government of Biſhops; and nothing would pleaſe them, but the Diſcipline of *Geneva*: Many Abettors they had, *Knightly* and *Wigſton*, Knights, beſides *Cartwright* (the father of them) *Snape*, *King*, *Pardlow*, *Payn*, and others; who though called in queſtion, fined and impriſoned, could never be reclaimed. In her ſix and thirtieth year, the Queen cauſed the ſeverity of the Laws to be executed upon *Henry Barrow* and his Sectaries, for diſturbing the Church and the publick Peace, by ſcattering of their monſtrous Opinions condemning the Church of *England* as no Chriſtian Church, and derogating from the Queens Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

The Brownists Author, who.

Martin Mar-Prelate writeth againſt Biſhops.

Works of Piety in her time.

THis Queen converted *Weſtminſter* Abbey into a Collegiate Church, and there ordained a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a Maſter, Uſher, and forty Scholars, Vicars, Singing-men, and twelve Alms-men. In her third year, the Merchant-Taylors founded a notable Grammar-School in the Pariſh of St. *Lawrence Pountney* in *London*. Alſo this year, *William Harper* Mayor of *London* founded a Free-School in the Town of *Bedford*, where he was born. In her ſeventh year, on the ſeventh of *June*, Sir *Thomas Greſham* laid the firſt ſtone of the Royal Exchange in *Cornhil*, which in *November* the year after, at his own charges was finiſhed, being the year 1567. In her tenth year, the Citizens of *London* builded a new Conduit at *Walbrook* corner, near to *Dowgate*, the water whereof is conveyed out of the *Thames*. Alſo this year, Sir *Thomas Roe* Mayor of *London*, cauſed to be encloſed within a wall of Brick one Acre of ground near unto *Bedlam*, without *Biſhops gate*, to be a place of Burial for the dead of ſuch Pariſhes in *London* as lacked convenient ground within their Pariſhes: He alſo builded a convenient Room in *Pauls* Church-yard, on the South ſide of the Croſs, to receive a certain number of Hearers at Sermon time. Sir *William Peter* having himſelf been born at *Exeter* in *Devonſhire*, gave to *Exeter* Colledge in *Oxford*, a hundred pound Lands a year: He alſo builded at *Ingerſtone* in *Eſſex*, Alms-houſes for twenty poor people, and giving them ſome competent maintenance. Sir *Thomas Greſham* had his dwelling houſe in *Broad-ſtreet*, *London*, which he dedicated to the profeſſion of the Liberal Sciences, erecting there Lectures of Divinity, Civil Law, Phyſick, Geometry, Aſtronomy, Muſick and Rhetorick, allotting to the Profeſſors very competent allowances. In her ſeventeenth year died *Matthew Parker*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who founded a Grammar-School in *Rochdale*, in the County of *Lancaſter*: He alſo procured to *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Cambridge*, thirteen Scholarſhips, and built two Chambers for Scholars, and the inward Library of the ſame Colledge, and procured to it the Patronage of St. *Mary Abchurch* in *London*, with many other works of like kind. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* L. Keeper gave for Six Scholars to be found in *Benet* Colledge in *Cambridge*, three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence for ever. *Edmund Grindall* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, founded a Free-Scool in *Cumberland*, where he was born, and gave many penſions to both Univerſities. *Francis* Counteſs of *Suſſex*, Siſter to Sir *Henry Sidney*, founded *Suſſex-Sidney* Colledge in *Cambridge*: As likewiſe Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellor of the Exchequer, founded *Emanuel* Colledge in the ſame Univerſity. Sir *Thomas Bodley* erected & furniſhed the famous publick Library at *Oxford*. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *Pauls*, endowed *Braſen-noſe* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he was brought up with two hundred pounds *per annum*, and dyed in the year 1602. Sir *Roger Manbood* chief Baron of the Exchequer, built ſeven

The Royal Exchange, when and by whom built.

Greſham Colledge in *Broad-ſtreet* given to Profeſſors of the Sciences.

Suſſex-Sidney Colledge in *Cambridge* Founded.

Emanuel Colledge in *Cambridge* Founded.

The Publick Library in *Oxford* Erected.

seven Almſ-houſes in *Canterbury*, giving to every Almſ-man four pounds yearly: and our worthy Country-man *William Lambert*, built an Almſ-houſe at *Greenwich*, which he called, *The Colledge for the poor of Queen* Elizabeth. Alſo in her time, namely, in the year 1595, *Bevis Bulmar* Gentleman, builded a large houſe of great height, called an Engine, at the Bridge-foot, for the conveying and forcing of *Thames* water to ſerve in the middle and weſt parts of the City. Alſo in her time, namely, in the year 1596, *Ralph Rokeby* one of her Maſters of Requeſts, then dying, gave by his Will, to Chriſts Hoſpital in *London*, 100*l.* to the Colledge of the poor of Queen *Elizabeth* in Eaſt *Greenwich*, 100*l.* to the poor Scholars in *Cambridge*, 100*l.* to the poor Scholars in *Oxford*, 100*l.* to the Priſoners in the two Compters in *London*, 100*l.* to the Priſoners in the Fleet, 100*l.* to the Priſoners in Ludgate, 100*l.* to the Priſoners in Newgate, 100*l.* to the Priſoners in the Kings Bench, 100*l.* to the Priſoners in the Marſhalſey, 100*l.* to the Priſoners in the White-Lyon, 20*l.* a liberal and pious Legacy; and worthy not to be forgotten.

Caſualties in her Time.

The Pulſe to beat of one that was dead.

IN the firſt year of Her Reign, dyed Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, of whom it is reported for a certain, That his pulſe did beat more than three quarters of an hour after he was dead, as ſtrongly as if he had been ſtill alive. In her third year there was found near *Keſwick* in *Cumberland*, a moſt rich Vein of pure and native Braſs, which had lain neglected a long time: Alſo the ſtone called *Lapis Calaminaris*, which is of great uſe in Braſs-Works, was firſt brought into *England* at this time, and in moſt plentiful manner. Likewiſe this Queen was the firſt that cauſed Gun-powder to be made in *England*, which before was had from forrain parts, and at dear rates. In her third year, the Spire of the Cathedral Church of *Pauls* being five hundred and twenty foot from the ground, and two hundred and ſixty from the ſquare Steeple where it was placed, and was made of wooden materials, but covered with Lead, was with lightning burnt down, together with the Roofs of that large Church, and that within the ſpace of five hours; the Roofs were after re-edified, but the Spire is yet wanting. The Queen gave towards it a thouſand Marks in Money, and a thouſand load of Timber; and the City granted a Benevolence, and three Fifteenths; and the Clergy alſo contributed to it. Alſo this year there were many monſtrous Births: A Mare brought forth a Foal with two heads, and a long tail growing out between the two Heads. A Sow farrowed a Pig with two Bodies, eight Feet, and but one Head. A man-child was born at *Chicheſter* in *Suſſex*, having Arms and Legs like to an Anatomy, the Breaſt and Belly monſtrous big, about the Neck a great collar of fleſh and skin, growing like the ruff of a ſhirt. In her ſixth year, upon the returning of the Army from *Newhaven*, the Peſtilence was brought into *England*, but eſpecially into *London*; where, in one year there dyed one and twenty thouſand and five hundred. This year alſo, in the month of *December*, was driven on the ſhore at *Grimſby* in *Lincolnſhire*, a monſtrous Fiſh, in length nineteen yards, his tail fifteen foot broad, and ſix yards between the eyes. Twelve men ſtood upright in his mouth to get the Oyl. In her ſeventh year, on the one and twentieth of *December*, began a Froſt, ſo extream, that on *New-years* Even people paſſed over the *Thames* on foot; ſome played at foot-ball, ſome ſhot at pricks, as if it had been firm ground. Yet this great Froſt, the third of *January* at night began to thaw, and by the fifth day there was no Ice at all to be ſeen; which ſudden thaw cauſed great Inundations. In her eighth year, within the ſpace of ten Months, there dyed in *London* ſeven Aldermen, namely, *Edward Banks*, *Richard Chamberlain*, Sir *Martin Bowes* Sir *Richard Mallory*, Sir *William Hewet*, Sir *Thomas White*, and *Richard Lambert*, one of the Sheriffs for that year. The ſame year alſo, in the Town of *Oſwеſtre* in *Shropſhire*, two hundred houſes, in the ſpace of two hours were conſumed with fire. In her tenth year, were taken in *Suffolk*, at *Downham* Bridge near to *Ipſwich*, ſeventeen monſtrous Fiſhes; ſome of them being ſeven and twenty Foot in length: And in the ſame year, many *Dutch* flying into *England*, to avoid the perſecution of the Duke D' *Alva*, were the firſt that brought into *England* the Art of making Bayes, Sayes, Serges, and ſuch woven ſtuffs both Wollen and Linen. In her time a rich Vein of Copper was found the Earl of *Northumberlands* Grounds, which ſhe by her Prerogative ſeized upon. In her thirteenth year, a prodigious Earth-quake happened in the Eaſt-parts of *Herefordſhire*, near a little Town called *Kinnaſton*. On the ſeventeenth of *February*, at ſix of the clock in the evening, the earth began to open, and a Hill with a Rock under it (making at firſt a great bellowing noiſe, which was heard a great way off) lifted it ſelf up a great height, and began to travel, bearing along with it the Trees that grew upon it, the Sheeps-folds, and Flocks of Sheep abiding there at the ſame time. In the place from whence it was firſt moved, it left a gaping diſtance forty foot broad, and four-ſcore Ells long; the whole Field was about twenty Acres. Paſſing all along, it overthrew a Chappel ſtanding in the way, removed an Yew-Tree planted in the Church-yard, from the Weſt into the Eaſt; with the like force it thruſt before it High-wayes, Sheep-folds, Hedges and Trees, made tilled-ground Paſture, and again turned Paſture into Tillage. Having walked in this ſort from *Saturday* in the evening, till *Munday* noon, it then ſtood ſtill. In her fifteenth year, in the month of *November*, a new Star or rather a Meteor (but that it was found to be above the Moon) was ſeen in *Cathedra Caſſiopeæ*, exceeding *Jupiter* in brightneſs, and in that place was carried with the Diurnal motion of the Heavens ſixteen months together, though after eight months it was perceived to grow leſs and leſs. In her ſixteenth year, was a great Dearth, ſo as Wheat was ſold at five and ſix ſhillings the Buſhel, and other things in proportion. In her ſeventeenth year, a vaſt mighty Whale was caſt upon the Iſle of *Thanet* in *Kent*, twenty Ells long, and thirteen foot broad from the belly to the back-bone, and eleven foot between the eyes, One of his eyes being taken out of his head, was more than a Cart with ſix Horſes could draw; the

Many monſtrous Births.

A monſtrous Fiſh taken in *Lincolnſhire*.

An extream Froſt.

The Art of making Bays and Serges; when and by whom brought firſt into *England*.

A prodigious Earth-quake.

A mighty Whale taken in *Thanet* in *Kent*.

Oyl

Alſo the Stone called *Lapis Calaminaris*.

Gun-powder firſt made in *England*.

The Spire of *Pauls* Church burnt down with Lightning.

Oyl being boyled out of the head, was *Parmacitte*. This year also, the River *Thames* ebbed and flowed twice within an hour: and in the month of *November*, the Heaven seemed to be all on a fire. Also on the four and twentieth of *February*, being a great Frost, after a Flood which was great, there came down the River of *Severne* such a swarm of Flys and Beetles, that they were judged to be above a hundred Quarters; the Mills thereabout were dammed up with them for the space of four days, and then were cleansed by digging them out with Shovels. In her two and twentieth year, a strange apparition happened in *Somersetshire*, threescore personages all cloathed in black, a furlong in distance from those that beheld them; and after their appearing, and a little while tarrying, they vanished away, but immediately another strange company, in like manner, colour and number appeared in the same place: and they encountred one another, and so vanished away. And the third time appeared that number again, all in bright armour, and encountred one another, and so vanished away. This was examined before Sir *George Norton*, & sworn by four honest men that saw it, to be true. In her three and twentieth year, in the beginning of *April*, about six a clock afternoon, happened an Earthquake not far from *York*, which in some places struck the very stones out of Buildings, & made the Bells in Churches to jangle. The night following, the earth trembled once or twice in *Kent*, and again the first day of *May*. In this year also, in the Town of *Walsham* in *Sussex*, a Child of eleven years old, named *William Withers*, lay in a trance for the space of ten days without any sustenance; and at the last coming to himself, he uttered to the standers by, many strange speeches; inveighing against Pride, Covetousness, coldness of Charity, and other enormous sins. In her six and twentieth year, being the year 1588, the like Prodigy happened in *Dorsetshire*; as in the year 1571. had happened in *Herefordshire*; A Field of three Acres in *Blackmore*, with the Trees and Fences, moved from its place, and passed over another Field, travelling in the High-way that goeth to *Herne*, and there stayed. In her eight and twentieth year, Tobacco was first brought out of the *West-Indies*, into *England* by *Ralph Lane*. In her five and thirtieth year, there was so great a drought, that not only the Fields, but the Springs themselves were dryed up, and many Cattle every where dyed for want of water. The River of *Thames* likewise did so fail, that a Horseman might ride over at *London-bridge*. In her six and thirtieth year, was a great Plague in *London*, so as there dyed this year in *London* and the suburbs, seventeen thousand eight hundred and ninety, besides the Lord Mayor, and three Aldermen; and *Michaelms* Term was holden at St. *Albans*. For the price of Victuals in her time, we may take a pattern of the rest by one kind; for *John Stow* reporteth, that in his youth he fetched many a half penniworth of Milk from a Farm by the *Minories*, and never had less than three Ale-Pints for a half-penniworth in Summer, nor less than two Ale-pints for a half penny in the Winter. Also in the year 1522, a fat Ox was sold at *London* for twenty six shillings at the most; a fat Weather for three shillings four pence; a fat Calf the like price: a fat Lamb for twelve pence, three pound of Beef for a penny.

Another Prodigious Earthquake.

Tobacco first brought into *England*, and by whom.

Of Her Personage and Condition.

SHe was of stature indifferent tall, slender and straight, fair of Complexion, her hair inclining to pale yellow, her fore-head large and fair, her eyes lively and sweet, but short-sighted, her Nose somewhat rising in the midst; the whole compass of her countenance somewhat long, yet of admirable beauty, but the beauty of her mind was far more admirable: She had been a Subject which taught her to Rule; She had been in misery, which taught her to be mercifull; and indeed, never Prince ruled with more justice, & with her justice mingled more mercy: She had more Valour in her than was fit for a woman, but that she was Ruler over men; and more Humility in her than was fit for a Prince, but that she meant to be a President to women. She delighted in nothing so much, as in the love of her people, which she procured by ordaining good Magistrates, and forbearing Impositions. Her way not to need them, was frugality; and her way to have them when she needed them, was liberality. She made honour in her time the more honourable, by not making it common; and indeed, knowing it to be an influence from her self, she kept it, as her self, a Virgin, and would not prostitute it to unworthy persons. She declined being a Mother of Children, to the end she might be a Mother of her Country; and indeed, no mother ever loved her children more, than she did her people; and therefore never children loved a mother more, than her people did her. She coveted not so much to be an owner of riches, as of rich Subjects; for she thought money did as well in their Coffers as in her own: and indeed she never wanted, when they had it; and they always had it, when she needed it. Never Prince had a wiser Council than she, yet never Prince needed it less; for she was her self a Counsellor to her Council. In sum, whatsoever may in flattery be said of a wise, just, merciful, religious, and learned Prince, may truely be said of her: in all which, if ever she had an equal, yet she never certainly had a superiour. In playing her game of Fortune, she loved not an after-game; for she liked Preventions better than Remedies. She was admirable in expressing her mind, both by speech and writing: and if collection could be made of her Apophthegms, & extemporal Orations, it would certainly excell any thing extant in that kind: and for her writing, Sir *Henry Savile* affirms, That he had seen some Translations of hers, which far exceeded the Originals. Never Prince kept greater State with less statelines: Her Pensioners and Guard were always the tallest and goodliest Gentlemen and Yeomen of the Kingdom: Her Maids of Honor and other Women about her, the faireſt and most beautiful Laides of the Realm; and yet her self a *Diana* amongst her Nymphs; insomuch that a great Lord of *France* being entertained at Court, and the Queen asking him how he liked her Ladies, made answer, It was hard to judge of Stars, in the presence of the Sun.

Of

Of her Death and Burial.

IT was now the Year 1602, when she feeling some Infirmities of Old Age and Sickness, retired her self at the end of *January*, to *Richmond*; at which time, in a sad Omen, she commanded the Ring to be filed off her finger, wherewith she was solemnly at the first inaugurated into the Kingdom, and since that time had never taken it off, it being grown into the flesh in such manner, that it could not be drawn off without filing. At the beginning of her Sickness, the Almonds of her Jaws began to swell, and her appetite by little and little failed her; withal she gave her self wholly to sadness and heaviness, which some imputed to her care for the loss of the Earl of *Essex*; Others, because she heard, that divers of the Nobility sought the favour of the King of *Scots*, adoring him as the Sun rising, and neglecting her: but howsoever, in *March*, a kind of benummedness seized upon her, with a deep melancholy, so as she would sit silently, refrain her meat, and not admit of any Conference, but with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with whom she prayed fervently, till such time as her speech failed her, which failed her a day before the died. She being in this case, it was thought fit the Admiral and Secretary should go to her, to know her mind concerning a Successor; to whom she gave this Answer; My Throne hath been the Throne of Kings, I would not a mean Person should succeed me. The Secretary requesting her to speak more plainly, I will (said she) have a King succeed me; and what King, but the King of *Scots*, my nearest Kinsman? After this, the Archbishop exhorted her to think of God; That do I (said she) nor do my thoughts ever wander from him. And when her tongue no longer served her, it was evident by the lifting up of her hands and eyes, that her thoughts were fixed upon him. And so on the four and twentieth day of *March*, being the last day of the year 1602, she yielded up her soul to God, when she had lived Threescore and nine years, six months, and seven days; Reigned Four and forty years, four months, and seven days. Her Body was embalmed, wrapped in Lead, and brought to *White-hall*; from whence on the eight and twentieth of *April* following, in great solemnity, it was carried into the Collegiate Church of Saint *Peters* at *Westminster*, and there interred in the Vault of her Grand-father, King *Henry* the Seventh, in his Magnificent Chapell, where our Renowned Sovereign King *James* hath built her a Princely Monument, inscribed with Epitaphs to her eternal glory. At her Funeral were said to be Mourners in black, to the number of One thousand and six hundred persons.

Men of Note in her time.

THe Ocean is not more boundless, than the number of Men of Note in her time; but though all of them cannot be reckoned, yet some of them must not be omitted. And to begin with Statesmen: An exquisite Statesman for his own ends, was *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; and for his Countries good, Sir *William Cecill* Lord *Burleigh*; as also Sir *Francis Walsingham*, that great underminer of Conspirators. Famous Sea-men, where the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, afterward Earl of *Suffolk*: and of meaner Rank, Sir *John Hawkyns*, Sir *Martin Forbysher*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *Cavendish*, *Preston*, *Ryman*; and to name the worthiest last, Sir *Francis Drake*, who though he were but a short square-bodied man, yet his great Acts have made the *Spaniards* believe that he was some goodly personage. Great Commanders by Land, were *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *Roger Williams*, *Baskervile*, *Savage*, and the Honour of his Family, and our *English* Nation, Sir *John Norris*. Learned Gentlemen and Writers, were Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, employed by Queen *Elizabeth* as her Leiger in *Spain*, who wrote five Books of the restoring of the *English* Common-wealth, in Elegant Verses, while (as he said) he lived in a Stove in Winter, and in a Barn in Summer: *Roger Askam*, born in *Yorkshire*, notably skilful in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, who had sometime been School-master to Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Secretary for the *Latine* Tongue; but taking too great delight in Gaming and Cock-fighting, he both lived and died in mean estate, yet left behind him sundry Monuments of Wit and Industry. Sir *Thomas Smith* born at *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*, sometime Secretary to King *Edward* the sixth, who wrote an imperfect Work of the *English* Common-wealth, a singular Book of the Orthography of the *English* Tongue, and another of the Pronunciation of the *Greek*; the first man that set on foot the Law for serving the Colledges with Provision. Sir *Henry Savill*, Provost of *Eaton*, and Reader to Queen *Elizabeth*, who set forth all St. *Chrysostom's* Works in *Greek*, and by translating of *Cornelius Tacitus*, deserved as much of the *English* Tongue, as he of the *Latin*. But above all, the admirable Sir *Philip Sidney*, who by writing in a light Argument, shewed how excellently, and beyond all comparison he could have done in a grave. Learned Divines were *John Jewel*, born in *Devonshire*, a Student in *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, in Queen *Maries* time an Exile, by Queen *Elizabeth* made Bishop of *Salisbury*, who wrote an Apology for the Protestant Doctrine, and died at scarce Fifty years of age, in the Fourteenth year of Queen *Elizabeth*. *John Whitaker*, Master of St. *Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*, who Learnedly answered all the Books of *Bellarmine*. *Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, sometimes Fellow of New Colledge in *Oxford*, who, amongst his other learned Works, hath written notably of Christs descent into Hell. *Richard Hooker*, Preacher at the *Temple*, who with too much meekness smothered his great

Roger Askam his delight in Gaming and Cock-fighting.

Learning, yet hath ſomething diſcovered it in his five Books of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and died in the year 1599. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *Pauls*, who forbearing deeper works, ſet forth a Catechiſm, according to the Doctrine of the *Engliſh* Church, and died in the year 1620. After ſuch men, it might be thought ridiculous to ſpeak of Stage-players; but ſeeing excellency in the meaneſt things deſerves remembring, and *Roſcius* the Comedian is recorded in Hiſtory with ſuch commendation, it may be allowed us to do the like with ſome of our Nation. *Richard Bourbidge* and *Edward Allen*, two ſuch Actors as no age muſt ever look to ſee the like: and, to make their Comedies compleat, *Richard Tarleton*, who for the part called the Clowns Part, never had his match, never will have. For Writers of Plays, and ſuch as had been Players themſelves, *William Shakeſpeare* and *Benjamin Johnſon*, have ſpecially left their Names recommended to Poſterity. Famous Players, and Playmakers.

Majors and Sheriffs of London *in her Reign.*

In her firſt year,
Sir *William Hewet* was Major.
Thomas Lodge, *Roger Martin*, Sheriffs.

In her ſecond year,
Sir *William Cheſter* was Major.
Chriſtopher Draper, *Thomas Roe*, Sheriffs.

In her third year,
Sir *William Harper* was Major.
Alexan. Avenon, *Humphrey Baskervile*, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,
Sir *Thomas Lodge* was Major.
William Allen, *Richard Chamberlain*, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,
Sir *John White* was Major.
Edward Banks, *Rowland Heyward*, Sheriffs.

In her ſixth year,
Sir *Richard Mallory* was Major.
Edward Jackman, *Lionel Ducket*, Sheriffs.

In her ſeventh year,
Sir *Richard Champion* was Major.
John Rivers James Hawes, Sheriffs.

In her eighth year,
Sir *Chriſtopher Draper* was Major.
Ri. Lambert, *Amb. Nicholas*, *Jo. Langley*, Sheriffs.

In her ninth year,
Sir *Roger Martin* was Major.
Thomas Ramſey, *John Bond*, Sheriffs.

In her tenth year,
Sir *Thomas Roe* was Major.
John Oliph, *Rob. Harding*, *James Bacon*, Sheriffs.

In her eleventh year,
Sir *Alexander Avenan* was Major.
Henry Beecher, *William Dane*, Sheriffs.

In her twelfth year,
Sir *Rowland Heyward* was Major.
Francis Barneham, *William Boxe*, Sheriffs.

In her thirteenth year,
Sir *William Allen* was Major.
Henry Miles, *John Branch*, Sheriffs.

In her fourteenth year,
Sir *Lionel Ducket* was Major.
Richard Pipe, *Nicholas Woodroffe*, Sheriffs.

In her fifteenth year,
Sir *John Rivers* was Major.
James Harvey, *Tho. Pulloccel* or *Pulliſon*, Sheriffs

In her ſixteenth year,
Sir *James Hawes* was Major.
Thomas Blancke, *Anthony Gamage*, Sheriffs.

In her ſeventeenth year,
Sir *Ambroſe Nicholas* was Major.
Edward Osborne, *Wolſtane Dixie*, Sheriffs.

In her eighteenth year,
Sir *John Langley* was Major.
William Kempton, *George Barne*, Sheriffs.

In her nineteenth year,
Sir *Thomas Ramſey* was Major.
Nicholas Backhouſe, *Francis Bowyer*, Sheriffs,

In her twentieth year,
Sir *Richard Pipe* was Major.
George Bond, *Thomas Starkie*, Sheriffs.

In her one and twentieth year,
Sir *Nicholas Woodroffe* was Major.
Martin Calthrop, *Jon Hart* Sheriffs.

In her two and twentieth year,
Sir *John Branch* was Major.
Ralph Woodcock, *John Allot*, Sheriffs.

In her three and twentieth year,
Sir *James Harvey* was Major.
Richard Martin, *William Webbe*, Sheriffs,

In her four and twentieth year,
Sir *Thomas Blancke* was Major.
William Roe, *John Haydon* deceaſed, *Cuthbert Buckle* ſucceeded, Sheriffs.

In her five and twentieth year,
Sir *Edward Osborne* was Major.
William Maſhaw, *John Spencer*, Sheriffs,

In her ſix and twentieth year,
Sir *Thomas Pulloccel* was Major.
Stephen Slaney, *Henry Billingſley*, Sheriffs.

In

In her Seven and twentieth year,
Sir *Wolſtane Dixie* was Major.
Anthony Ratcliffe, *Henry Pranell*, Sheriffs.

In her Eight and twentieth year.
Sir *Geore Barne* was Major.
George Houſe, *William Elkin*, Sheriffs.

In her Nine and twentieth year,
Sir *George Bond* was Major.
Thomas Skinner, *John Catcher*, Sheriffs.

In her thirtieth year,
Sir *Martin Calthrop* ſerved one part,
Sir *Richard Martin* the other.
Hugh Offley, *Richard Saltonſtall*, Sheriffs.

In her one and thirtieth year,
Sir *John Hart* was Major.
Richard Gurney, *Stephen Some*, Sheriffs.

In her two and thirtieth year,
Sir *John Allot* ſerved one part,
Sir *Rowland Heyward* the other.
Nicholas Moſley, *Robert Brook*, Sheriffs.

In her three and thirtieth year,
Sir *William Webbe* was Major.
Will. Rider, *Benet* or *Benedict Barnham*, Sheriffs.

In her four and thirtieth year,
Sir *William Roe* was Major.
John Garret or *Gerrard*, *Robert Taylor*, Sheriffs.

In her five and thirtieth year,
Sir *Cuthbert Buckle* ſerved one part,
Sir *Richard Martin* the other.
Paul Banning, *Peter Haughton*, Sheriffs.

In her ſix and thirtieth year,
Sir *John Spencer* was Major.
Robert Lee, *Thomas Bennet*, Sheriffs.

In her ſeven and thirtieth year.
Sir *Stephen Slaney* was Major.
Thomas Lowe, *Leonard Halliday*, Sheriffs.

In her eight and thirtieth year,
Sir *Thomas Skinner* ſerved one part,
Sir *Henry Billingſley* the other.
John Watts, *Richard Godard*, Sheriffs.

In her nine and thirtieth year,
Sir *Richard Saltonſtall* was Major.
Henry Roe, *John More*, Sheriffs.

In her fortieth year,
Sir *Stephen Some* was Major.
Edward Holmedon, *Robert Hampſon*, Sheriffs.

In her one and fortieth year,
Sir *Nicholas Moſley* was Major.
Humphrey Walde, *Roger Clark*, Sheriffs.

In her two and fortieth year,
Sir *William Rider* was Major.
Thomas Smith, *Tho. Cambel*, *Will. Craven*, Sheriffs.

In her three and fortieth year,
Sir *John Garret*, or *Gerrard*, was Major:
Henry Anderſon, *William Glover*, Sheriffs.

In her four and fortieth year,
Sir *Robert Lee* was Major.
James Pemberton, *John Swinerton*, Sheriffs.

THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

Anno Dom. 1603.

JAMES the Fourth, King of *Scotland*, married *Margaret* eldest Daughter of *Henry* the Seventh, King of *England*, by whom he had *James* the Fifth, who had one only Child *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, who had one only Son *James* the Sixth, who from *James* the Fourth had undoubted Right to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and from *Margaret*, King *Henry* the Seventh's eldest Daughter, (the Male line being clean extinct) unquestionable Title to the Crown of *England*: whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* being dead about Ten a clock in the morning the 24th of *March*, King *James* the Sixth, King of *Scotland*, was the very same day (Mr. Secretary *Cecill* himself reading his Title, and Queen *Elizabeths* Will) proclaimed King of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by sound of Trumpet, first at *White-Hall*, and then in *Cheapside*, in presence of all the Lords of the Council, and other of the Nobility, with a general Acclamation of all sorts of people, that we may truly say, Sorrow was never more deceived than at this time; for where upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, it was expected there would be nothing for a long time but sorrowing and lamenting: now that very sorrow was swallowed up of joy, her death bringing with it no other alteration but only of Sex, in all other points in a manner the same; the like Wisdom, the like Learning, the like Justice, the like Religiousness in them both: only bettered in this, that we changed a Queen of 70 years old, whom we could not look to keep long, for a King of 36, whom we might well hope to enjoy many years.

King *James* is proclaimed King of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Queen *Elizabeth* was no sooner dead, but Sir *Robert Cary* a younger Son of the late Lord *Hunsdon*, posted away unsent, to King *James* in *Scotland*, informing him of the accident: for bringing which news, the King afterwards rewarded him with making him a Baron of the Realm, and Lord of *Leppington*. But though it were sufficient for the Kings information, that he heard the news by Sir *Robert Cary*; yet it was not sufficient for the Lords of the Council in discharge of their duty, if he heard it not from them; and therefore within a very few days, assoon as they could provide fit men, they sent first Sir *Charles Piercy*, and Mr. *Thomas Somerset*, and after them Sir *Thomas Lake* Clerk of the Signet, a man well acquainted with the State of the Kingdom, both to acquaint him with the general applause of all the Realm, to receive him for their Soveraign, and also inform him in what terms the state of the Kingdom stood, that so he might not come altogether a stranger when he came into it.

Sir *Robert Cary* acquaints him with the Queens death.

Queen *Elizabeth* indeed had left him not only a Kingdom, but a Kingdom without incumbrance; no Wars abroad, no Sedition at home; and not only so, but a Kingdom furnished with all the fruits of Piece, plenty of all things necessary, and of all necessary things the chiefest, a Wise Council; for she left Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord Chancellour, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurst* Lord Treasurer, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral, and Sir *Robert Cecill* Principal Secretary: Four such men that the meanest of them were sufficient to sit at the Helm of any Kingdom. Yet to these and divers other besides (all whom the King now by his Letters authorizeth to exercise their several places, as formerly they had done) he addeth certain new ones of his own chusing; as namely, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and then after the Lord *Henry Howard*; the one the brother, the other the Son of the late Duke of *Norfolk* who had suffered so much, that at last he suffered for the Queen his Mother. But although the calling of these two last to such a place, was done (no doubt) out of favour to that house; yet one of them being known, the other doubted to be a Papist, it was presently apprehended as a favour to that side; and the Catholicks were not a little confident of his

The King adds new Counsellors.

his good inclination to them all in general. And it was indeed but neceſſary they ſhould at this time have ſuch a conceit; for in the late Queens ſickneſs, a little before her death, Pope *Clement* the eighth had written two Brieves to the Catholicks in *England*, to admit of none to ſucceed in the Kingdom, when that miſerable woman ſhould happen to die (ſo he pleaſed to ſtile the moſt glorious Queen that ever lived) but ſuch a one, of whoſe good inclination to the See of *Rome*, they ſhould at leaſt be well perſwaded. And now King *James* having ſetled the Government of his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and made convenient preparation for his journey: on the fifth of *April* 1603, he ſets forward and rode that day from *Edenburgh* to *Dunglaſſe*, and from thence the next day to *Berwick*, where having ſtayed two days, the eighth of *April* he rode to *Withrington* a houſe of Sir *Robert Caries*, from thence the ninth to *Newcaſtle*, where he ſtayed Sunday, and heard the Biſhop of *Durham* preach, and ſo joyful were the Townſmen of his being there, that all the time of ſtay they bore the charge of his houſhold. The thirteenth of *April* he ſet forward to *Durham*, and from thence the fourteenth to *Waltworth*, the fifteenth towards *York*, where his train encreaſed to ſuch a multitude, that he was fain to publiſh an inhibition of the peoples reſorts, and flocking to him. At *York* it was a queſtion to whom it belonged to bear the ſword before the King in that place; for both the Earl of *Cumberland* claimed it as hereditary to his Houſe, and the Preſident of the North claimed it as belonging to his place, but it was adjudged to *George* Earl of *Cumberland*; who accordingly did it. From *York* the eighteenth day the King rode to *Grimſton*, to a houſe of Sir *Edward Stanhops*; the nineteenth to *Pomfret*, and ſo to *Doncaſter*, where he lodged at the ſign of the Bear and Sun: The twentieth of *April* he rode towards *Worſuppe*, a houſe of the Earl of *Shrewſbury*; from thence the twenty firſt to *Newark* upon *Trent*, where a Cutpurſe being taken in the fact, was by the Kings warrant hanged; a moſt unſeaſonable delinquent, who would force the King to a work of Juſtice at a time when he intended nothing but mercy: the 22 to *Beaver* Caſtle, a houſe of the Earl of *Rutlands*, hunting all the way as he rode: From *Beaver* the 23 to *Burleigh*, where having ſtayed two or three days, the 27 he removed to *Hinchinbrook*, a houſe of Sir *Oliver Cromwels*, where the heads of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* met him: From thence he rode towards *Royſton*, and as he paſſed through *Godmanchoſter*, a Town cloſe by *Huntington*, the Bailiffs of the Town preſented him with 70 Teem of Horſe all traced to fair new Ploughs, at which the King wondring, they ſaid, it was the ancient cuſtom ſo to do when any King of *England* paſſed through their Town, and by which, as being the Kings Tenants, they held their Land. At *Royſton*, he lodged that night at Mr. *Coeſters* houſe at his own charge, which he had not done before, ſince his coming into *England*. The 30 of *April* he rode to *Standon*, a houſe of Sir *Thomas Sadlers*, where he ſtayed Sunday and heard the Biſhop of *London* Preach. The ſecond of *May* he removed to *Brobourn*, a houſe of Sir *Henry Cocks*, cofferer to the late Queen, and now to the King, where met him the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Admiral, and divers other Lords. The third of *May* he came to *Theobalds*, a houſe of Sir *Robert Cecils*; when all the Lords of the late Queens moſt honourable Privy Council preſented themſelves, and there the Lord Keeper made a grave Oration. At this houſe, the fourth of *May*, the King made divers Noblemen of *Scotland* of his Privy Council here in *England*; namely the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, and Sir *George Hume* Treaſurer of *Scotland*, Sir *James Elpingſton* his Secretary, and the Lord of *Kinloſſe*, made afterward Maſter of the Rolls: Saturday the ſeventh of *May*, he rode towards *London*, where by the way, the Sheriff *Swinnerton*, and the Aldermen met him; and by their Orator Mr. *Richard Martin*, made him an Eloquent Oration; and then he rode on to the *Charter-houſe* near *Smithfield*, a houſe belonging to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, where he ſtayed four days: and at his departing thence made the Lord *Zouch*, and the Lord *Burgley*, of his Privy Council. But we muſt not here omit, that from the Kings firſt ſetting forth of *Scotland*, as he was in all places received with Royal entertainment and rich preſents, ſo he again carried himſelf moſt affable, and diſtributed his favours in moſt plenteous manner: in ſome places diſcharging all priſoners, but ſuch as lay for Treaſon or Murther: but eſpecially in conferring the order of Knighthood, of which ſort the firſt he made, was Mr. *John Peyton*, ſon to Sir *John Peyton*, Lieutenant of the Tower. After him divers *Scots* in ſundry places; at *Theobalds*, eight and twenty (of which number the compiler of this work, though the unworthieſt, was one); at the *Charter-houſe* above fourſcore: and not many days after, no fewer than at leaſt a hundred; and before the year went about God knows how many hundreds, that one would wonder what the King would do with ſo many *Milites*, having no war toward: But it was indeed fit to have a vent to the paſſage of Honour, which during Queen *Elizabeths* Reign had been ſo ſtopped, that ſcarce any County of *England* had Knights enow to make a Jury.

Before we go farther, it will not be amiſs to ſhew what great men attended King *James* out of *Scotland*; as namely, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, and many other great Lords; and many other whom he afterward made great Lords, as being in his ſpecial favour: firſt Sir *George Hume*, made afterward Earl of *Dunbarre*: then Sir *Thomas Erskin*, made Earl of *Kelly*: then Sir *John Ramſey* made Earl of *Holderneſſe*; (which two laſt had the fortune to come firſt in to his reſcue againſt the *Gowries*) then Sir *James Hay*, made afterward Earl of *Carlile*; and then Sir *Richard Preſton* made Earl of *Kildare* in *Ireland*; but whoſe great fortune by marrying the Heir of that Earldom was afterward the occaſion of his great misfortune; for coming out of *Ireland*, he was unfortunately caſt away and drowned.

But though King *James* was now ſafely come himſelf to *London*; yet he accounted himſelf but half come, untill his Queen and Children were come to him; and therefore there are now appointed to go to conduct them; of Lords, the Earl of *Suſſex*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the L. *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, and Sir *George Carew* Knight, Lord Preſident of *Munſter*: of Ladies, the Counteſs of *Worceſter*, the Counteſs of *Kildare*, the Lady *Anne Herbert* Daughter to *Henry* Earl of *Pembroke*;

The King ſets forward into *England*.

To whom it belonged to bear the Sword before the King at *York*.

At *Godmanchoſter* the King is preſented with 70 Teem of Horſe and why.

Divers Noblemen of *Scotland* made of his Privy Council.

What number of Knights the King made.

With what great Lords the King came attended out of *Scotland*.

Sir *Richard Preſton* Earl of *Kildar* unfortunately drowned.

What Lords and Ladies were ſent to attend the Queen at her coming.

broke; the Lord *Scroops* Lady, the Lady *Rich*, wife to the Lord *Rich*, and the Lady *Walsingham*, one of the late Queens Bed-chamber: But although these only were appointed to go, yet many other Lords and great Ladies went of themselves to attend her Majesty; as, the Countess of *Bedford*, the Lady *Hastings*, the Lady *Cecill*, the Lady *Hatton*, the Lady *Harrington*, and divers other: and with this Princely attendance, the Queen with two of her Children, namely Prince *Henry* of the age of nine years, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, on the eleventh of *June* came to *York*: where resting themselves some few dayes, on the seven and twentieth of *June* they came to *Easton* in *Northamptonshire*, a house of Sir *George Fermors*, where the King met them at dinner: and afterward they rode together to a house of Sir *John Forteſcue*, and so to *London*. The Kings younger son, *Charles* Duke of *Albany* came not at this time, as being not three years old, and therefore not thought able to endure such a journey; but the year following falling sick of a Feaver, Doctor *Atkins* one of the Kings Physicians was sent to conduct him, who in six weeks cured him of his feavour; and the first week of *October* brought him safe to *Windsor*, where the King then lay; for which service he was so well rewarded, that together with the gains of his usual practice, he grew to a greater wealth than was usual for Physicians.

Lords made by the King.

King *James* had distributed the meaner Order of *Knighthood*, very plentifully; now he thinks fit to raise his *distributions* to a higher degree, and thereupon the twentieth of *May*, he made Sir *Robert Cecill* Baron of *Essindon*; Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurst*; Sir *William Knowles* Baron of *Greyes*, and Sir *Edward Wooton* Baron of *Morley*; and not long after he made the Lord *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*; and *Thomas Sackvile* Lord *Buckhurst*, he made Earl of *Dorset*.

Ambaſſadors from all Princes of Christendom come to congratulate the Kings happy coming to the Crown.

The King had by this time found the love and affection of his own people; but the affection of neighbouring Princes towards him stood yet in suspence; when now to take away that doubt, came first in the beginning of *June*, an Ambassador from the *Palsgrave of Rhine*; presently after another from the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*; another from the Archduke of *Austria*; another from the King of *Spain*; from the Seigniory of *Venice* another; another from the Duke of *Florence*; and lastly, on the eighth of *June* Monsieur *de Rosny* from the King of *France*: all congratulating his happy coming to the Crown of *England*; for entertainment of which Ambassadours, and all other that should come after, the King had erected an Officer by the name of Master of the Ceremonies, allowing him two hundred pounds a year Fee; and the first that had the place was Sir *Lewis Lewkenor*: a Gentleman, who besides other good parts, was very skilful in the neighbouring languages.

The Office of Master of the Ceremonies erected.

Fourteen Serjeants of Law made.

Upon the seventeenth of *May* this year, were made fourteen Serjeants at Law: whereof eleven had received Writs the last year of Queen *Elizabeth*: namely, *Tho. Coventry*, *Robert Haughton*, *Lawrence Tanfield*, *John Crook*, *Thomas Foster*, *Edward Philips*, *Thomas Harris*, *James Altham*, *Henry Hubbard*, *Augustine Nicholls*, and *Robert Parker*: to whom the King added three new; *John Doerley*, *George Snygge*, and *Richard Hutton*, who all kept their Feast together in the middle Temple-Hall.

Valentine Thomas for offences against Queen *Elizabeth* is hanged and quartered.

One would think that at this time all Offences against Queen *Elizabeth* had been forgotten; but King *James* more tender of wrongs done to her than to himself, would not suffer *Valentine Thomas* so to escape; who after he had lyen many years prisoner in the Tower, was on the fourth of *June* arraigned at the Kings *Bench Bar*; and for conspiracy against the late Queen and some of her Council, was on the seventh of *June* after six a clock at night, drawn to St. *Thomas Watrings*, and there hanged and quartered.

The Lord *Montjoy* brings *Tir-Oen* into *England*, who is fully pardoned.

About this time the Honourable *Charles* Lord *Montjoy* returned out of *Ireland*; bringing along with him *Hugh O-Neal*, Earl of *Tir-Oen*; at whose coming to the King, the Lord *Montjoy* was sworn of the King Privy Council; and the Earl of *Tir-Oen*, who had been the cause of so much *English* blood shed, was yet pardoned, and proclamation made, that by all men he should be used with respect and honour.

The Earl of *Kent* is sent with the Garter to the King of *Denmark*.

The Lord *Spencer* to the Duke of *Wirtenberg*.

All this while the King had moved within his own Sphear, and had done nothing out of the Realm; his first Impoyment abroad was now in *June*, to his brother the King of *Denmark*, to whom he sent in Ambassage the Earl of *Rutland* upon two occasions: the one to be Godfather to his Son, who was named *Christianus*, the other to present him with the Order of the Garter; upon the like Imployment, soon after, he sent the Lord *Spencer* to *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtenberg*; which Lords saw the said Princes invested with the Garter, and after honourable entertainment returned home.

A Treason of a strange composition.

It was now a time that every man might sit under his Vine, and enjoy the happiness of a peaceable Government; when suddenly like a storm in a fair Summers day, brake forth a Treason of a strange Composition: for where in all Treasons commonly they are all of some one Faction, in this there were people of all sorts; Priests and Laymen, Papists and Protestants, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen; that one would think it should be a well managed Treason, and yet was the shalloweſt that ever was set on foot; so shallow that it could scarce be observed, either what the Authors of it ailed, or what it was they would have done. Indeed the great favour which King *James* at his first coming to the Crown, shewed to the Earl of *Southampton*, was like to breed no good blood to those that were his opposites; and it was said (how true I know not) that as the King had sent to enlarge the Earl of *Southampton*, and appointed him to meet him upon the way: so when he heard of an intension that the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* had to meet him, he sent them word they should spare their labour. But whether it were so or no, it seems they found some cause of discontentment, and discontentment will never want Complices; and by this means was the composition of this Treason made up, and thereupon were apprehended *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, and *George Brook* his brother, *Thomas* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parham* Knights, *Bartholomew Brookesby*, and *Anthony Copley* Gentlemen, *William Watson* and *William Clerk* Priests: But though they were apprehended in *July*, yet they came not to their arraignment till

November following; for by reason of the sickness, which was then hot in *London*, the Term was put off till *Crastino Martini*, and, then to be kept at *Winchester* in *Hampshire*, only the Courts of the Exchequer, Wards and Liveries, and the Duchy of *Lancaster* were kept in the Kings Manor at *Richmond* in the County of *Surrey*; and so in the fourth of *November* following, all the foresaid Delinquents were removed from the Tower of *London* and other Prisons, by strong Guards to *Winchester*, and there Arraigned; Whose Indictment was for Conspiring

1. To kill the King.
2. To raise Rebellion.
3. To alter Religion.
4. To subvert the State.
5. To procure Invasion by Strangers.

The Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, others arraigned at *Winchester*; and why.

Concerning the first Point, it was proved, that the Lord *Grey* intended to obtain the levying of 2000 men, for defence of the *Low-Countries*, and with them to seize upon the King and Prince, and take the Lords of the Council in their Chambers. For the other Points, It was proved, That the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, met at St. *Martins* in the Fields, and there consulted about raising Sedition, moving Rebellion, altering Religion, subverting the State, and to set up the Lady *Arbella*. And particularly for the Point of subverting the State; it was proved, That *Watson* was designed to be Lord Chancellor, *George Brook* Lord Treasurer, Sir *Griffith Markam* Secretary, and the Lord *Grey* to be Master of the Horse, and Earl Marshal of *England*. And for effecting of these Treasons, it was proved, That *Watson* the Priest had devised Oaths in writing, by which all parties were bound to keep them secret. And for the last point, It was proved, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* was appointed to treat with Count *Aremberg* for six hundred thousand Crowns, and the Lord *Cobham* to go to the Archduke and to the King of *Spain*, to perswade them to assist the Lady *Arbella*. These things being proved against them; on the days in which they were severally Indicted, the most which was replied in mitigation of their fault, was first by *Watson*, who affirmed it could not be Treason, because the King was not yet Crowned; and then by the Lord *Grey*, that it was but a verbal matter, and never took effect, and therefore could be no Treason: but these assertions being both refuted, they were all (except Sir *Edward Parham*, who only was acquitted) on their several days of Indictment, found guilty of Treason, and had Judgement accordingly. The Priests *Watson* and *Clerk* were executed at *Winchester*, the nine and twentieth of *November*: *George Brook* was beheaded the fifth of *December*; but then the hand of Justice stayed, and this was the course which the King held in shewing mercy. After the death of the three before named, he signed three other Warrants for the execution of the late Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Griffith Markham*, on a certain day then following; but before that day, he privately framed another Warrant written with his own hand to the Sheriff, (who was then Sir *Benjamin Tichburn*) by which he countermanded the former Warrants; and that there might be no notice taken of it, he sent it by Mr. *John Gybbe*, a *Scotch*-man, and one utterly unknown of all the Company, appointing him to deliver it so, that it might not take effect, till after their several confessions, and at the very point of their Execution; which was accordingly performed. At which time it was a wonderful thing to see how the Delinquents falling upon their knees, lamented their misdoings, and most of all how they extolled the Kings unspeakable mercy. But though thus pardoned, yet were they carried back to the *Tower*, where the Lord *Grey* not long after died, and in him was extinct that *Barony*, which had formerly brought forth many valorous and worthy men. Sir *Griffith Markham* after some time was set at liberty, and passed beyond Sea, where he lived long after in mean account. The Lord *Cobham* likewise was afterward discharged of Imprisonment, but deprived of his Estate, lived many years in great penury; and in him ended that noble Family, which had flourished in great honour many Ages. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was kept in the *Tower*, where to his great honour he spent his time in writing, and had been a happy man if he had never been released. But such is our state, that no mans fortune is understood, whether it be good or bad, until it be discovered by the Event.

And all condemned but Sir *Edward Parham*. *Watson* and *Clerk* executed.

George Brook beheaded. The rest spared, and and the course the King held in it.

The Lord *Grey* dies in the Tower, in whom this Barony was extinct.

The Lord *Cobham* discharged of Imprisonment, but lived in great penury, and in him that Barony also was extinct.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* kept in the Tower: where, and how he spent his time.

But in this mean time many things had passed; for his Majesty having deferred the Feast of St. *George* until his being at some of his own Houses, held now the said Feast at *Windsor*, the second of *July*, where the Prince was installed Knight of the Garter; as also the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Marre*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*; and at the same time were elected the King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Wirtenberg*: though their investing have been spoken of before.

The Prince and others made Knights of the Garter.

And now was preparation made for the Kings Coronation, and for a preparative unto it, he first restored the Earl of *Southampton*, and then raised in honour these following: Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord Chancellor, he made Baron of *Ellsmere*; Sir *William Russel*, Baron of *Thornaugh*; Sir *Henry Grey*, Baron of *Groby*; Sir *John Peter*, Baron of *Writtle*; Sir *John Harrington*, Baron of *Exton*; Sir *Henry Denvers*, Baron of *Dantsey*; Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Baron of *Gerard Bromley* in the County of *Stafford*; and Sir *Robert Spencer*, Baron of *Wormeleyton*. After this he conferred inferiour Orders; and made Knights, all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other: and lastly, made Knights of the *Bath* threescore and two, most of them Noblemens sons, and the rest Gentlemen of special worth. These things done on the five and twentieth of *July*, being St. *James* day, the King and Queen were together Crowned, and anointed at *Westminster*, by the hands of *John Whitgift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in presence of the Nobility and others, namely, Sir *Robert Lee* Lord Major of *London*, in a Gown of Crimson Velvet, his Brethren the Aldermen in Gowns of Scarlet, and 12 Principal Citizens admitted to attend on them: all other Citizens stayed from passing thither either by water or land by reason of the sickness; and the first of *August* following all suiters were by Proclamation forbidden to repair to the Court till the Winter following.

Divers Lords made.

The King and Queen are crowned together.

The fifth of *August* kept holy-day, for the Kings deliverance from the *Gowries*.

At this time the King forgot not a deliverance he had formerly had; which though it were had in *Scotland*, yet he would have notice of it taken in *England*, which was his deliverance from the conspiracy of the *Gowries* on the fifth day of *August* three years before; and thereupon *Friday* being the fifth of *August* was by commandment appointed to be holy day, with Morning Prayer, Sermons and Evening Prayer that day, and Bonefires at night; which was then and after, during his life solemnly observed.

All Letters of Mart called in. A Treaty of Peace with *Spain*, and who were Commissioners.

King *James* had in him as it were two persons; one as he was the King of *Scotland*; and in this he was in perfect amity with the King of *Spain*; another as he was King of *England*, and in this he had some difference with *Spain*, but he, as *Rex pacificus* took the best from both, and was altogether for the Olive branch; and thereupon when at his coming into *England*, he found Letters of Mart granted against the *Spaniards*, he first caused them all to be called in, and then consented to a Treaty of perfect reconcilement: In which Treaty handled at *London*, the 18th of *August*, 1604, the Commissioners for the King of *England* where *Tho.* Earl of *Dorset*, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, *Charles* Earl of *Devonshire*, *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Robert* Viscount *Cranburn*: For the King of *Spain*, *John de Velasco* Constable of *Castile*, *John de Tassis* Earl of *Villa Mediana*, and *Alexander Robidius* Professor of the Law in the Colledge of *Millain*: For the Archdukes, *Charles* Count of *Aremberg*, *John Richardot* President of the Privy Council, and *Lodowick Werreiken* principal Secretary: by whom a Peace being concluded and continued in many Articles; the

A Peace concluded, and the solemn manner of confirming it.

Summer following, the King of *Spain* sent Don *John de Velasco* Constable of *Castile* and Duke of *Fryas*, also *Pedraca de la Syerra*, his great Chamberlain accompanied with divers Marquesses, Earls and Barons, who coming into *England*, were by the Earl of *Devonshire* on the nineteenth of *August* brought to the Court, where the King in his Chapel in the presence of the Commissioners and other *English* Lords, (the Duke of *Fryas* holding the Kings hands between his) took his Oath upon the holy Bible, religiously to observe and keep all the Articles of the Peace and League agreed upon: and in *March* following, being now the third year of King *James*, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord high Admiral of *England* was sent into *Spain* to take in like manner the King of *Spains* Oath: who accompanied with three Barons, and many Knights, Gentlemen and others, to the number of six hundred and fifty, the fifteenth of *April* arrived at *Groyne*, from whence he was conducted to *Valledolid*, three hundred miles off, where the King of *Spain* then kept his Court, entertained in all places as he passed, at the King of *Spains* charge, with so great provisions and such demonstration of love and gladness, that it plainly shewed the *Spaniards* were as glad of our friendship as we of theirs. The Lord Ambassador being come to the Court, he caused *Thomas Knoll* Esquire, to deliver the Presents sent from the King of *England*, which were six goodly Horses, with saddles and saddle-clothes very richly imbroidered, whereof three for the King, and three for the Queen: two Cross-bows with sheafs of Arrows: four fowling Pieces inlaid with plates of Gold: and a couple of Lyme-hounds of singular qualities: which the King and Queen in very kind manner accepted; and then on the thirtieth of *May*, the Lord Ambassador being set for, the King came forth into a large room: where having a little Table set before him, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it, together with a Crucifix, the Archbishop of *Toledo* read the Oath, at the reading whereof the Lord Ambassador held the Kings hands between his, and the King kneeling down, laid his hands upon the Book, and after his Oath subscribed to the Articles formerly concluded. Whileft the E. of *Nottingham* was thus imployed in *Spain*, the right honourable *Edward* Earl of *Hertford*, was likewise sent Ambassador to *Albertus* and *Isabella*, Archdukes of *Austria*, to take their Oaths, for confirmation of the said Articles of Peace, which were taken at *Bruxels* the first of *May* with great state and solemnity: After which as the Earl bestowed on the Archdukes servants, to the full sum of 3 thousand pounds; So the Archduke at his departure, bestowed upon the Earl, a Jewel worth nine hundred pounds, and a suit of Arras worth three hundred, and bore his charges all the time of his stay at *Bruxels*. And now was King *James* truly *Rex pacificus*, in peace and amity with all Princes of Christendom, which few of his Ancestors ever were.

Ostend taken by Marquess *Spinola*.

A little before this, in the Month of *August*, in the year 1604, the strong Town of *Ostend* in *Flanders*, after above three years siege, and the slaughter of above a hundred and twenty thousand men of both sides, and in defence whereof, Sir *Francis Vere* General, and his brother Sir *Horatio Vere* had shewed great Valour, was by the Marquess *Spinola* taken; for which service, the King of *Spain* made him Duke of *Santa Severina*, and the Lord General of all the Forces in the *Low-Countries*.

An. Reg. 3. 1605.

It was now the third year of King *James* his Reign, when he kept Saint *Georges* Feast at *Greenwich*, and there made two new Knights of the Garter; namely, the High and Mighty Prince Duke *Ulrick*, heir of *Norway*, and brother to our gracious Queen *Anne*: and the right Noble Lord *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*. And upon the Saturday following in the Hall at *Greenwich*, being richly hanged with Arras, he created three Earls, one Viscount and four Barons: namely, Sir *Robert Cecill* Viscount *Cranburn*, he created Earl of *Salisbury*: *Tho. Cecill* Lord *Burleigh* his eldest brother, he created Earl of *Exeter*, and Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, he created Earl of *Montgomery*, then *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurst* Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, he created Viscount *Lisle*: Sir *John Stanhope*, Vicechamberlain to the King, he made Lord *Stanhope* of *Harington*: Sir *George Carew* Vicechamberlain to the Queen, he made Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*: Mr. *Thomas Arundel* of *Devonshire*, he made Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*: and Mr. *William Cavendish*, he made Lord *Cavendish* of *Hardwick*.

Earls and Barons created.

Charles Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral is sent into *Spain* to take the Kings Oath, and his entertainment.

The Kings Presents to the King and Queen of *Spain*.

Richard Haidock pretended to preach in his sleep.

About this time a strange fancy possessed the brains of a professed Physitian, one *Richard Haidock* of new Colledge in *Oxford*, who pretended to preach at night in his sleep, in such sort, that though he were called aloud or stirred and pull'd by the hands or feet, yet would make no shew of either hearing or feeling. And this he did often, in the presence of many honourable persons, that came

came to hear him, so as within a short time, his fame was spread through the land, by the name of the sleeping Preacher. At length, the King commanded him to be brought to the Court, where his Majesty sate up the most part of a night to attend the event: when at last *Haidock*, making a shew to be asleep, began to pray; then taking a Text, made his Division, applying it to his purpose, for in his Preaching his use was to inveigh against the Pope, against the Cross in Baptism, and against the last Canons of the Church of *England*, and having ended his Sermon, seemed to continue sleeping. His Majesty having well observed the manner of his carriage, after a few days called the said *Haidock* before him, and in Conference with him (as he had indeed an admirable sagacity in discovering of Fictions) made him confess, that all he did was but imposture: and thereupon to fall upon his knees, and ask forgiveness: which the King granted, upon condition, that in all places he should openly acknowledge his offence; because many were brought into belief, that his nightly preaching was either by inspiration, or by vision.

Discovered by the King.

We may not here think it unworthy the relating, seeing King *James* thought it not unworthy the seeing, thereby to observe the nature of the *Lyon*, and make a solemn matter of it; for on *Monday* the third of *June* (taking with him the Duke of *Lenox*, and divers Earls and Lords) he went to the Lyons Tower, and caused two Lyons, a male and female, to be put forth, and then a live-Cock to be cast before them; which they (as being their natural enemy) presently killed and sucked his blood. Then a live-Lamb to be put down to them, which the generous Lyons (as having respect to its Innocency) never offered to touch, though the Lamb was so bold as to go close unto them. Then the King caused those Lyons to be taken away, and another Lyon to be put forth, and two Mastiffs to be put in to him, who presently flew upon the Lyon, and turned him upon his back; and though the Lyon were superiour to them in strength, yet it seems they were his matches in courage, and so much superior as they were the first assailants, with whom otherwise, perhaps the Lyon would not have offered to meddle.

The King tries the nature of the Lyon, with a Cock and a Lamb.

On *Friday* the fourth of *January* in the Kings second year, *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, the Kings second Son, being then but four years old, was created Duke of *York*; which because it was done with extraordinary solemnity, is not unworthy to have the manner of it here related. First were appointed Knights of the *Bath*, the Duke of *Albany* himself, then the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Chandois*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, *Will. Cecill* Son and Heir to the Viscount *Cranburn*, *Allen Piercy* Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Somerset* second Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, *Francis Mannors* Brother to the Earl of *Rutland*; *Thomas Howard* second Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*, and *John Harington* Son and Heir to the Lord *Harington*, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex* were Esquires to the Duke of *Albany*: all the Knights took their lodging that night in the first Gate-house going to *Kings-street*; where they supped, and had Bathes provided for them. The next morning being *Saturday*, they went out into the Park in their Hermits weeds, the Minstrels playing, and the Heralds going before them into the Court, and so into the Chapel, where every Knight with his Esquires went to the Altar, and there offered. (the Dean of the Chapel, in a rich Cope, holding the Bason.) After this they went up into their lodgings; and there new attired themselves in Robes of Crimson Taffaty, with Hats and white Feathers, and so went back to the great Chamber: where, by the King, they were girded with the Sword, and had gilt Spurs put upon them. This done, they were solemnly served at Dinner, and after went again to the Chapel, and there offered their Swords. The next day being *Sunday*, and *Twelfth* day, in Robes of purple Sattin, with Doctors hoods on their shoulders, and Hats with white feathers, they issued out of the Revestry with the Duke of *Albany* (being then to be made Duke of *York*) into the Hall, where the King sate under the Cloth of Estate, and then the Heralds going before, the Knights of the *Bathe* followed, and then the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain came alone, then followed *Henry Howard* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Charles Blunt* Earl of *Devonshire*, carrying the Robes of Estate for the Duke of *York*; after whom *Wriothsley* Earl of *Southampton* carried the Coronet, *George Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland* the Golden Rod, the Earl of *Worcester* the Cap of Estate, and the Earl of *Nottingham* bore the Duke of *Albany* in his Arms, supported by the Earls of *Dorset* and *Northumberland*; who all coming in this order before the King, the Duke of *Albany* was after the Patent read, created Duke of *York*, with the Robes and Coronet put upon him; and the Golden Rod delivered into his hand: all which performed they went to Dinner, and the Solemnity ended.

Charles the Kings younger Son is created Duke of York, and the solemn manner of it.

About this time, on the fifteenth of *June*, *Thomas Dowglas* a *Scotch*-man, was committed to the Tower, and had Irons put upon him, being sent hither but three days before from the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*. His offence was, that he had counterfeited the Kings Privy-Seal to divers Princes of *Germany*; One to the Arch-Bishop of *Cullen*, another to the Archbishop of *Tryer*, another to the Duke of *Cleve*, another to the Archbishop of *Moguntia*, and a fifth to the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*; whereof being examined and convicted, he was drawn on a Hurdle into *Smithfield*, and there hanged and quartered.

Thomas Douglas a Scotchman hanged in *Smithfield*, and why.

And now was a second Parliament appointed to be held at *Westminster*, on the nineteenth of *March* following, when four days before the day of sitting, the King, the Queen and Prince rode solemnly in great state through the City of *London*, where in divers places were erected Pageants, Presents given, Orations made, and all demonstrations of love and observance; and then the Parliament beginning, the King made a long and loving Speech to the House, wherein he signified the cause of his calling it; but in the time when it should have proceeded, there was suddenly discovered a Plot of Treason (so damnable and soul that posterity will hardly think it true, when they shall hear of it,) the Plot was to blow up with Gunpowder both Houses of Parliament at a time, when the King, Prince and all the Nobility should be sitting in the Upper-House, and all the Knights and Burgesses in the lower.

The Gunpowder Treason.

By whom first plotted.

The principal contriver of this Plot was *Robert Catesbie*, a Gentleman of great account in *Northamptonshire*, descended from that *Catesbie* who had been special Counsellour of King *Richard* the third, to whose family the Divine Providence had now ordained to give a disastrous period. This *Catesbie* not able to perform the work himself alone, draws in many to assist him, as namely, *Thomas Piercy*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Grant*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *John Wright*, *Francis Tresham*, *Guido Fawks*, and at last Sir *Everard Digby*, all earnest Papists, and all bound by Oath, and by receiving the Sacrament to be secret; For effecting of this Plot, they hired a house close adjoyning to the Upper-House of Parliament, where they were to dig through a Wall, for the fit placing of their Powder. About *Candlemasse* they had wrought the Wall half through: when suddenly they heard a noise in the next Room, which made them fear they had been discovered: but sending *Guy Fawks* (who went now under the name of *John Johnson*, as Master *Piercies* man) to see what the matter was, he brought word, that it was a Cellar where Sea-coals had been laid, and were now a selling, and the Room offered to be let for a yearly Rent. This Room therefore at most fit for their purpose, being right under the Parliament-House, Master *Piercy* presently went and hired, laying into it twenty Barrels of Powder, which they covered with Billets and Faggots, for being discovered. Thus the first part of the Plot was put in good readiness. It now remained to consider what was to be done, when the blow should be given: for though the King and Prince might be slain, yet the Duke of *York* and the Lady *Elizabeth* should still be safe, and so they should be no nearer their end than now they were. This work therefore for surprizing the Duke of *York*, *Piercy* undertook, and for surprizing the Lady *Elizabeth*, they agreed upon a match of hunting near to *Dunchurch*, under colour whereof they would draw company together, and surprize her at the Lord *Harrington's* house in *Warwickshire*, where she then lay, and then proclaim her Queen, and so be sure to have all things done as they would themselves. Thus far their bloody Plot went fairly on, and had perhaps gone on so still, if they had continued only bloody; but now a tenderness of heart took some of them, lest their Friends should perish together with the rest, and this tenderness overthrows them; for to prevent such promiscuous slaughter, a Letter was framed, and sent to the Lord *Monteagle*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*, brought him by one of his Foot-men, which he received from an unknown man in the street; The Letter was this: *My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would wish you, as you tender your life, to forbear your attendance at this Parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time: And think not slightly of this Advertisement: for though there be no appearance of any stir; yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned; because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt this Letter; and I hope you will make good use of it.*

And with what Assistants.

By what means first discovered.

My Lord having read this Letter, though much perplexed, yet went presently to the Court at *White-Hall*, (the King being then a hunting at *Royston*) and delivered it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, principal Secretary of State, and the Earl having read it, acquainted first the Lord Chamberlain with it, and then the Lord Admiral, the Earl of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, who as soon as the King was returned from Hunting, acquainted him with it: the Earl of *Salisbury* telling him, that he thought it must be written either by a fool, or mad man, because of those words, *(for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter)*; for if the danger were so soon past, what needned any warning? But the King considering it more deeply, apprehended presently some violent motion; and that it must be some sudden danger by blowing up with Powder; and thereupon commanded, that diligent search should be made in the Parliament House, and all other Rooms and Lodgings near adjoyning: which search was made by the Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, who entring the Cellar under the Upper House, found there great store of Faggots and Billets; which was answered to be for Mr. *Piercie's* own provision: but then it being considered why such store should be laid in for Mr. *Piercie*, who used to make but little stay in Town, and thereupon more diligent search being made, there was found under the Billets one of the Barrels of Powder; and after that all the rest, being six and thirty; together with other Instruments fit for their purpose; and then spying the said *Fawks* to stand suspiciously, they apprehended him, and found in his pocket a piece of Touch-wood, a Tinder-box to light the Touch-wood, and a Watch, which Mr. *Piercie* had bought the day before, to try the short and long burning of the Touch-wood, which he had prepared to give fire to the train of Powder. The Plot being thus discovered, yet the most of the confederates met at *Dunchurch*, as they had agreed; where they divulged many detestable untruths against the King and State: signifying withal, that they were there met for advancement of the Catholick cause; hoping thereby to have many to joyn with them in their Rebellion: but this availed them nothing: for first Sir *Richard Verney* high Sheriff of *Warwickshire* chased them from thence; and Sir *Richard Welch* Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, knowing them to be entred into Mr. *Littletons* house at *Walbach*, beset them round, where *Catesbie* and *Piercie* issuing forth, were both slain with one shot of a Musquet; and after them, both the *Wrights*, *John* and *Christopher*, were likewise slain outright; *Thomas Winter* was taken alive: all which time, *Francis Tresham* remained still about the Court, offering his service for their suppression: but being suspected, was examined, and sent to the Tower, where he confest all, and within a few dayes after died of the Strangury. On the seven and twentieth of *January* following, a Commission was directed to divers Lords and Judges of both Benches, for tryal of the rest of the Confederates: namely, *Thomas Winter*, *Guido Fawks*, *Robert Keyes*, *Thomas Bates*, *Robert Winter*, late of *Hoodington* in *Warwickshire*, Esquire, *John Graunt* late of *Yorthbrook* in the County of *Warwick*, Esquire, *Ambrose Rookwood*, late of *Stanningfield*, in

Fawks first apprehended.

Catesbie and Piercie slain.

The rest of the Confederates arraigned, condemned and executed.

in *Suffolk*, Esquire, Sir *Everard Digby*, late of *Gottnurst* in *Buckinghamshire*, Knight, who were all condemned, and had Judgement to dye, and on the *Thursday* following Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *Grauns* and *Bates*, were accordingly drawn, hanged and quartered at the West end of *Pauls* Church in *London*, and the *Friday* the other four: namely, *Thomas Winter*, *Keyes*, *Rookwood*, and *Fawks* were executed in the Parliament-yard at *Westminster*. Of all whom, none was so much lamented as Sir *Everard Digby*, and indeed worthily; for he was a goodly personage, and of excellent parts, and had it seems been cunningly drawn in, and bound to secrecy by Oath, when he little thought of any such Treason. The seventh of *November* the Earl of *Northumberland*, upon suspicion of being acquainted with the plot, was first commanded to his House, and after a while committed to the Tower. And thus was this great Plot discovered, and the Plotters punished; to the great rejoycing of all people: insomuch, that even the King of *Spain*'s and Archdukes Embassadors made Bonefires, and threw money among the people in token of joy. And at this time, on the fourth of *January*, the *Spanish* Embassador delivered a Present to the King from the King his Master: namely, six Jennets of *Andalusia*, with Saddles very richly imbroydered, and Saddle-cloths of cloth of *Tissue*: One of which Jennets was Snow white, and had a mane which reached to the ground. But this was a Present sent before any knowledge had of the Powder-Treason: but as soon as this was known, there was presently another Present sent from the Queen of *Spain* to the Queen of *England*, of purpose to congratulate the Kings happy deliverance from the intended Powder-Treason; and the Present was brought by *Don John de Mendosa*, which was a Robe of Murrie Sattin, imbroydered all over with Amber leather; and upon the leather, in every seam and skirt twice imbroydered about with Gold; the forepart whereof was set with eight and forty tags three inches long of beaten Gold, hollow within, and filled with Amber-grise, also two large Chains of Amber-grise; Two Carkanets of Amber-grise, a Velvet Cap with gold Buttons, curiously enameled, and a Girdle suitable to the Buttons; all which were presented together in a large Vessel of Gold, in form of a Bason; so as it seems there was none rejoyced more for the overthrow of this Plot for the Catholick cause, than the Catholick King himself. And now King *James*, not to be unmindful to the Lord *Monteagle*, for being the means of discovering this Treason, he gave unto him in Fee Farm of Crownland 2000 *l.* to him and his Heirs, and 500 *l.* a year besides during his life: and not to be unthankful to God for the deliverance, he caused the fifth of *November*, being the day of the discovery, to be kept holy, with Prayer and Thanksgiving to God, which was then solemnly performed, and hath been since, and is likely for ever to be continued.

The Earl of *Northumberland* committed to the *Tower*; and why.

A Present from the K. of *Spain* to K. *James*.

Another from the Queen of *Spain* to the Queen of *England*.

The Lord *Monteagle*'s reward for being meanes of discovering the Treason.

The fifth of *November* kept holy in thankfulness for this deliverance.

But in the midst of this great joy, there was suddenly spread a rumour of great sorrow; for on *Saturday* the two and twentieth of *March*, news was brought to the Court for certain, that the King was slain at *Oking*, twenty miles from *London*, stabbed with an invenomed knife; whereupon the Court gates were presently shut, and double guard set in all places about *London*, and all mens minds were infinitely distracted; but within two hours all these clouds were clean dispersed, and the Sun began to shine out again; and it was certainly known, that the King was safe, and in perfect health: for which a Proclamation was presently sent forth to signifie it to the people; and that afternoon the King came himself to *Whitehall*, where thousands of people ravished with joy, came flocking to see him; and so general was the rejoycing, that the *Spanish* Embassador gave Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Master of the *Ceremonies*, a Chain of Gold of good value, for bringing him the news: Though afterward it was thought by some, that this rumour was but politickly devised to make the Parliament and people more tender of the Kings safety, and by making them more sensible what a treasure they had of his life, to make them more willing to part with their treasure for his living, as indeed this Parliament they did, giving more Subsidies than are usual.

A rumour spread, that that the K. was slain at *Oking*, but false; and the joy upon the hearing the truth.

The eight and twentieth of *March* following, *Henry Garnet* Provincial of the *English* Jesuites, was arraigned in *Guild-hall*, for concealing the foresaid treason, where he had Judgement to be hang'd, drawn and quartered, and accordingly on the third of *May*, was drawn from the Tower to the West end of *Pauls* Church, and there executed. At his death, he confessed his fault, asked forgiveness, and exhorted all Catholicks never to attempt any treason against the King or State, as a course which God would never prosper.

Henry Garnet a Jesuite executed; and why.

On *Tuesday* the twentieth of *May*, were enstalled at *Windsor* Knights of the Garter, *Rob Cecill* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Thomas Howard* Viscount *Bindon*; both of them honourably attended, but the Earl of *Salisbury* beyond ordinary proportion.

There was yet a Fag end of the late Powder-Treason behind to be examined: whereupon two Barons of the Realm; namely, *Henry* L. *Mordant*, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton*, were brought from the Tower to the Star-chamber: and there, not charged indeed with any point of the treason, but only reflectingly, because they neglected to appear at the Parliament, according to the summons; for which neglect only, without any further charge, they were fined to pay to the King; the Lord *Mordant* ten thousand Marks, and the Lord *Sturton* six thousand, and to be prisoners during the Kings pleasure. But on the 27 of *June*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland* was likewise brought from the *Tower* to the Star-chamber, and more directly charged with circumstances concerning the Treason, specially in regard of *Thomas Piercy*, whom he had admitted to be one of the Kings Gentlemen Pensioners, without ministring unto him the Oath of Supremacy, knowing him to be a Recusant; for which, and some misprisions, he was fined to pay to the King thirty thousand pounds, to forfeit all his Offices, and to be kept prisoner during the Kings pleasure, as indeed he continued many years, and at last released, was yet confined.

Henry Lord *Mordant*, and *Edw.* Lord *Sturton* fined; and why.

Henry Earl of *Northumberland* fined; and why.

1605.

It was now the fourth year of King *James* his Reign, and was a time of Princely visitation; for this Summer, the 17 of *July*, *Christianus* King of *Denmark*, Brother to the Queen, having been long expected, with eight ships came into the River of

Christianus K. of *Denmark* the Queens Brother comes into *England*, and of his entertainment.

Thames, and anchored before *Graves-end* to whom the next day, King *James* with Prince *Henry*, and divers of the Lords went by Barge, and conducted him to *London*, where he ſtayed till the 12 of *Auguſt* following: in which time, he was entertained with all the Magnificence that could be deviſed, the King and he riding in great ſtate through the City; where Pageants in many places were erected; and after he had been ſhewed the chief places about *London*, as namely, the *Old Change*, the *Tower*, the Monuments at *Weſtminſter*, and had gone up to the top of *Pauls*, had been feaſted by the King, by the Earl of *Salisbury* four dayes together at *Theobalds*, had ſeen Tilting, Fencing, Wreſtling, and many other paſtimes; on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, conducted by the King, the Queen and Prince, with many other great Lords, he departed to his ſhips, and in eight dayes arrived at home: A happy thing when Princes can converſe together like private perſons, and are not kept aſunder with jealouſies of State.

Francis Prince of Vaudemont comes into England, with what ſtate he trains, and of his entertainment.

After the King of *Denmarks* departure, on the 23 of *September* arrived at *London Francis* Prince of *Vaudemont*, third Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, accompanied with ſeven Earls, ten Barons, forty Gentlemen of quality, and ſixſcore common perſons; who all the five and twentieth of *September* went by Coach to the King at *Hampton-Court*, where fourteen dayes together they were feaſted and royally entertained, and then returned.

An Inſurrection in Northamptonſhire and Warwickſhire about Inclоſures, by Captain Pouch, and how ſuppreſſed.

But theſe Feſtivals were followed with a little diſturbance; for in *May*, the year after, great Aſſemblies were gathered together in *Northamptonſhire*, *Warwickſhire* and *Leiceſterſhire*, throwing down Incloſures at firſt, without any particular head: but at laſt roſe up a baſe Fellow, called *Joh Reynolds*, whom they named Captain *Pouch*, becauſe he had a great leather Pouch hanging by his ſide, who affirmed to the Company, that in that Pouch he had ſufficient to defend them againſt all comers: but when he was afterward apprehended, and his Pouch ſearched, there was nothing found in it but a piece of green Cheeſe. Proclamation was made, commanding them to ſurceaſe their diſorder: But this prevailed nothing, till the K. ſent *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas* Earl of *Exeter*, *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, and Sir *Edward Cook* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, to ſuppreſs them by force of Arms, and to puniſh the Levellers according to the nature of their offences; ſome by death, as for Treaſon; ſome by Fines, as for Routs; but Captain *Pouch* was made exemplar.

On *Friday* the twelfth of *June*, his Majeſty attended with divers Lords, dined with the Lord Mayor Sir *John Watts*, who after dinner preſented him with a purſe full of Gold, and humbly beſought his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to be free of his Company the *Cloth-workers*: To

The King is free of the Cloth-workers.

which the King graciouſly condeſcended; and thereupon called to Sir *William Stone* Maſter of the Company, and ſaid, *Stone* give me thy hand; and now I am a *Cloth-worker*. And in token of my ſpecial favour to this Fraternity, I do here give to this Company a brace of Bucks yearly for ever, againſt the time of the Election of the Maſter and Wardens: at which time alſo many Lords and Gentlemen were made Free of the *Cloth workers*.

On *Thurſday* the 16 of *July*, the King and Prince with many Lords dined at Merchant-Taylors Hall, where the Maſter and Wardens of that Society preſented the King with a purſe of Gold, giving him humble thanks for gracing their Fraternity with his Royal Preſence; and therewithal ſhewed him a Roll, wherein were regiſtred the names of 7 Kings, 1 Queen, 17 Princes and Dukes, 2 Dutcheſſes, one Archbiſhop, one and thirty Earls, threeſcore and ſix Barons, ſeven Abbots, ſeven Priors, with a great number of Knights and Eſquires, who had been free of that Company; which his Majeſty graciouſly accepted, but told them, that he himſelf was already Free of another Company: but the Prince his Son ſhould be free of theirs, and that he would ſee the Garland put on his head: whereupon the Maſter preſented the Prince alſo with a purſe of Gold, which he graciouſly accepted, and ſaid, that not only himſelf would be free of the Merchant-Taylors, but the Lords alſo that were with him ſhould do the like, all which was performed with great ſolemnity.

The Prince is made free of the Merchant-Taylors, and a liſt of great Perſonages that had been of that Company.

Sir Thomas Knevet and Jervis Clifton made Barons by calling them to the Parliament.

The fourth of *July* this year, Sir *Thomas Knevet* was called by Writ to the Parliament by the name of Baron of *Eſtrick*, the next day Sir *Julius Cæſar*, Chancellor of the Exchequer was ſworn a Priry Counſellor; and the ſixteenth of *November* following, Sir *Jervas Clifton* Kt. was called to the Parliament by Writ, by the name and title of Baron of *Layton Brameſwold*, whoſe only Daughter and Heir, was ſoon after, married to *Eyſme Steward*, Baron of *Aubigny* in *France*, ſole Brother of the Duke of *Lenox*; whom he afterward ſucceeded in that Dignity.

The Earl of Tir-Owen flies beyond Sea, to ſolicite Princes againſt the King.

About this time, *Hugh* Earl of *Tir-Oen*, moſt ungrateful and utterly forgetful of the Kings great clemency to him, together with *Tereonell*, *Hugh* Baron of *Dungannon*, and divers other *Iriſh* Lords fled into the parts beyond Sea, with purpoſe to ſolicite foraign Princes againſt the King, and to offer the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Pope, which was preſently ſignified to the Realm by Proclamation.

George Jervis a Seminary Prieſt, and Thomas Garnet a Jeſuite executed; and why.

On the eleventh of *April* this year, *George Jervis* a Seminary Prieſt, and the three and twentieth of *June* following, *Thomas Garnet* a Jeſuite, were both executed at *Tyburn*; *Tho. Garnet* having the favour offered him to be pardoned, if he would but take the Oath of Allegiance, which he refuſed.

The Earl of Dorſet Lord Treaſurer of England dies ſuddenly.

The 19 of *April* at *Whitehall*, died *Thomas* Earl of *Dorſet* Lord Treaſurer, (whoſe death becauſe he died ſuddenly as he ſate at the Council Table) was by ſome untowardly interpreted; but being dead, and his head opened, there were found in it certain little bags of water, which whether by the ſtraining of his ſtudy the night before, in which he ſate up till eleven a clock, or otherwiſe by their own maturity, ſuddenly breaking and falling upon his brain, cauſed his ſudden death. So certain it is, that death comes not alwayes by determinate ſteps, but ſometimes *per ſaltum*, and we all carry about us the cauſes of ſudden death, though unſenſible of them till we be unſenſible. This Lord was of excellent parts, and in his place exceeding induſtrious, and I have heard many Checker-men ſay, there never was a better Treaſurer, both for the Kings profit, and the good of the Subject.

The

The twentieth of *May* at *Windsor*, were made two Knights of the Garter, *George* Earl of *Dunbar*, and *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*; but the Earl of *Dunbar*, within a year or two after left both his honour and his life; but not his life without honour, having been a faithful Servant, and a wise Counsellor to the King, and was honourably interred in the Church at *Westminster*.

Divers English Pirates turn Turks.

About this time were many famous *English* Pirats that stuck not some of them to turn *Turks*, and lived in great state at *Tunis*, of whom the chief were *Ward*, *Bishop*, Sir *Francis Verney* and *Glanvile*, whom after many depredations and outragious acts at Sea, partly the King of *Spain* suppressed, and partly the King of *England*, and nineteen of their associates being taken, were hanged at *Wapping*.

The New Exchange in the Strand builded.

Also at this time, in the *Strand* on the North side of *Durham*-house, where stood an old long stable: *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury* now Lord Treasurer of *England*, caused to be erected a stately building; which upon Tuesday the tenth of *April*, in the year 1609. was begun to be richly furnished with Wares; and the next day after, the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many great Lords and Ladies came to see it: and then the King gave it the name of *Britains Burse*.

Fishing upon the English Coast forbidden to strangers.

On the eighth of *May* this year, the King by Proclamation prohibited all forain Nations, that after *August* they should not fish upon any of the Coasts of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, nor the Isles adjacent, without the special licence from the Commissioners in that behalf ordained.

Allum first made in *England*, and by whom.

At this time the making of *Allum*, which heretofore with great charges had been fetched from forain parts, was by divers that laboured in it; and now lastly by Sir *John Bourchier* brought to perfection in *England*, and thereupon the King prohibited upon pain of confiscation, any *Allum* to be brought from beyond the Seas, and took the whole traffique thereof to himself.

The King hath aid of his Subjects for making Prince *Henry* Knight.

And now the King according to an ancient custom, had aid of his Subjects through *England*, for making his eldest Son Prince *Henry* Knight, which yet was levyed with great moderation, and the Prince to shew himself worthy of it, performed his first Feats of Arms at *Barriers*, with wonderful skill and courage: being not yet full sixteen years of age.

1610. *An. Reg.* 8.

The Prince is created Prince of *Wales*, and the solemn manner of his creating.

It was now the eighth year of King *James* his Reign, being the year 1610, when Prince *Henry* being come to the age of seventeen years, it was thought fit he should be initiated into Royalty: and thereupon the thirtieth of *May* this year, he was created Prince of *Wales* in most solemn manner: which was thus, *Garter* King at Arms, bore the Letters Patents, the Earl of *Suffex* the Robes of Purple Velvet, the Earl of *Huntington* the Train, the Earl of *Cumberland* the Sword, the Earl of *Rutland* the Ring, the Earl of *Darby* the Rod, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Cap and Coronet, the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Northampton* supported the Prince, being in his Surcoat only and bare-headed: and in this manner being conducted to the King, attended on by the Knights of the *Bath*, five and twenty in number, all great men, and great mens sons, the Earl of *Salisbury* principal Secretary, read the Letters Patents; the Prince kneeling all the while before the King: and at the words accustom'd, the King put on him the Robe, the Sword, the Cap and the Coronet, the Rod and the Ring, and then kissed him on the cheek, and so the solemnity ended.

He keeps Court by himself, and who were his great Officers.

After this, it was thought fit, he should keep his Court by himself: and thereupon Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, a learned Gentleman, who had before been his Governour, was now made his Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Edward Philips* his Chancellor, and all other Officers assigned him, belonging to a Princes Court: wherein he shewed himself so early ripe for Majesty, that he seemed to be a King, while he was yet but Prince: and all mens eyes began to fix upon him.

King *James* had long since shut up the Gates of *Janus*, and was in peace with all Princes abroad; his only care now was to keep peace at home; and to this end, the three first dayes of *June*, in his own Person he heard the differences between the Ecclesiastical and the Temporal Judges argued, touching the Protections out of the Kings Bench and Common Pleas; to this end, the eighth, ninth, and tenth of *June*, he heard the manifold complaints of the abuses of the Victuallers, and other Officers of his Navy Royal; to this end, the fourth of *June*, 1610. he once again by Proclamation, commanded all *Roman* Priests, Seminaries and Jesuites, as being the chief Incendiaries of troubles, to depart this Kingdom by the fifth of *July* next, and not to return upon pain of severity of the Law: as also all Recusants, to return home to their dwellings, and not to remain in *London*, nor to come within ten miles of the Court, without special Licence. After which Proclamation, the Oath of Allegiance was presently ministred to all sorts of people, and their names certified to the Lords of the Council, that refused to take it; and this he the rather did out of consideration of the bloody fact, committed lately by one *Ravillack*, upon the person of the renowned K. of *France*, *Henry* the fourth: and whereas Queen *Elizabeth* in her 43 year, had granted her Letters Patents to continue for 15 years to the *East-India* Merchants; now upon their humble Petition, the King was pleased to enlarge their Patents, giving them a Charter to continue for ever, enabling them thereby to be a body Corporate and Politick, which so encouraged the Merchants, that they built a Ship of twelve hundred ton, the greatest that was ever made in this Kingdom by Merchants; which the King and Prince honoured with going to *Debtford* to see it; and then named it, *The Trades increase*: and at this time gave to Sir *Thomas Smith* (Governor of that Company) a fair chain of Gold, with a Jewel, wherein was his Picture. But this great Ship having been in the Red Sea, and returning to *Bantham*, was there lost, and most of her men cast away. But then the King himself builded the goodliest Ship of War that was ever built in *England*, being of the burthen of 1400 Tun, and carrying threescore and four pieces of great Ordnance, which he gave to his Son Prince *Henry*, who named it after his own dignity, *The Prince*.

Semynaries and Jesuites commanded to avoid the Realm, and why.

The East-India Company made a Corporation with large Priviledges.

They build a ship of twelve hundred Tun, called *The Trades increase*, which was cast away in the Red Sea.

Thereupon the King builds a ship of 1400 tun, called *The Prince*, and gives it to the Prince.

And now whereas a Parliament had been holden this year, and was prorogued to a certain day; the King perhaps not finding it to comply with his designs, or for some other cause known to himself, on the last day of *December*, under the great Seal of *England* dissolved it.

The King dissolves a Parliament under the Great Seal of *England*.

Before

Sir *Robert Carre* comes into the Kings favour, and of the many honours heaped suddenly upon him.

Before this time one Sir *Robert Carre*, a Gentleman of *Scotland*, or of the Borders, at a time of Tilting before the King, chanced with a fall off his Horse to break his Leg; upon which mischance, he was forced for some dayes to keep his bed, in which time the King was some time pleased to come and visit him: and then it was first perceived, that the King had begun to cast an eye of favour upon him: and indeed from that time forward (as he was a very fine Gentleman, and very wise) many great favours were heaped upon him: So as on *Easter* Munday, in the year 1611, he was created Viscount *Rochester*. On the two and twentieth of *April*, 1612. was sworn a Privy-Counsellor. On the fourth of *November*, 1613. was created Earl of *Somerset*, and the tenth of *July* following made Lord Chamberlain.

But this Sun-shine of Fortune lasted not long; yet not by any inconstancy in the King, but by the Earls own undeserving, which thus fell out: The Right Honourable *Robert* Earl of *Essex* had before this time married the beautiful Lady *Frances Howard*, Daughter of *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, who upon causes judicially heard, were afterward Divorced, and left free to marry any other. After which Divorce, this great Favourite (the Earl of *Somerset*) takes her for wife; the King gracing their Marriage with all demonstrations of Love and Favour; and the Lords gracing it with a stately Masque that night; and a few dayes after, the Bride and Bridegroom, accompanied with most of the Nobility of the Kingdom, were Feasted at Merchant-Taylors Hall by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. But see how soon this fair weather was overcast: For it happened, that one Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a very ingenuous Gentleman, and the Earls special Friend, who had written a witty Treatise of a *Wife*: and it seems not thinking the Lady in all points answerable to his description, had been an earnest disswader of the Match, and to strengthen his disswasion, laid perhaps some unjust imputation upon the Ladies Fame, which so incensed them both against him, that a less revenge could not give them satisfaction, than to take away his life: So true is that saying,

His falling into disgrace; and why.

Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?

Upon this, they find Pretences to have the said Sir *Thomas* committed to the Tower, and there by their Instruments effect their Revenge: some say by a poysoned Tansey sent him to eat, some by a poysoned Glyster ministred unto him, but howsoever effected it was; for which fact Sir *Jervis Telvis* then Lieutenant of the Tower, and three or four other of inferior condition were put to death, the Lady and Earl themselves were arraigned and condemned: but through the Kings great clemency had their lives spared, but in such sort, as was to them no less grievous than death it self, being never after suffered to see the Kings face, nor to come near his Court.

Sir Thomas Overbury Poysoned.

Sir Jervis Telvis Lieutenant of the Tower executed.

The Earl of Somerset and his Lady condemned, but their lives spared.

This Favourite being thus out of Favour, there was place made for entertaining another; for indeed King *James* was of so sociable and loving a nature, that he could not be long without an *Alter idem*; a bosome Friend with whom to communicate his *Internos sensus*, and upon whose shoulders he might sometimes lay a burthen, which he was not willing to bear himself; and this new Friend was Mr. *George Villiers*, a Gentleman of a good House, but a younger Brother, but of so delicate a composure of body, and withal of so excellent parts of mind, as if nature had framed him on purpose to be a Kings Favourite. And indeed never any man was partaker of the Royal influence like to him, made first a Knight and Gentleman of the Kings Bed-chamber, soon after made a Viscount and Master of the Horse, a while after created Earl of *Buckingham*, then Marquess of *Buckingham*, and made Lord Admiral: Lastly, made Duke of *Buckingham*, the greatest Title of Honour that a Subject is capable of, and yet this Title not greater than his Power: for all matters of Grace passed from the King by him, and to grace him the more, his Mother (who after his Fathers death, had married a younger Son of the Lord *Comptons*) was created Countess of *Buckingham*, his Sister who had married a Gentleman of no extraordinary Family, had her Husband made Earl of *Denbigh*, his two brothers were made, one of them Viscount *Purbeck*, the other Earl of *Anglesey*, besides many other of his Friends and Kindred highly advanced; For this Lord affected not an advancement that should be only personal, but rather be in common to all his Family; and was not of the disposition of some, who like to great Oaks, love to keep all that are near them underwood; though it be in truth both against Nature and Policy to stand alone, when they would be less subject to the violence of Winds, if more stood together. And though never any man had juster cause to be envyed than he, yet never any man was less envyed; because though his Honours made him great, yet they made him not swell, but he retained the like temper of affable carriage after his advancement, as he had done before.

Mr. *George Villiers* comes into the Kings favour, and of the many honours heaped suddenly upon him.

But before all these Favours were heaped upon him, many other great passages had intervened; for first, after the death of *Thomas* Earl of *Dorset*, *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury* had been Lord Treasurer, and after him *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*. But this Lord, though of a most noble disposition, yet as having had his training up another way, seemed less ready in discharging the place, and whether for this, or for his Ladies taking too much upon her by his indulgence, the Staff was soon after taken from him; after whom there came in such a sequence of Treasurers as no Age before had ever seen; all wise and able men indeed; but yet in whom the Office seemed an imployment, rather to ennoble the Officer than to enrich the King. For first Sir *Henry Mountague* was taken from the Kings Bench: and on the fourth of *December*, 1620. made Lord Treasurer, and presently upon it Earl of *Manchester*, and before the year went about put off. After whom Sir *Lyonel Cranfield*, from Master of the Wards was made Lord Treasurer, and shortly after Earl of *Middlesex*: and then not only put off, but fined to pay the King fifty thousand pounds: After him, Sir *James Lee* from chief Justice of the Kings Bench was made Lord Treasurer, and soon after Earl of *Marleborough*; and then having made a good return of his Place put it off himself. After him Sir *Richard Weston*, from Chancellor of the Exchequer was made Lord Treasurer, and soon

Thomas Earl of *Suffolk* Lord Treasurer hath the Staff taken from him.

Four Lord Treasurers made in four years.

soon after Earl of *Portland*: so as within the compass of little more than four years, four Treasurers in a row were made four Earls; enough to make a prescription for all Treasurers hereafter, to claim a right of being made Earls, which yet I speak not as derogating from those worthy men, whose memories I reverence, but as observing, *Fataque fortunasque Virum*; so rare as that there was never any Precedent of the like.

1612. The Lord *Sanquer* of *Scotland* hanged; and why.

Also the five and twentieth of *June*, 1612. the Lord *Sanquer*, a Nobleman of *Scotland*, having in a private revenge suborned *Robert Carlile* to murther *John Turner* a Master of Fence, thought by his greatness to have born it out; but the King respecting nothing so much as Justice, would not suffer Nobility to be a shelter for villany, but according to the Law, on the nine and twentieth of *June*, the said Lord *Sanquer* having been arraigned and condemned by the name of *Robert Creighton*, Esquire, was before *Westminster*-Hall Gate executed, where he dyed very penitent.

A Lottery granted for the Plantation of *Virginia*.

About this time, the King in special favour for the present Plantation of *English Colonies* in *Virginia* granted a Lottery to be held at the West end of *Pauls*; whereto one *Thomas Sharplys* a Taylor of *London* had the chief Prize, which was four thousand Crowns in fair Plate.

At this time also the Corps of *Mary* late Queen of *Scotland*, the Kings Mother, was translated from *Peterborough*, to St. *Peters* Church in *Westminster*, and from thence was carried to the Chappel-Royal there; where it was interred in a Royal Tomb, which the King had erected for her.

Sir Robert *Sherley* comes into *England* Embassadour from the King of *Persia*.

About this time also Sir *Robert Sherley*, third Son of Sir *Thomas Sherley* of *Sussex* Knight, who sixteen years past had betaken himself to travel, and had served divers Christian Princes for the space of five years; but chiefly *Rodolphus* the *Roman* Emperour; who for his Service, made him an Earl of the Empire: he afterward went into *Persia*, and served the *Persian* ten years, who made him General of the Artillery; and held him in so great account, that he gave him the Lady *Teresia* in Marriage, whose Sister was one of the Queens of *Persia*, after which the *Persian* imployed him to sundry Princes of *Europe*; and sent him in special Embassage into *England* to King *James*, to whom he delivered his Letters, and shewed his Commission; all which signified the *Persians* great love and affection to his Majesty: with frank offer of free Commerce to all his Highness Subjects through all the *Persians* Dominions: After a years stay here, in which time his Lady lay in of a Son, to whom the Queen was Godmother, and Prince *Henry* God-father; he left the child here in *England*, and then with his Lady departed into *Persia*.

An. Reg. 10. Frederick Prince Palatine of the Rhyne comes into England.

It was now the year 1612, and the tenth of King *James* his Reign, when the Illustrious Prince *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*, with whom a Treaty of marriage had been before with the Lady *Elizabeth*, on the sixteenth of *October* arrived at *Gravesend*; to whom the Duke of *Lenox* and divers other Lords were sent by the King, who conducted him to *White-hall*, and from thence into the great Banqueting-house, where the King, the Queen, Prince *Henry*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* entertained him in all kind manner, and after by Barge conducted him to *Essex* House, appointed for his lodging. It was many years since any Kings Daughter had been married in *England*; which now happening, and to so Illustrious a Prince, was just cause of Triumph and rejoycing; but see the misery of Humane Affairs; joy can no sooner be setting forth, but sorrow will be sure to follow her at the heels, as now indeed it happened: for on the nine and twentieth of *October*, the Prince *Palatine*, with all the great Lords of the Kingdom, in most jovial manner dining at *Guild-hall*; Prince *Henry* who was also invited and expected, could not come being newly fallen exceeding sick of a popular malignant feaver, which reign'd that year in most parts of this Land: whereof on the sixth of *November*, between seven and eight a Clock at night, at his Court of St. *James's* he died: But he being infinitely beloved of the people, and one that had given great hope of proving an Heroick Prince, it caused suspicion in many mens heads, that death was not without violence offered to Nature; some said, by bunches of Grapes given him to eat: some by Gloves of a poysoned perfume, given him for a Present: but these were but idle rumours and conceits: It seems the Divine Providence had ordained it should be said of him; *Hunc tantum terris ostendent Fata, nec ultra esse sinent*: whose death would have given a great blow to the happiness of this Kingdom, if there had not been another Prince left, of a milder Spirit perhaps, but so accomplished with all excellent endowments, that there could be no great want of Prince *Henry*, as long as there was left Prince *Charles*. The Corps of Prince *Henry*, who dyed at the age of eighteen years, eight months, and seventeen days, was drawn in a Chariot to the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, and there interred in the Chapel-Royal, on the seventh of *December* following.

Prince Henry falls sick, and dies.

The Count Palatine is betrothed to the Lady Elizabeth, marries her: and the solemnity of the marriage

This Accident something appalled the general joy, but yet Triumphs went on. Upon Saint *Thomas* day, the *Palsgrave* and *Grave Maurice* were elected Knights of the Garter; and the seven and twentieth of *December*, the *Palsgrave* was betrothed to the Lady *Elizabeth*. On *Sunday* the seventh of *February*, the *Palsgrave* in person was enstalled Knight of the Garter at *Windsor*, and at the same time was *Grave Maurice* enstalled by his Deputy, Count *Lodowick* of *Nassaw*. On the fourteenth of *February*, being *Shrove-Sunday*, and Saint *Valentines* day, this happy marriage of the *Palsgrave* with the Lady *Elizabeth* was solemnized in the Chappel at *White-hall*: The Bride was led to Church by two Batchelors, her Brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton* Lord Privy Seal: she was attired all in white, having a rich Crown of Gold upon her head, her hair hanging down at length, curiously beset with Pearls and precious Stones, her Train supported by twelve young Ladies in white Garments: The King gave her in marriage, the Archbishop of *Caterbury* married them, the Bishop of *Bathe* and *Wells* preached the Bridal Sermon: which ended, the Bride was led home by two married men, the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral. This marriage was solemnized the first night with a stately Masque of Lords and Ladies: the second night with a magnificent Masque of the

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the *Middle-Temple*, and *Lincolns-Inne*: The third night with a sumptuous Masque of the Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple*, and *Grayes-Inn*, provided indeed then, but was not performed till *Saturday* night following, by reason the concourse of people was so great, it would have hindred the Show. After this, the Lord Major and Aldermen gave the Bride a Chain of Oriental Pearl, valued at two thousand pounds: now when all things had been done for honouring their Marriage, which either love and observance could devise, or art and magnificence could perform, on the tenth of *April* the Bridegroom with his Bride took leave of the King and the Queen at *Rochester*, (who had by Barge conducted them thither) and there taking Ship on the nine and twentieth of *April* they arrived at *Flushing*; from whence the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Viscount *Lisle*, and the Lord *Harington* waited upon them to their chief City of *Heydelburg*, in all places as they passed being received with all state and magnificence: but then on the fourteenth of *June*, the *English* Lords returning home, the Lord *Harington* died by the way at *Wormes*, whose Corps was brought over, and buried in *England*.

They take their leave and depart.

And here it will not be amiss, to shew of what extent and largeness the *Palsgrave*'s Country is, because of the iniquity of some that seek to disgrace it. It is in length about two hundred *English* miles, taking the lower and upper Country. In the lower he hath six and twenty walled Towns, besides an infinite number of fair Villages, and two and twenty Houses of residence. In the upper, not so many walled Towns, and Houses, but those that are, generally fairer than in the lower, especially *Amberg* and *New-market*.

The extent and largeness of the *Palsgraves* Country.

But it is now time to look home; in the year 1609, the King having care for the quietness of *Ireland*, had granted to the City of *London* the present possession and Plantation in the Province of *Ulster*: whereupon, afterward in the year 1612, they sent thither about three hundred persons, of all sorts of handy-crafts men, chiefly to inhabit the two Cities of *London-Derry* and *Coleraine*: where they ordained Alderman *Cockain* for the first Governour. And for their advancing of this, or the like Plantation in *Ireland*, King *James* about this time began a new Order of Knights, which are called Baronets, because they take place next to Barons younger Sons; and he appointed certain Laws, to make them capable that should be admitted. First, that they should maintain the number of thirty foot Souldiers in *Ireland* for three years, after the rate of eight pence a day, and to pay the wages of one whole year, upon the passing of their Patent: Then that they should be Gentlemen of Blood of three Descents; and lastly, should have land of Inheritance, in possession or immediate Reversion, to the value of a thousand pounds *per annum*: And to keep the Order from swarming, he stinted it within the number of only 200, and as the issue should fail the Order to cease. But he that will look how well the end of the Institution, and the Laws of it have been observed, shall perhaps find it to be here, as it was in the order of St. *Michael* in *France*, into which at first there were none admitted, but Princes and eminent Persons: but afterwards, all sorts of men, without any difference, were admitted, that it came almost to be doubted, whether the dignity of the Order did more grace the persons, or the meanness of the persons disgrace the Order: and indeed, when the Laws of an Institution are not in some measure observed, it seems to make a kind of nullity in the collation.

The order of Baronets erected: and why.

About this time, on Sunday the 24th of *October*, an exemplar penance was imposed upon Sir *Peckall Brockas* Knight, which was to stand at *Pauls* Cross in a white sheet, holding a stick in his hand, having been formerly convicted before the high Commissioners, for many notorious Adulteries with divers Women.

Sir Peckall Brockas stands in a white sheet at Pauls and why.

This year 1614, in the month of *July*, *Christianus* King of *Denmark*, (out of his love to his Sister and King *James*) came the second time into *England*; but as being now secure of himself, privately, and with a small company, so as he came to the Queen at *Somerset* House unexpected, and before any knowledge was had of his coming; but King *James* being then in Progress in *Bedfordshire*, and hearing of it, came presently back, and after he had entertained him here with Hunting, Hawking, running at Ring, Bear-baiting, Plays, Fire-works, and Fencing, on the first of *August* Prince *Charles* brought him aboard his Ship, who then took his leave, and returned home.

Christianus King of Denmark comes the second time into England, and how entertained.

In *October*, this year, was a call of Serjeants at Law, being 11 in number, namely, *George Wilde*, *William Towes*, *Richard Bawtry*, *Henry Finch*, *Thomas Chamberlain*, *Francis Moore*, *Thomas Atow*, *John Moore*, *Francis Harvey*, *Charles Chilburn*, *and Thomas Richardson*; and in *Trinity* Term before there had been two other called, namely, Sir *Randall Crew* of *Lincolns-Inn*, and Sir *Robert Hitchan* of *Grayes-Inn*, Knights.

Act 1 of Serjeants at Law.

About this time an Embassador came from the young Emperor of *Russia* to King *James*, desiring his continual love and amity, and to be a means of making atonement between him and the King of *Swedeland*, and withall presented him with a rich Present of Furs: which was no small honour to the King of great *Britain* to have so great a Potentate as the Emperour of *Russia* solicite him to be his mediator.

Though King *James* out of a natural goodness was addicted to peace, yet out of providence he neglected not to be prepared for War, and thereupon in the year 1610, had granted priviledges to a Society called of the *Military* Garden, and this year 1614, caused a Muster of Men to be presented before him; which was performed to his great liking, and to the great commendation of the City.

The Military Garden first erected.

About this time a memorable Act was performed by Mr. *Hugh Middleton*, Citizen and Goldsmith of *London*, and born in *Denbighshire*, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrant, with infinite cost and indefatigable labour, brought Water to the City of *London*, from the two great Springs of *Chadwell* and *Amwell* in *Hertfordshire*; having cut a Channel from thence to a place near *Islington*, whither he conveyed it to a large Pond, and from thence in Pipes of young Elms to all places of the City; for as the Poet saith:

Water brought to London from Chadwell in Hertfordshire by Sir Hugh Middleton.

Agues

Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ.

Nothing is so commodious for the life of man, as water.

Moorfields made into Walks.

Another memorable act was about this time done on the North side of *London*, called *Moorfields*, which being before environed with deep stinking Ditches and noysome common Shoars, was now, not only made fair and sweet, but so levelled into Walks and set with Trees, that it is the pleasantest place in all the City.

1615.

Smithfield first paved all over.

The next year being 1615, another memorable act for the benefit and beauty of the City of *London*, was performed; for *Smithfield* which was before a rude dirty place, was now paved all over, and strong rails sequestring the middle part of it, were set up to make it a fair walking place, and fit for Market or any other use.

The Lady Arbella secretly marries Mr. William Seymour.

She dies in the Tower.

The Lady *Arbella* a near Kinswoman of the Kings, had sometimes before, without the Kings privity, secretly married Master *William Seymour*, younger Son of the Earl of *Hertford*, now Earl of *Hertford* himself; for which they were both committed to the Tower: and now this year on the seven and twentieth day of *September* she endeth her life there, and was buried in the Chapel Royal at *Westminster*.

This year also in *July* were enstalled Knights of the Garter *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, Sir *George Villers* Master of the Horse, and Sir *Robert Sidney* Viscount *Lisle*; and in another kind of Honour the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Carews* and Doctor *Andrews* Bishop of *Ely*, were sworn Privy Counsellours.

Prince Charles is created Prince of Wales.

Wales by the death of Prince *Henry*, had been a good while without a Prince, and now to supply that place Prince *Charles* is created Prince of *Wales*; In joy whereof, the Town of *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*, and City of *London*, performed great Triumphs: and the more to honour his Creation, there were made five and twenty Knights of the Bath; all of them Lords or Barons sons: and yet more to honour it, there were forty selected Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court*, that performed solemn Justs at Barryers, with great magnificence.

Sir Edward Coke, the Lord Egerton, and Sir Henry Yelverton, put from their places.

This year was a Censure of divers great Delinquents; for first Sir *Edward Coke* was upon displeasure discharged from being Lord *Chief Justice of the Kings Bench*; and two days after his discharge, Sir *Henry Montague* the Kings Serjeant at Law, was placed in his room: Next to him the Lord *Egerton*, whether disabled by sickness or age, to exercise the place, or upon displeasure also, had the Seal taken from him, which was delivered to Sir *Francis Bacon* the Kings Attorney; he made first Lord Keeper; and the Lord *Egerton*, dying soon after, Lord Chancellor. Not long after him Sir *Henry Yelverton* the Kings Attorney, for adding new Priviledges to the *Londoners* Charter, without the Kings privity, was in displeasure put from his place; and in his room was placed Sir *Thomas Coventry*, the Solicitor. But a while after, Sir *Henry Yelverton*, was made a puisny Judge of the Common-Pleas; having indeed the reputation of an excellent Lawyer.

And yet this work of Censuring stayed not here; for much about this time *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk* Lord Treasurer of *England*, had the staff of his Office taken from him; which was soon after delivered to Sir *Henry Montague*, Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench. If Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative Court, had made a little more haste, he might have made one in this number of Delinquents: but he came short three or four years, and then being charged by his own servant with bribery, he was put from his place, and censured in the Star-Chamber to pay twenty thousand pounds: and in his room was placed *William Byrde* a man of more integrity.

Sir John Bennet Judge of the Prerogative Court out from his place, and why.

The King makes a Journey into Scotland, where he stayes six months.

Though King *James* upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, came to reside in *England*, yet he forgot not that *Scotland* was his native Country; and therefore after he had spent some years in *England*, to acquaint himself with the State of the Kingdom, in *March* this year one thousand six hundred and sixteenth, he made a Journey into *Scotland*: for though he had left very able men to sit at the Helm there in his absence, yet he knew that it is the Masters Eye that makes the Horse fat: so it is the Princes presence sometimes that keeps out many distempers in a State, that would otherwise creep in; and now, when in his staying six Months there, he had seen all things well seiled both in the Ecclesiastical State, and in the Temporal, and made it appear that he resided not in *England* out of any neglect of *Scotland*; but to the end he might be in the place of most conveniency to both Kingdoms: on the fifteenth of *September* he returned to *London*, not more to the grief of the *Scots* to leave him, than to the joy of the *English* to receive him; so much was King *James* as a just and wise Prince, beloved of both the Nations.

1617.

The 15th of *February* 1617, in the Fifteenth year of this King, *Francis Ashley* of the Middle Temple *London* Esquire, where he had been Reader the year before, was by a Writ called to be Serjeant at Law, *eo tempore solus Serviens ad legem electus*, and the fifth of *July* following was Knighted, and about that time was Steward of the Marshalsey of the Kings house, and by King *Charles*, the fifth of *May*, in the first year of his Reign, was by Letters Patents made one of the Kings Serjeants at Law, and so continued unto his death, which happened by the will of God the 28th of *November*, 1635, at Serjeants-Inne in *Fleetstreet*, and was Recorder of *Dorchester* in *Dorsetshire*, where together with his Lady in the great Church he lies Involted: leaving *Dorothy* his only Daughter and Heir (by the Lady *Anne* his wife, the eldest Daughter and Coheir of *Barnard Samwayes* of *Wynterborne St. Martyn* in the County of *Dorset* Esquire) married unto the Honourable *Denzell Holles* Esquire, whose only issue is *Francis Holles* of *Wynterborn St. Martyn* aforesaid Esquire.

Afterwards Baron Ifield.

Afterwards Sir Francis Holles Baronet.

Sir Walter Raleigh set at liberty to fetch Gold from Guyana.

Now comes to be related a matter of special observation; Sir *Walter Raleigh* had lived a condemned man many years in the Tower, and now his Destiny brought him to his end by liberty, which it could not do by imprisonment; for out of a longing for liberty, he propounded a project to the King, upon which (as he was a well spoken man, and of a great capacity) he set such colours of probability; especially gilding it over with the Gold he would fetch from a Mine in *Guyana*; and that without any wrong at all to the King of

Spain (if he might be allowed to go the Journey) that the King, if he gave not credit that he could perform it, at least gave way that he should undertake it: and thereupon with divers Ships, accompanied with many Knights and Gentlemen of Quality, he set forward on the Voyage; but when after long search or shew of search, no such place of Treasure, or no such Treasure could be found, whether it were, that he thought it a shame to return home with doing nothing: or that his *malusGenius* thrust him upon the Design, he fell upon Saint *Thome*, a Town belonging to the King of *Spain*; sacked it, pillaged it, and burnt it: and here was the first part of his Tragical Voyage acted, in the death of his eldest Son: the last part was acted in his own death at his return: For *Gundamore* the *Spanish* Lieger, did so aggavate this fact of his to the King, against him, that it seemed nothing would give satisfaction but *Raleigh's* head, without which he doubted there would follow a breach of the League between the two Nations. *Raleigh* excused it, by saying that he was urged to it by the *Spaniards* first assaulting of him; and besides, that he could not come at the Myne, without winning this Town: but *Gundamore* was too strong an Adversary for him; and the King preferring the publique Peace, before the life of one man, already condemned, gave way to have the Sentence of his former Condemnation executed upon him; and thereupon, brought to the *Kings-Bench* Bar, he was not newly Arraigned or Indicted, as being already *Mortuus in Lege*, but only hath the former sentence averred against him, and so carried to the Gatehouse, and from thence the next morning to the Parliament Yard: a Scaffold was there erected, upon which after fourteen years reprival, his head was cut off: at which time, such abundance of blood issued from his veins, that shewed he had stock of Nature enough left to have continued him many years in life, though now above threescore years old, if it had not been taken away by the hands of Violence.

He sacks and pillageth the Town of St. Thome.

This fact Gundamore aggravateth against him.

For which he is beheaded.

And this was the end of the great Sir *Walter Raleigh*: great sometimes in the favour of Queen *Elizabeth*, and next to *Drake* the great scourge and hate of the *Spaniard*, who had many things to be commended in his life; but none more, than his constancy in his death, which he took with so undaunted a resolution, that one might perceive he had a certain expectation of a better life after it: so far he was from holding those Atheistical opinions; an aspersion whereof some traducing persons had cast upon him.

The King makes a Progress to Cambridge; where he stayes three days.

About this time King *James* made a progress to the University of *Cambridge*, where delighted with the Disputations and other Scholastical exercises, he stayed three whole days, and could have been content to have stayed as many years: for next being a King, he was made to be a Scholar.

1619. *An. Reg.* 17 Queen *Anne* dies.

In the year 1619, being the seventeenth year of King *James* his reign, that knot of love which above twenty years had been tyed, between him and his Queen, was by death dissolved; for on Tuesday this year the second of *March*, Queen *Anne* died at *Hampton* Court, whose Corps was brought to *Denmark* house, and from thence conveyed to *Westminster*: where in the Royal Chapel with great solemnity it was interred: a Princess very memorable for her vertue, and not a little for her Fortune, who besides being a Queen, was so happy as to be Mother of such admired Children, as she brought into the World. But the dissolving of this knot cast the King into an extream sickness; and after some recovery, into a Relapse: from which notwithstanding, it pleased God to deliver him, as having yet some great work to do.

This year on Munday the third of *May*, one Mr. *Williams* a Barrester of the Middle Temple, was araigned at the Kings Bench, for libelling, and for writing Books against the King: and upon Wednesday following was hanged and quartred at *Charing-Cross*.

Bernard Calvert his speedy Journey from *London* to *Calice*, and back again in one day.

But an action of another nature was performed this year, the seventeenth of *July*, not unworthy the relating, which was this: that one *Bernard Calvert* of *Andover*, rode from St. *Georges* Church in *Southwark* to *Dover*, from thence passed by Barge to *Calice* in *France*, and from thence returned back to Saint *Georges* Church the same day, setting out about three a clock in the morning, and returned about eight a clock in the Evening, fresh and lusty.

1621.

Sir Giles Mompesson is sentenced to be degraded, and why.

In the year 1621, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*; wherein two great examples of Justice were shewed; which for future terrour are not unfit to be here related: One upon Sir *Gyles Montpesson*, a Gentleman otherwise of good parts; but for practising sundry abuses in erecting and setting up new Inns and Alehouses, and exacting great sums of money of people, by pretence of Letters Patents granted to him for that purpose, was sentenced to be degraded, and disabled to bear any office in the Common-wealth, though he avoided the execution by flying the land; but upon Sir *Francis Michell*, a Justice of Peace of *Middlesex*, and one of the chief Agents, the sentence of Degradation was executed, and he made to ride with his face to the Horse tail through the City of *London*. The other example was of Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount St. *Albans*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, who for bribery was put from his place, and committed to the Tower: but after some few days enlarged, in whose place, Doctor *Williams* Dean of *Westminster* was made Lord Keeper.

Sir Francis Michell is degraded, and in what manner.

Sir Francis Bacon Lord Chancellor put from his Place for Bribery.

The Count *Palatine* being now strengthened with the alliance of the King of Great *Britain*, was thought a fit man to be King of *Bohemia*, and accordingly was elected by the States of that Kingdom; but he was no sooner invested in the Crown, but the Emperor with great Forces assaulted him in *Prague*, and not only drove him with his wife and children from thence, but took from him also his own Patrimony the *Palatinate*, so as though now a King, he was fain to fly to the States of the Low-Countries for a place of residence. King *James* though he had never given his consent to the *Palsgraves* taking upon him that Kingdom, as fore-seeing in his great judgment what the event would be: yet in this distress he could not forbear to take care of his Daughter; and thereupon sent Sir *Richard Weston*, the same that was after Lord Treasurer, in Embassage to the Emperor, to solicite the restoring of the *Palatinate* to the *Palsgrave*; but he returning without success, the K. had then conference with Count

The *Palsgrave* in chosen King of *Bohemia*, but is soon driven out, and his *Palatinate* seized on.

Gundamore

The King hath Conference with Gondomar how the Palatinate might be restored.

Gondomar advises by making a marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and the Infanta of *Spain*.

Gondomar the King of *Spain*'s Leiger in *England*, what course might be taken to procure the restoring it: who made him answer, There could be no better course than to make a marriage between his son the Prince of *Wales*, and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, which he said would easily be effected, if the Prince might have leave to make a Journey into *Spain*. King *James* though he considered the inveterate grudges between *Spain* and *England*, and how dangerous it might be to put the Heir of the Kingdom into the *Spaniards* hands, yet grounding himself upon a saying, *Fidelem si putaveris, facies:* and drawn on by the insinuating speeches of Count *Gondomar*, not perhaps without some inclination in the Marques of *Buckingham*, was contented at last the Prince should go.

How upon the Prince is sent into *Spain*, and how accompanied.

And so Prince *Charles* sending his Ships about, and taking along with him only the Marques of *Buckingham* (who in the time of his being in *Spain* was created Duke of *Buckingham*) *Endymion Porter*, and Mr. *Francis Cottington*; (two that were well acquainted with the language and affairs of *Spain*) he took his journey by the way of *France*, went to *Paris*, and secretly in disguise to the Court there, where he had the sight of that Lady, that might well have stayed him from going further, but yet on he went.

Gondomar gets much money of Ladies, by persuading them of the certainty of the Match.

In the mean time *Gondomar* a cunning man, and one that besides his Master's had ends of his own, and could play his game no less for his own profit than his Master's Honour, as he had perswaded the King of the facility of the Match with *Spain*, so he perswaded a certainty of it, especially among Catholick Ladies, by which means he brought no small store of Grist to his own Mill, receiving from one Lady three hundred pounds to be made Groom of the Stool, when the *Spanish* Princess should come; of another a good round sum to be Mother of the Maids, and of divers other the like for other places.

The Princes entertainment in *Spain*.

But the Prince being arrived in *Spain*, was received indeed with all the demonstrations of love and kindness that could be devised, so as the charge of his entertainment was said to stand the King of *Spain* in nine and forty thousand Duckets: but yet his acquaintance with the Lady was much restrained; for in all the time of his staying in *Spain*, (which was no less than eight Months, being from *February* to *October*) he saw her but very seldom, and that at good distances, never spake with her but twice, and that before company, besides that his speeches were limited, how much and what he should say, far from any means of tying the Knot between them which was pretended.

What hindred the proceeding of the Match.

What the cause should be was much in obscurity; some thought that a difference between the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Count *Olivares*, the King of *Spain*'s great Favorite, was a great hinderance of the proceeding: but others, and more likely, that the *Spaniard* indeed never really intended the Match at all, but had drawn the Prince into *Spain* for other ends: but what those ends were, was no less uncertain; one thought it was done to hold the Prince in a Treaty of marriage with a Daughter of *Spain*, till the Daughter of *France* should be bestowed, thereby to keep him from that Alliance: but others and more likely, that the King of *Spain* entertained this Treaty with the King of *Great Britain*, meaning to spin it out till he had compassed some designs in the *Low-Countries*, and the *Palatinate*, at least to make King *James* less vigilant for those parts.

The King sends for the Prince to return home.

But when much time had been spent in protracting, upon pretence of difficulties in obtaining the Popes dispensation, King *James* partly wearied with delay, but chiefly angry with delusion, sent to the Prince, with all speed to return into *England*, which the Prince presently signified to the King of *Spain*, and had his leave to depart; but upon promise to continue the Treaty of the marriage still. Though it was said, the Prince was gone but a few dates on his Journey, when a Post was sent to have stayed him, if he had been overtaken. But whether it was so or no, it was God's Providence that he came safely to his Ships, and in them safely into *England*; arriving at *Portsmouth* where he was beheld of the people, with no less gladness, than the Sun after a long Eclipse: and now his safe returning did both justifie King *James* his judgement in suffering him to go, and the King of *Spain*'s justice, in suffering him to come back: and was cause, that the people began to have a better opinion of the *Spanish* faith, than they had before.

The King breaks off all Treaty of the Match, and why.

But now it presently breaks out, that this Match with *Spain* could never take effect: for King *James* having received Declarations of the Articles touching the Marriage, found very many strict and large for exercise of the Catholick Religion: but none at all for restitution of the *Palatinate*; which made him so much discontented, that he presently brake off all Treaty of the marriage, and signified as much, not only to the King of *Spain*, but to divers other Princes of Christendom: Upon which breach two great Points were presently had in consultation: One for preparing Forces, for recovering the *Palatinate* by way of Arms, which could not be done by way of friendship: and for this purpose, a Council of War was called, and a proposition resolved on both of men and money, for undertaking the enterprise: as also a great contribution by way of benevolence was collected; towards which, the compiler of this work, gave himself fifty pounds: as many other far greater summs, though the Collection went not through the whole Land; by reason there was hope given of a peaceable reconcilement: so as many that were not over-hasty in their payment escaped without contributing at all.

A consultation had to recover the *Palatinate* by Arms.

The other point was for providing a fit Wife for the Prince, in some other place. It was said the States of *Holland* offered a very great portion in marriage to the Prince, if he would Match with some Lady of that Country, but Matches are made in Heaven, and there was a young Lady of *France* destined to his bed: and for this purpose, the Earl of *Carlile*, and the Earl of *Holland* were sent into *France*, to treat of a marriage with the younger Daughter of King *Henry* the fourth, King of *France* deceased, and Sister to the present King *Lewis*; which marriage afterward took effect, but was not accomplished in King *James* his dates, who died soon after the agreement.

A Treaty of Marriage with a younger daughter of the King of *France*, which afterwards took effect.

1622.

It was now the year 1623. in which in *Michaelmas* Term, there was a Call of fifteen Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast in the Middle Temple Hall.

A Call of fifteen Serjeants at Law.

Two things in this Kings daies grew to lose their Lustre One, the exercise of Tilting; which in Queen *Elizabeths* time, was so much used, that no year passed without a special solemnity in that kind. The other, the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners and Yeomen of the Guard: which in her time consisted of the choicest persons both for stature and other good parts throughout the Realm; and was so great a grace to her Court, that no Prince of Christendom could shew the like: but King *James* was so intentive to Realities, that he little regarded Shews: and thereby both these in his time came utterly to be neglected: No solemnity of Arms but very rare, no regard had what persons were admitted into the other places.

We may here observe, how the Sirname of the Kings of *England*, hath at sundry times been changed. From *William* the Conquerour, to King *Henry* the second, what sirname they had or whether they had any or no, is most uncertain; but then King *Henry* the second brought in the *French* sirname of *Plantagenet*: which continued in all the succeeding Kings, till King *Henry* the seventh; and he brought in the *Welch* sirname of *Teuther*, which continued the sirname of all the succeeding Princes, till King *James* the sixth of *Scotland*: and he brought in the *Scottish* sirname of *Steward*: in which it is likely to continue, (and God grant it may do so) to the worlds end.

Some passages of small moment I confess are omitted by me in this Reign of King James, *as whereof for want of knowing the particulars, I dare not venture upon making the Relation: which if some men would have done, the Truth of our Chronicles should not have been mingled with so many falsities.*

Of his Taxations.

The Customs of Merchandise raised.

IN his second year, in the month of *September*, he sent Privy Seals to the wealthiest Citizens of *London*, for moneys to be borrowed of them: and in *October* following, the Customs of Merchandises, both outward and inward were raised, and then were letten out to Farm. In a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the third year of his Reign, there were given him three entire Subsidies, and six Fifteens by the Temporality, and by the Clergy four entire Subsidies. This year also *Henry* Lord *Mordant*, convicted in the Star-Chamber, for divers misprisions was fined to pay ten thousand Marks, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton* for the like offence to pay thirty thousand pounds, and some years after Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative-Court was fined to pay twenty thousand pounds. In his fourth year he repayed threescore thousand pounds to the Citizens of *London*, which the *Londoners* lent to Queen *Elizabeth*, three years before her death; an act by which he got more love, than he payed money. In his seventh year, he had aid throughout *England*, for making his eldest Son Prince *Henry* Knight: which though they levyed with great moderation, brought him in great summs of money. In his eighteenth year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the Temporality gave him two Subsidies, and the Clergy three: and in another Parliament, in the year 1623. the Temporality gave him three Subsidies, and three Fifteens; the Clergy four Subsidies. Besides these Subsidies he sent abroad many Great Privy Seals, and had also a Benevolence throughout the Realm: not without some grudging, but without any just cause; for it should have been remembred, that he took it not of covetousness to gather wealth, but out of very necessity to supply wants: For by his imploying many Embassadours in Ordinary, many Extraordinary, by his necessary bounty to his followers, and by his charge of keeping several Courts; none of all which he could avoid: his Expences were far greater than any of his Predecessours had ever been.

Privy Seals sent out, and also a Benevolence.

The cause of the Kings great Expences.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

THE day of his removing from the *Charter-House*, at his first coming into *England*, he caused Proclamation to be made, That all Monopolies and Protections should cease; as likewise all oppressions done by Salt-Peter-men, by Purveyors and Carters. On the 26th of *May* following he set forth a Proclamation, restraining all persons under great penalties from killing of Deer, or any kind of Fowl used for Hawking. The seventh of *May*, Proclamation was made against Robberies on the Borders: and on the nineteenth of *May*, another for uniting the people inhabiting about the Borders of *England* and *Scotland*, to live in love and quietness. In this first year, in a Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, That neither Arch-bishop, nor Bishop should Alienante, Grant, or Demise, or in any sort convey to the King, his Heirs or Successours, any of the Honours, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, being parcel of the possession of his Arch-bishop- or Bishoprick: or if any were, it should be utterly void, and of no effect, notwithstanding any former Law, Act, or Ordinance to the contrary. He then also caused himself by Proclamation to be entitled King of *Great Britain*, that the division of *England* and *Scotland* might be no more remembred. In his second year, by his Letters Patents he incorporated the Felt-makers of *London*, by the name of Masters, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Art or Mysterie of the Felt-makers, granting them divers Priviledges and Liberties, for the good Government of their Corporation. In *November*, of his second year, were proclaimed in *London* certain new pieces of Coyn, both of gold and silver, with the true valuation and weights of them, according to the Mint of both Nations, *English* and *Scottish*. In a Parliament holden the third year of his Reign, the Oath of Allegiance was devised and ordained, and soon after ministred to all sorts of people.

Killing of Deer, or Fowl restrained.

No Bishop to alienate any Lands, not to the King himself.

He is entitled King of *Great Britain*.

The Felt-makers made a Corporation.

The Oath of Allegiance first devised and ordained.

This year also he made Proclamation to redress the mis-imployment of Lands, or Goods given to Charitable uses. Also this year, he set forth a Proclamation for bearing of Flags in Ships to be in this manner, that from thenceforth all the Subjects of *Great Britain* should bear in their main-top, the *Red Cross* commonly called St. *George's Cross*, and the *White Cross*, commonly called St. *Andrew's Cross*, joined together, and the Subjects of *South Britain* should carry in their Fore-top only the *Red Cross* as they were wont;

Flags how to be born in Ships.

wont; and the Subjects of *North Britain* only the *White Croſs*. In his fourth year on the tenth of *June* he ſet forth a Proclamation, commanding all Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts and Fryers to depart the Realm before the firſt of *Auguſt* following; and never to return upon pain of death, according to divers Statutes in that behalf provided. In his ſecond year he had ſet forth a Proclamation againſt Inmates and increaſe of new buildings, which being little regarded, now in his fourth year he renewed the ſaid Proclamation, adding withal, That the Fore-fronts and Windows of all new buildings ſhould be either of Brick or Stone; for diſobeying whereof, many were called in the Star-Chamber, and there fined. In his fifth year, he gave order for planting of Mulberry Trees, and breeding of Silk-Worms, that *England* might be a Country as well of Silk as Cloth. In his eleventh year, he inſtituted the Order of the Baronets, which hath much degenerated ſince his inſtitution, and thereby having been deviſed for the benefit of *Ireland*, hath cauſed but little contentment unto *England*. This year alſo the King himſelf in Perſon came to the Star-Chamber, where he had appointed the Mint-men to meet, and there, for the better keeping of Coyns of Gold within the Realm, he raiſed the prices of them; ordaining the piece called the Unity, which went before but for twenty ſhillings, to be current now for two and twenty, the double Crown and all other pieces to increaſe in the like proportion. In his fifteenth year, he granted to the Apothecaries of *London* to be a Corporation for themſelves, and their ſucceſſours for ever; and by Letters Patents made them a Body Politick, and Corporate. In his time by his appointment a ſtrict Decree paſſed in the Star-Chamber againſt Duels and ſingle Combats, and a ſtrict Law was made in Parliament againſt ſtabbing with a Dagger or Knife, making it to be wilful Murther.

Inmates forbidden, and new Buildings reſtrained.

The Fore-fronts to be made of Bricks.

An Order for planting of Mulberry Trees for increaſe of Silk-worms.

Coyns of Gold raiſed.

The Apothecaries made a Corporation.

Duels and ſingle Combats reſtrained.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

A Conference in matters of Religion is held before the King at *Hampton-Court*, and how the matter proceeded.

THE King as a Religious Prince, deſiring nothing ſo much as to ſettle Peace in the Church, and hearing of ſome diſſention of his Divines in point of Religion, in the very firſt year of his Reign, appointed a Conference to be holden before himſelf at *Hampton-Court*, to which were called divers Biſhops, Deans and Doctors of one ſide; and of the other, four eminent Divines; namely, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Sparks*, Mr. *Knewſtabs*, and Mr. *Chadderton*: who all meeting before the King the 14th day of *January*: The King firſt ſignified the cauſe of his calling them together, and then told them he was there ready to hear what they could object or ſay againſt the preſent Government of the Church: whereupon Dr. *Reynolds* being their Fore-man, reduced all matters diſliked, or queſtioned, into theſe four Heads.

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preſerved in purity, according to Gods Word.

2. That good Paſtors might be planted in all Churches to preach the ſame.

3. That the Church-Government might be ſincerely adminiſtred, according to the Word of God.

5. That the Book of Common-Prayer might be fitted to more increaſe of Piety.

Out of theſe Heads, he drew and moved divers Points: One, that Confirmation might not be by Biſhops only, but that every Paſtor in his Pariſh might Confirm: But this was thought to trench too much upon the Juriſdictions of Biſhops, and to be a ſtep to bring in a Presbyterian Government, which the King much diſliked; and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* challenged Dr. *Reynolds* with all his Learning to ſhew, where ever he had read, that Confirmation was at all uſed in ancient times, by any other than by Biſhops. Another motion of Dr. *Reynolds* was, That there might be a new Tranſlation of the Bible, becauſe the preſent Tranſlations were corrupt, and not anſwerable to the truth of the Original; whereof he alledged divers Examples; particularly that in the 105 *Pſal.* 28. v. where it is ſaid, *They were not Obedient*, when in the Original it is, *They were not Diſobedient*: To this it was agreed, That a new Tranſlation ſhould be made: and accordingly ſoon after was performed by the moſt Learned Divines of the Kingdom; and is that, which is now uſed. After many other Points moved by Dr. *Reynolds*, he came at laſt to ſubſcription: Intreating it might not be exacted, as heretofore; which many good men refuſed for theſe reaſons: Firſt, becauſe the Apocryphal Books are by the Common-Prayer-Book appointed to be read; albeit in ſome of them there are manifeſt errors, directly repugnant to the Scriptures. To this, the King himſelf anſwered, That as he would not with all Canonical Books to be read in the Church, unleſs there were one to interpret; ſo he would wiſh no Apocryphal to be read, wherein was any error: but for the other which were clear and correſpondent to the Scriptures, he would have them read; ſeeing there was good uſe of them, to make up the ſtory of the Perſecution of the Jews; but withal he would have the people be taught, they were not to teach a man, either to ſacrifice to the dead, or to kill himſelf. The next ſcruple againſt ſubſcription was, That in the Common-Prayer-Book it is twice ſet down, *Jeſus ſaid to his Diſciples*, when by the Original Text it is plain, *He ſpake to the Phariſees*. To which it is anſwered, That for any thing could be gathered by the place, he might ſpeak as well to the one as to the other: But the King for more plainneſs ſake, willed, That the word *Diſciples*, ſhould be omitted, and only the words, *Jeſus ſaid*, to be Printed in a different letter, that it might appear to be no part of the Text.

Another ſcuple was, concerning the Croſs in Baptiſm, which Dr. *Reynolds* confeſſed to have ever been uſed ſince the Apoſtles time, at going abroad, or entring into the Church, or at their Prayers and Benedictions; but doubted of the ancient uſe of it in Baptiſm: to which the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* anſwered, that in *Conſtantine*'s time it was uſed in Baptiſm, and the Dean of *Weſtminſter* ſhewed out of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, and others, that in their time it was uſed *in Immortali lavacro*, which could be nothing but Baptiſm: and this the King judged to be antiquity enough to warrant the continuance of it ſtill. At laſt Mr. *Knewſtabs* moved how far an Ordinance of the Church was to bind them, without impeachment of their Chriſtian liberty; At which the King ſeemed much mov'd, and told him,

Concerning the Croſs in Baptiſm.

him he would not argue that point with him, but answer therein as Kings are wont to speak in Parliament *Le Roy's aviſera*; and therefore I charge you (ſaid he) never ſpeak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey, when the Church hath once ordained it. Dr. *Reynolds* added; that the Croſs ſhould be abandoned, becauſe in the time of Popery it had been ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed. To which his Majeſty anſwered, That his very reaſon was an inducement to have it retained ſtill: For in as much as it was abuſed (ſo you ſay) to ſuperſtition in time of Popery, it doth plainly imply, that it was well uſed before Popery.

Concerning the Wearing of the Surplice.

The next thing objected, was the wearing of the Surplice: to which the King anſwered, That ſeeing it appeared out of Antiquity, that in the celebration of Divine Service, a different habit appertained to the Miniſtry, and principally of white Linnen; he ſaw no reaſon, but that in this Church as it had been for comelineſs and order ſake, it might be ſtill continued.

Laſt of all, Mr. *Chadderton*, and Mr. *Knewſtabs* requeſted, That in regard of ſome tender Conſciences, the Surplice and Croſs in Baptiſm might not be urged: To which the King himſelf anſwered, If after the Goſpels preaching five and forty years amongſt you, there be any yet in theſe points unſatisfied, I doubt it proceeds rather out of ſtubbornneſs of opinion, than out of tenderneſs of Conſcience; and therefore let them conform themſelves, or elſe they ſhall hear further of it.

Concerning the Ring in Marriage, and Biſhops.

It was now obſerved, that in all their Objections, there was not a word ſpoken againſt Biſhops, nor againſt the Ring in Marriage; for D. *Reynolds* himſelf confeſſed that the Ring was a very meer ceremony; and the King affirmed he ſhould not think himſelf rightly married, if he had not been married with a Ring: And as for Biſhops, he declared himſelf to be verily perſwaded, they were *Divinæ Ordinationis*, and moſt neceſſary to Monarchy; and would often ſay, *No Biſhop, no King*. Many other points were handled, as about Predeſtination Abſolution and Remiſſion of ſins, Baptizing by women, about the words in Marriage, *With my body I thee Worſhip*, the Oath *Ex officio*, the high Commiſſion and ſome other: in all which the King gave ſo good ſatisfaction, that they all jointly promiſed to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be his mind to have it ſo: and the King was ſo admired for his excellent Reſolutions and Anſwers, that the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid, undoubtedly his Majeſty ſpake by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit. After this Conference, the King in his ſecond year ſet forth a Proclamation, to confirm the Eccleſiaſtical Government, and the Book of Common-Prayer, in the Form and eſtate as Queen *Elizabeth* left them.

The Book of Common-Prayer confirmed by the King.

After this he ſent divers learned Divines into *Scotland*, to have a Conference with the Divines there; and if it might be, to reduce the two Kingdoms to an uniformity of Religion, as he brought them to an union of Poſſeſſion. And now entring into conſideration of this Title, of being *Defender of the Faith*: he conceived it might extend not only to his own Dominions, but in ſome ſort to Neighbouring Countries: if not in Authority, at leaſt in care: and hereupon hearing that the States of the *Low-Countries* were determined to entertain one *Vorſtius* to be publick Profeſſor of Divinity in *Leyden*, and knowing him, though otherwiſe a learned man, yet tainted with many erroneous opinions, concerning the Eſſence and Subſtance of God, making him to be *Quale & quantum*, changing Eternity into Evitternity: teaching Eternity to conſiſt of a number of Ages, and denying God to be *Purus actus*, but to have in ſome ſort *aliquid Diverſitatis, & Multiplicitatis in ſeipſo; etiam Principium cujuſdam mutabilitatis*: He earneſtly ſolicited the States, both by his own Letters, and by his Leiger, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by no means to admit the ſaid *Vorſtius* into that place; leſt his doctrine having once infected their Country might ſoon after ſpread it ſelf into his Dominions. Which requeſt of his, after much ſoliciting, the States at length granted, and expelled *Vorſtius* from amongſt them.

The King ſolicites the States of the Low-Countries not to admit *Vorſtius*; and why.

At this time a Synod was aſſembled at *Dort* in *Holland*, conſiſting of learned Divines, ſent from the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, from *Haſſia*, from *Switzerland*, from the Church of *Geneva*, from *Bern*, *Embden*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friezeland*, and other Provinces; Some alſo ſent from *England*, as namely, *George* Biſhop of *Landaffe*, *John Davenant* Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, *Samuel Ward* Maſter of *Sidney* Colledge in *Cambridge*, *Thomas Good* Doctor of Divinity, and *Walter Belcanquell* a *Scottiſh*-man Batchelor of Divinity: Which Synod was Aſſembled to examine and determine the Doctrine of *Arminius*; firſt concerning Gods Predeſtination, Election, and Reprobation; then concerning Chriſt's death and Man's redemption by it; then concerning mans corruption and converſion to God; then concerning the perſeverance of the Saints. In all which points the doctrine of *Arminius* was rejected, as alſo of *Vorſtius*, and the true Doctrine by a general conſent, together with the Approbation of the Lords the States; which yet the Papiſts made ſo little reckoning of, that one of them in ſcorn, made Echo to cenſure it in this Diſtich:

A Synod held at *Dort* to examine the errors of *Arminius*, to which Synod many *Engliſh* Divines went.

Dodraci Synodus? Nodus, Chorus integer? (ager,
Conventus? Ventus, Seſſio Stramen? Amen.

But who knows not, that ill-will never ſpeaks well, and that nothing is ſo obvious in the mouth of an adverſary, as ſcandals and invectives.

In the year 1616. *Mar. Antonius de Dominis*, Archbiſhop of *Spalato*, in the Territory of *Venice*, came into *England*, leaving his Country (as he affirmed) for Religion; whereof he ſet forth in writing many Reaſons, and being thereupon entertained by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, was afterward made Dean of *Windſor*, and Maſter of the *Savoy*; in which time he preached publickly divers times before divers Lords of the Council, Printed in *London* the firſt four of his Ten Books, Intituled, *Of the Common-wealth of the Church*: wherein with great earneſtneſs he maintained the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Proteſtants: But after all this, whether all he had done was but diſſembling from the beginning, or whether out of remorſe of conſcience he repented him of that he had done: after five years ſtaying here, he retracted all he had ſaid or written before: which ſo incenſed King *James*, that he commanded him (within three daies at his peril) to depart the Realm;

Antonius de Dominis Arch-biſhop of *Spalato* comes into *England*, and ſets forth Books for the Proteſtant Religion.

After five years ſtay here he recalled all, and went to *Rome*, but died there in Priſon.

Realm; who thereupon went to *Rome*, and there inveighed as bitterly against the Proteſtants, as he had done in *England* againſt the Papiſts; hoping at leaſt for Pardon, if not for Preferment: but notwithſtanding his Recantation, according to the Law of the Inquiſition (having once Revolted, though now Returned) he ſuffered the death of an Heretick, though not the ſhame; had the puniſhment of a Martyr, but not the honour; and was publickly burnt at *Rome*, yet not burnt alive, but dying in priſon and then buried, it is ſaid his body was afterwards taken up & burned.

In the Kings tenth year, two obſtinate *Arian* Hereticks, *Bartholomew Legat*, and *Edw. Wightman*, were burnt for Hereſie, *Legat* in *Smithfield*, and *Wightman* at *Lichfield*.

The Trade holding divers Judaical Opinions is cenſured, and after three years recants.

In his ſixteenth year, one *John Trask* a pretended Miniſter, was Cenſured in the *Star-chamber*, for depraving the Eccleſiaſtical Government, and for holding divers Judaical Opinions; as, that it was not lawful to do any thing forbidden in the old Law, nor to keep the Chriſtian Sabbath; for which he was ſet on the Pillory at *Weſtminſter*, and from thence whipt to the *Fleet*, and there to remain priſoner: but three years after he writ a Recantation of all his former Hereſies and Schiſmatical Opinions.

George Abbot Archbiſhop of Canterbury by misfortune killing a man, is cenſured.

In this Kings time, *George Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being a hunting in a Park, and ſhooting at a Deer; his Arrow by miſchance glaunced and kill'd a man: upon which fact it was much debated, whether by it he were not become irregular, and ought to be deprived of his Archiepiſcopal Function, as having his hands imbrued (though againſt his will) in blood: but *Andrews* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſtanding much in his defence as likewiſe Sir *Henry Martin*, the Kings advocate, gave ſuch reaſons in mitigation of the Fact, that he was cleared from all imputation of crime; and thereupon adjudged Regular, and in ſtate to continue his Archiepiſcopal charge: yet himſelf (out of a religious tenderneſs of mind) kept the day of the year, in which the miſchance happen'd, with a ſolemn Faſt, all his life after.

Works of Piety done by this King, or by others in his time.

STructure of Piety King *James* made none at all, nor many of magnificence, only the great Banquetting Houſe at *White-Hall*, a wall of Brick about his Park at *Greenwich*, another at *Theobalds*, and ſome little buildings at *Royſton*, and ſuch like. His greateſt charity was expreſſed by largeſſes and Penſions: as firſt were the Gentlemen of his Chapel, being 35 in number, had each of them but 30 pounds a year fee, he made it up 40. Then he enlarged the Penſions of his Alms Knights of *Windſor*, being 13 in number, from twelve pence a day to two ſhillings. Then as he encreaſed the number of the Yeomen of the Guard, from ſevenſcore to two hundred, ſo he encreaſed their Penſions from two ſhillings a day for three months in the Summer, to ſeven groats a day for ſix months in the Summer. Then, whereas at his coming, he found but only four Judges in each Court of Law at *Weſtminſter*, he addeth a fifth, with the like allowance as the former had; beſides many other Penſions of like nature. But the works of Piety done by others in his time, were very many, whereof we may juſtly ſet in the firſt place, the repairing of *Pauls* Church, begun in his time, though not finiſhed till many years after; a work of as great coſt and labour, as the firſt founding of it: towards the furtherance whereof though many well devoted perſons contributed liberally, yet none was more induſtrious, than the Learned Doctor *Laud*, firſt Biſhop of *London*, and after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who alſo was a bountiful Benefactor to the Colledge of Saint *Johns* in *Oxford*, where he had his Education. Next to him his Predeceſſor next before him, the worthy *George Abbot*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, founded a fair Almes-houſe at *Guilford* in *Surry* where he was born, as likewiſe *Robert* the ſecond Earl of *Dorſet*, founded another in *Suſſex*; to the maintenance whereof, he gave Lands to the value of three hundred pounds a year. But of all the Almes-houſes that ever were founded in Chriſtendom, there is none I think can parallel that of *Thomas Sutton*, Eſquire. This man born at *Snayth* in *Lincolnſhire*, having always lived a Batchelor, and by ſundry imployments, and parſimony, being grown to great wealth, bought of the right Honourable *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, his Manſion houſe, called the *Charter-houſe*, near to *Smithfield* in *London*, and out of a pious mind converted it into an Almes-houſe, by the name of *Suttons* Hoſpital, endowing the ſame with above three thouſand pounds of yearly rent: wherein are maintained fourſcore poor men, with convenient lodging, diet and allowance of money for apparel: alſo forty poor children with the like proviſion, and a Grammar-School, with a Maſter and Uſher to teach them: over all whom, he ordained a Learned man to be Maſter of the houſehold, and to be choſen by the Governours, whom he appointed for the preſent, by the Authority of the Kings Letters Patents, to be *George* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Elſemere* Lord Chancellor, *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury* Lord Treaſurer, *John* Biſhop of *London*, *Lancelot* Biſhop of *Ely*, Sir *Edward Cook* Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, Sir *Thomas Foſter*, a Judge of the *Common-Pleas*, Sir *Henry Hubbard* the Kings Attorney-General, Doctor *Overall* Dean of *Pauls*, Doctor *Mountain* Dean of *Weſtminſter*, *Henry Thursby* Eſquire, Maſter of the *Chancery*, *Richard Sutton* Eſquire, Auditor of the Impreſts, *Jeffery Nightingall* Eſquire, *John Low* Gentleman, *Thomas Brown* Gentleman, and Maſter of the Houſhold for the time being, to be always one: and as any of theſe ſixteen Governours ſhould die, the Survivors to make preſent addition of others. Next to this was a fair Colledge in *Oxford* founded by *Nicholas Wilbe* Eſquire, and called after his name. About this time alſo *Edward Allen* of *Dulwich* in *Surrey* founded a fair Hoſpital at *Dulwich* for ſix poor men, and ſix poor women, and for twelve poor Children, from the age of four or ſix years, to be there maintained and taught till the age of fourteen or ſixteen, and to have a School-maſter with dyet, and a convenient ſtipend. This man may be an example, who having gotten his wealth by Stage-playing, converted it to this Pious uſe, not without a kind of reputation to the Society of Players. In this Kings time alſo *William Cambden* King of Arms, founded an Hiſtory Profeſſor in *Oxford*, to which he gave the Mannor of *Boxley* in *Kent*, which ſome years

The number of the Yeomen of the Guard encreaſed, and alſo their pay.

Five Judges in every Court.

The repairing of Pauls Church begun.

Sutton Hoſpital founded.

An Hoſpital founded at Dulwich by Edward Allen ſometimes a Player.

A Hiſtory Profeſſor in Oxford erected, and by whom.

years expired, will be worth four hundred pounds a year. In his tenth year Sir *Baptiſt Hicks*, one of the Juſtices of Peace in *Middleſex*, who was afterwards made Viſcount *Cambden*, built a fair Seſſions-houſe of Brick and Stone in St. *Johns*-ſtreet, which by the Juſtices was called after his name *Hicks*, a great convenience for the Juſtices, who ſate before in a common Inn called the Caſtle. He alſo founded a fair Hoſpital of Free-ſtone, at *Cambridge* in *Glouceſterſhire*, for ſix men and ſix women, allowing each of them a yearly Gown, and two ſhillings ſix pence a week, with two Rooms and a Garden. In this Kings time, *George Paiyn* Citizen and Grocer of *London*, gave to good uſes, three thouſand and ſix hundred pounds, whereof twelve hundred pounds to the two Univerſities, nine hundred pounds for an Alms-houſe, and a certain ſum of money to buy two Bells, and make a Chyme in *Bow-Church*. Alſo *Thomas Teaſdale* of *Glympton* in the County of *Oxford* Gentleman, gave five thouſand pounds to purchaſe Lands for perpetual maintenance of ſeven Fellows, and ſix Scholars, to be placed at *Baliol* in *Oxford*, and to be choſen thither from time to time, out of the Free School of *Abbington* in *Berkſhire*, to which School he alſo gave Lands for the maintenance of an Uſher. In this Kings time alſo, Sir *Marmaduke Darrell*, being Lord of *Fulmer*, being a Town in *Buckinghamſhire*, where was an old ruinous Church, ſtanding a mile diſtant from the Town, pulled down that old Church, and at his own charge builded a fair new one in the Town, and furniſhed it with a Font, a Pulpit, and all Ornaments neceſſary. Alſo *Thomas Watſon* of *Halſtead*, in the County of *Kent* Eſquire, new builded a fair Chapel on the North ſide of the Pariſh Church of *Halſtead*, of Free-ſtone from the ground, and gave to the Church four new Bells, and two Pulpits. In his time alſo Doctor *Aylmer* Biſhop of *London*, and *Elizabeth* Counteſs Dowager of *Shrewsbury*, gave certain ſums of money towards the better maintenance of Sermons at *Pauls* Croſs: As likewiſe *Thomas Ruſſell* Draper gave ten pounds a year for ever, to be given to unbeneficed Miniſters, that ſhould preach there; and to the ſame uſe, *George Biſhop* Stationer of *London*, gave ten pounds a year more. In this Kings time alſo, the Citizens of *London* new builded *Aldgate*, where pulling down the old Gate, they found many ancient *Roman* Coyns. *John Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, founded a fair Alms-houſe in *Croydon*.

Hicks-hall in St. *Johns* ſtreet built, and by whom.

Aldgate in *London* new builded.

On the fifteenth of *June*, 1614. died *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, who built from the ground a houſe near *Charing-Croſs*; and dying, was buried in the antient Chapel of *Dover* Caſtle, who in his life-time founded three fair Hoſpitals, and endowed them with large maintenance for ever, one at *Riſing* in *Norfolk* for twelve poor women and a Governeſs, a ſecond at *Clun* in *Shropſhire*, for twelve poor men and a Governor: The third at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, for a Governour and twenty poor Alms-men. In this Kings time alſo, Maſter *Robert Dows* of *London* Merchant-Taylor, gave a competent maintenance for ever unto *Sepulchers* Pariſh for the tolling of the great Bell, and for finding ſome Divine to come to the Priſon of *Newgate*, the midnight before Execution, and there to ring a hand Bell, and to put the priſoners in mind of their approaching death, with a Chriſtian remembrance and exhortation; and the next morning to toll the great Bell from ſix a clock till ten, and then to ring it out when the Execution ſhould be paſt. He alſo eſtabliſhed a free ſinging School in Chriſts Hoſpital for the better education of the poor children there: beſides many other good deeds of Alms. About the ſame time *Robert Peake* of *London* Goldſmith, gave to *Sepulchers* Church a Communion-Table of two yards long, and three quarters and a half broad, richly gilded over, and at every corner imboſt with plates of ſilver. In this Kings fourteenth year, *William Jones* of *London* Merchant, gave about eight thouſand pounds to found a Free School in *Wales*, where he was born, with Alms-houſes and Penſioners in *London*, and a hundred pounds a year for ever to a learned Preacher in *London*, ordaining all things to be ordered by the Company of Haberdaſhers whereof himſelf was free. This year alſo the old ruinous Gate called *Alderſgate*, was taken quite down, and new builded from the foundation, towards the building whereof, *William Parker*, Merchant-Taylor of *London*, gave a thouſand pounds. In this Kings time alſo, was erected a Building near *Chelſey*, with a purpoſe to be a Colledge for Divines to ſtudy the Controverſies of Religion, but upon ſecond thoughts, the Cage indeed ſtands finiſhed, but no Birds have ever yet been brought to ſing in it; and perhaps never will. If any other deeds of Alms, or publick benefits were done in this Kings time, as perhaps there were many, the Reader may be pleaſed both here and in other King Reigns, to add them, as he meets with them: for partly to this end, I have digeſted this Cronicle into ſuch ſeveral Heads and Chapters.

Henry Earl of *Northampton* dies, who founded three Hoſpitals, and more.

Alderſgate in *London* new builded, and by whom.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

In his firſt year, on the ſeven and twentieth of *April*, thirteen perſons were ſlain by misfortune with Gun-powder, at the Gunpowder Mill in *Redriffe*, and much other hurt done in divers places. This year alſo, the Plague in *London* was ſo great, that from the three and twentieth of *December* 1602, to the two and twentieth of *December* following, there died in *London*, and the Liberties, eight and thirty thouſand, two hundred and four and forty, where of of the Plague thirty thouſand, five hundred threeſcore and eighteen, of them in one week three thouſand fourſcore and ten, where the next year after, though the City were increaſed with great number of ſtrangers, yet there died that year of all diſeaſes, within *London* and the Liberties, but only four thouſand two hundred threeſcore and threeperſons. In the ſecond year of his Reign, a ſtrange accident happened, to the terrour of all bloody Murtherers, which was this; one *Anne Waters* enticed by a Lover of hers conſented to have her huſband ſtrangled, and then buried him ſecretly under the dung-hill in a Cow-houſe; whereupon the man being miſſing by his neighbours, and the Wife making ſhew of a wondering what was become of him; It pleaſed God, that one of the Inhabitants of the Town dreamed one night, that his

A great Plague in *London*.

A Murther diſcovered by a Dream.

1624.

his neighbour *Waters* was ſtrangled, and buried under the dung-hill in a Cow-houſe; and upon declaring his dream, ſearch being made by the Conſtable, the dead body was found as he had dreamed: and thereupon the wife was apprehended, and upon examination, confeſſing the fact was burned. And now what hope can murtherers have of being concealed, when they are ſubject to be diſcovered by any mans dream? The 19th of *January* in his third year, a great *Porpus* was taken at *Weſtham*, in a ſmall Creek, a mile and a half within the Land, and within a few days after a Whale came up within eight miles of *London*, whoſe body was ſeen divers times above water, and judged to exceed the length of the largeſt Ship in the River: But when ſhe taſted the freſh water, and ſcented the Land, ſhe returned into the Sea. In his fourth year, being the year 1607, a mighty Weſt wind brought in the Sea into the River of *Severn*, with ſuch violence, that in ſome places of *Somerſetſhire* and *Glouceſterſhire*, the Waters in divers Towns and Villages, grew higher than the tops of their houſes; ſo as (notwithſtanding all courſes that could be taken) there were drowned in *Somerſetſhire* 80 perſons, and damages done to the value of twenty thouſand pounds. At *Coventry* alſo the ſeventh of *April*, ſo ſudden a flood came into the Suburbs and City, that in one hour it roſe in ſome places above three yards in height, to the great Damage and hurt of many; and that which is as much ſtrange, as it ſuddenly came, ſo it ſuddenly abated: ſo as in four hours and a half, it both came and went away. In his 6th year being 1609, a Froſt began in *December*, which continued till *April* following with ſuch violence, that not only the *Thames* was ſo frozen, that Carts loaden were driven over it as on dry land, but many Fowls and Birds periſhed, as alſo much herbage in gardens, eſpecially Artichocks and Roſemary were deſtroyed. This year alſo the 11th of *April* a Malt-houſe in the Town of St. *Edmondsbury*, being by chance ſet on fire, continued burning till it had conſumed 160 houſes: but by the Kings bountifulneſs, (giving 500 loads of Timber) and the City of *Londons* relief, the Town was forthwith new builded, in a fairer manner than it was before. In the year 1613, on the ſeventeenth of *April* in the Pariſh of *Standiſh* in *Lancaſhire*, a Maden-child was born, having four legs, four arms, two bellies joyned to one back: one head with two faces, the one before, the other behind, like the Picture of *Janus*.

A Porpus taken, and a Whale ſeen near *London*.

A great Inundation in *Somerſetſhire* and *Glouceſterſhire*.

A Froſt that continued from *December* till *April*.

A monſtrous child born.

This year alſo the 26th of *June*, in the Pariſh of *Chriſts Church* in *Hampſhire*, one *John Hitchel*, a Carpenter, lying in bed with his wife and a young Child by them, was himſelf and the child both burn'd to death with a ſudden lightning, no fire appearing outwardly upon him, and yet lay burning for the ſpace of almoſt three dayes till he was quite conſumed to aſhes. This year alſo on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, the Town of *Dorcheſter* was quite conſumed with Fire, begun in the houſe of a Tallow-Chandler, deſtroying all the houſes, except a few near the Church, and all their wares and goods, to the value of two hundred thouſand pounds, yet not any man or woman periſhed. About the ſame time alſo the Play-houſe called the Globe upon the Bank-ſide near *London*, was quite conſumed with fire by diſcharging a piece of Ordnance, and yet no man hurt: and about four years after, a new built Play-houſe, near Golding-lane called the *Fortune*, was by negligence of a Candle, clean burnt down to the ground. In the year 1614, the Town of *Stratford* upon *Avon*, was burned. And leſt the water ſhould be behind in doing of miſchief, ſo great Inundations were at this time in *Norfolk* and *Lincolnſhire*, that the Sea entred twelve miles into the Land. In the year 1612, on the 18 of *November* a blazing Star began to be ſeen in the South-eaſt about five a clock in the morning, the flame or ſtream whereof enclined towards the Weſt. This Comet, in the opinion of Dr. *Bembridge*, the great Mathematician of *Oxford*, was as far above the Moon, as the Moon is above the Earth: what it portended is only known to God; but the ſequel of it was, that infinite ſlaughters and devaſtations followed upon it, both in *Germany* and other Countries. In the year 1623, on Friday the 24 of *October*, a *Roman* Catholick Prieſt preached in the afternoon, at *Hunſdon*-houſe in the *Black friers* in *London*, in an upper chamber, where there were aſſembled above 300 men and women, when about the middle of the Sermon, a great part of the Floor brake, and fell down with ſuch violence, that it brake down the next Floor under it: in the fall whereof were ſlain the Preacher, and almoſt 100 of his Auditors, beſides as many more hurt. In this Kings time courſe paper commonly called white brown Paper was firſt made in *England*, ſpecially in *Surrey*, and about *Windſor*.

1624. Two Play-houſes burnt.

A blazing Star ſeen.

White brown Paper firſt made in *England*.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Anne*, the Daughter of *Frederick* the ſecond, King of *Denmark*, whoſe marriage was there ſolemnized in the year 1589. By whom he had born in *Scotland*, two Sons, *Henry* who died before him, and *Charles* who ſucceeded him in the Crown; and one Daughter named *Elizabeth*, married to *Frederick* the fifth of that name, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*, by whom ſhe had many children, both Sons and Daughters. King *James* had alſo by his Wife Queen *Anne* two other Daughters born in *England*, the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Sophia*, who both died young, the Lady *Mary* at about three years old, the Lady *Sophia* the next day after ſhe was born; and were both of them buried with great ſolemnity, in the Chapel-Royal at *Weſtminſter*.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was of Stature ſomewhat higher than ordinary, of a well compacted body, of an auburn hair, of a full and pleaſing viſage; in his later days inclining to be fat and burly; of bodily exerciſes, he took moſt delight in hunting; which yet (ſome thought) he uſed rather as a retiring himſelf from the importunity of State-affairs, than for any great pleaſure he took in it. It is ſaid, that he had ſuch a faſhion in riding, that it could not ſo properly be ſaid he rid, as that his Horſe carried him; for he made but little uſe of his Bridle, and would ſay, a Horſe never ſtumbled, but when he was reined. He was of an admirable

A man and his child lying in bed burned to death with Lightning.

1624. His promptness in expressing his mind. His Learning specified in Divinity.

mirable pregnancy of wit, and that pregnancy much improved by continual study from his childhood: by which he had gotten such a promptness in expressing his mind, that his extemporal speeches were little inferior to his premeditated writings. Many, no doubt, had read as much, and perhaps more than he, but scarce ever any concocted his reading into Judgment as he did: by which he became so judicious, that though he could not Prophecy, yet he could presage; and his conjectures were little less than Oracles. In all the Liberal Sciences, he was (we may say) a Master of Arts: but in Divinity, a Doctor, as he made it appear in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, and is seen still by the learned writings he hath left behind him. And as for that part of the Politicks, which concerns Monarchy, *Regere Imperio populos*, which himself used to call King-craft: In this he excelled. He knew how to take the inclinations of the people at their first bound, and never suffer them to rise higher than he could well reach them: nor to grow stronger, than he could either alter or divert them. He would be sure to keep his Subjects in a temper of contentment; which if he could not do by preventives, he would by lenitives. He was so wise that he could dissemble without seeming a Dissembler: be free in opening his mind, and yet keep Counsel. He was a provident Pilot, that in a calm would provide for a storm: and you should never find him committing the fault of *Non putâram*. He was both *Marti & Mercurio*; but not *tam Marti, quam Mercurio*, as being of his temper who said, *Cedant Arma Togæ*: and indeed seeing Peace is the end of both, it were not wisdom to seek it by Arms, if it may be had by the Gown, as it is in the *Aphorism*, *Consilio omnia experiri prius quam Armis sapientem decet*. That which was bounty in him being a King, would have been frugality, if he had been a private person, there being of both one radical reason. Of all the Moral vertues, he was eminent for chastity; in which the Poet seems to include all vertue: where he saith,

His wisdom.

His Chastity.

Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen.

By *nulli casto*, meaning no vertuous person; it was a manifest argument of his being an excellent Prince, that coming next to the admirable Queen *Elizabeth*, which was in a manner to compare them together, yet there appeared no inequality, that it might not untruly be said, King *James* was but the continuation of Queen *Elizabeth*, the same vertue, though different sexes: And now to express his Character in a Word, which worthily might be matter for many volumes: He was to his Wife a most loyal Husband, to his children a most loving Father, to his Servants a most bountiful Master, to his Subjects a most just Prince, to all Princes near him a most peaceable neighbour; that more justly it may be said of him, than of whom it was said; *Quæ te tam læta tulerunt sæcula?* a Prince after *Plato*'s own heart, for his Learning, and which is infinitely more worth, after God own heart, for his Religiousness and Piety.

Of his Death and Burial.

1625. OF his death were many scandalous rumours spread; and some were so impudent, as to write that he was poysoned, as the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marquess *Hamilton* had been before: but King *James* being dead, and his body opened, there was found no sign at all of poyson, his inward parts being all sound, but that his Spleen was a little faulty, which might be cause enough to cast him into an Ague: the ordinary high way, especially in old bodies, to a natural death: of this Ague after a Months languishing, notwithstanding all the remedies that could be applied, he departed this life at *Theobalds*, on the 27th of *March*, in the year 1625, in the 59th of his age, when he had Reigned two and twenty years compleat; His body for the greater State, was conveyed by Torch-light from *Theobalds* to *Denmark* house, where having rested from the 23d of *April*, to the 7th of *May*, it was carried to *Westminster*, and there interred in the Chapel Royal, with great solemnity, but with greater lamentation: there being scarce any of the infinite multitude that was present, of whom it might not be said,

1625.

Multa gemens, largoque humectat flumine vultum

Men of Note in his time.

MIlitary Men of Note, in a time of Peace, as the whole Reign of King *James* was, we have no reason to expect; yet if we look amongst the Voluntaries that went to the School of War in the *Low-Countries*; we shall find a pair of brothers, that may stand in comparison with the greatest Souldiers in the most Martial times, Sir *Francis Vere*, who as another *Hannibal*, with his one eye, could see more in the Martial Discipline, than common men can do with two; and Sir *Horatio Vere*, who was another *Philopœmen*, contained in a very little body, a very great both skill and courage. But for men of Note in learning, as being in the time of a most learned Prince, there was never greater store; of whom these for example. In Curiousness of Preaching, there was Doctor *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester*: who hath left to posterity, a Century of such golden Sermons, that shews, he as well deserved the name of *Chrysostom*, as he that had it. In multiplicity of reading, there was Doctor *Reynolds* of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*; who seemed, as it were, a Living Library; and one would have thought his Memory to be a perfect *Index* of all the Books had ever been written. In knowledge of Law, there was Sir *Edward Coke*, Chief Justice of the Kings Bench; who hath written such excellent Commentaries of the Law, that he seems as another *Bartholus* or *Baldus* amongst us. In elegancy of *Writing*, there was Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount *Albans*, who besides his profounder Books of *Novum Organum*, hath written the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, in so sweet a style, that like *Manna*, it pleaseth the taste of all palates. In the skill of Antiquities, there was *William Cambden*, King at Arms; who hath set forth the Description of *Britain*, and the life of Queen *Elizabeth* in so lively colours, that he seems to have brought *Britain* out of darkness into light, and to keep Queen *Elizabeth* alive after death. And to speak it in a word, the *Trojan* Horse was not fuller of Heroick *Grecians*, than King *James* his Reign was full of men excellent in all kinds of Learning. And here I desire the Readers leave to remember two of my own old aquaintance, the

Two eminent Souldiers, Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *Horatio Vere*.

Two eminent Scholars, Dr. *Andrews*, and Dr. *Reynolds*.

Two eminent Lawyers, Sir *Edward Coke* and Sir *Francis Bacon*.

Two eminent Wits, Dr. *Donne*, and Sir *Henry Wotton*.

the one was Mr. *John Donne*, who leaving *Oxford*, lived at the *Innes of Courts*, not dissolute, but very neat; a great Visiter of Ladies, a great frequenter of Playes, a great Writer of conceited Verses; until such time as King *James* taking notice of the pregnancy of his Wit, was a means that he betook him to the study of Divinity, and thereupon proceeding Doctor, was made Dean of *Pauls*; and became so rare a Preacher, that he was not only commended, but even admired by all that heard him. The other was *Henry Wotton*, (mine old acquaintance also, as having been fellow-Pupils, and Chamber-fellows in *Oxford* divers years together.) This Gentleman was imployed by King *James* in Embassage to *Venice*; and indeed the Kingdom afforded not a fitter man, for matching the Capriciousness of the *Italian* Wits: a man of so able dexterity with his Pen, that he hath done himself much wrong, and the Kingdom more, in leaving no more of his Writings behind him.

Of the English *Plantations in the* Indies, *that were in King* JAMES *his Time.*

AND now we are come to a time, wherein we may very near say as much of King *James* as was said of *Augustus Cæsar*; *Super & Garamantas & Indos proferre Imperium.* In this better, that where *Augustus* did it by the violent way of Arms, King *James* did it by the civil way of Plantations: for in his dayes began the great Plantation of the *English* in the *Indies*; and must be acknowledged the proper effect of his peaceable Government. The first Plantation of the *English* in the *Indies*, was that which is now called *Virginia*, in memory of the Virgin Queen *Elizabeth*: but called before *Wingandacoa*. It was first discovered by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in the year 1584; to whom the first Letters Patents were granted for making a Plantation there: but yet no Colony was sent thither, till the year 1606. It is a Country in *America*, between the degrees of 34 and 45 of the North Latitude: but that part of it which is planted by the *English*, is under the Degrees of 37, 38, and 39. It is no Island, as many have imagined, but a part of the Continent adjoyning to *Florida*. The first and chief Town made here by the *English*, is called *James Town*, in honour of the Kings most excellent Majesty. It is a Countrey abounding with all sorts of Fish and Fowl; so fruitful, that it yields thirty, and sometimes forty Bushels of Corn upon an Acre; and that (which is to us more strange) hath three harvests in a year, the Corn being sowed, ripe and reaped, in little more than two months. Many Plantations had been attempted here before, but came to nothing: the first to any purpose was in the year 1607, under the Conduct of Captain *Gosnoll*, *John Smith*, and Mr. *Edward Maria Winkfield*, who carried a Colony thither of a hundred persons; but of these, many dying of sickness, or slain by the Savages, a new supply came in the year 1608, of a hundred and twenty persons, under the conduct of Captain *Nilson*. After which, was sent another supply of threescore and ten persons; and in the year 1609, a third supply came of five hundred persons, under a Patent granted to Sir *Thomas West*, Lord *de la Ware*, but conducted thither by Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and others. In the year 1611, was a fourth supply of three hundred men under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Gates*. In the year 1612, two other supplies were sent of forty men in each, and now was the Lottery spoken of before granted by the King, for further Supplies of this Plantation. After this Master *Samuel Argall* being appointed Governour in the year 1618. the Lord *de la Ware* came thither with a supply of two hundred people; but in his stay there died: After this in the year 1620, were sent thither eleven Ships, with twelve hundred and sixteen persons, and now they founded themselves into Corporations: In the year 1621, Sir *Francis Wiat* was sent thither Governour, with thirteen hundred men, women, and children, and now they founded Schools, and Courts of Justice; and the Plantation was extended a hundred and forty miles up, on the River of both sides. But now when the *English* were secure and thought of nothing but peace, the Savages came suddenly upon them, and slew of them three hundred and seven and forty men, women, and children. For repairing of which loss, the City of *London* sent presently over a supply of a hundred men. This massacre happened, by reason they had built their Plantations remote from one another, in above thirty several places, which made them now upon consultation, to reduce them all to five or six places, whereby they may better assist each other: since which time they have alwayes lived in good security. And thus much for *Virginia*.

The first Plantation of *Virginia*: and what Country it is and abounding with what Commodities.

Upon their security, 300 of them slain by the Savages.

Next was the Plantation of the Island called *Bermudas*, so called of a *Spanish* Ship, called *Bermudas*, which was there cast away, carrying Hogs to the *West-Indies*, that swam ashoar, and there increased. The first *English* man that entred this Isle, was one *Henry May* in the year 1591. but in the year 1610, Sir *George Somers* was sent thither, who dying there, in memory of his name, the Isles have ever since been called *Somers Isles*. In the year 1612, one Mr. *Moor* landed there with 60 persons, and then builded the chief Town there called S. *Georges*, together with 8 or 9 Forts. The same year a supply of 30 more persons was sent thither, and the year after 60 more, under one Mr. *Barlet*; with a shew to survey the Land; but with a purpose indeed to get from thence a great lump of *Ambergrise*, and no less than 80 pound weight that had been found and taken up in the Island some few years before, and was still retained. A while after this, came a Ship called the *Blessing*, with 100 passengers; and two days after came the *Star*, with 180 more; and within 14 dayes after that again came thither the *Margaret* and two Frigats, with 130 passengers: So as now they began to divide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into shares. In the year 1616, Captain *Daniel Tuckard* was sent from *Virginia* to be Governour there, and now it began indeed to be a Plantation; for now they began to build them Houses: and now was sent from thence into *England*, a Ship fraighted with 30000 weight of Tobacco, valued there but at 2 s. 6 d. the pound, though sold here oftentimes for *Verino's* at great rates. In the year 1619, Captain *Nathanael*

The Plantation of the Bermudas: why called *Somers Isles*.

Ambergrise in great quantity found in the Island.

Butler was ſent Governour with new Supplies, in whoſe time they built them a Church; held Aſſizes for Criminal cauſes, twice a year, and began to have Parliaments as in *England*: and now in the Ship called the *Magazin*, came divers Gentlemen of good faſhion, with their Wives and Families: ſo as now their number was no fewer than fifteen hundred people, diſperſed twenty miles in length. In the year 1622, came Governour Mr. *John Bernard*, bringing with him a ſupply of 140 perſons; but he and his wife dying preſently upon their coming, Mr. *John Harriſon* in the year 1623, was choſen Governour. Theſe Iſles of *Bermudas* are in 32 degrees of Northern latitude: ſo as they are diſtant from *Virginia* at leaſt 500 Leagues, and from *England* above three thouſand three hundred. This Countrey is of a moſt healthful Air, abounding with all ſorts of Fowls, Birds and Fiſh; and where great pieces of *Amber-griſe* are oftentimes found, which is valued there at no leſs than three pounds an ounce. And thus much concerning the ſtate of *Bermudas*, till the year 1624.

The Plantation of New-England: and the Commodities of the Country.

Next comes the *Plantation* of *New-England*; concerning which, we muſt firſt know, that King *James* in the year 1606, granted two Letters Patents for *Plantations* in *Virginia*, one to the City of *London*; another to the Cities of *Briſtow*, *Exceter* and *Plimouth*; with power to plant Colonies any where between the Degrees of 38 and 44, provided there ſhould be at leaſt 100 miles diſtance between the two Colonies. So as the firſt Colony was from the City of *London*, and is that which is called *Virginia*; The ſecond Colony was from *Briſtow* and the other Towns, and is that which is now called *New-England*, and is ſituate between the degrees of 41 and 45: the very mean betwixt the North Pole and the Line. And now to ſpeak a little of the Countrey, there are on the Sea Coaſt, 25 excellent good Harbours, in ſome whereof there is Anchorage for 500 ſail of Ships of any burthen. The Earth is fruitful, and the Air as healthful as any part of the World: abounding with all ſorts of Grain, Fowls and Fiſh: Many of ſuch kinds as are to us unknown, yet excellent meat: Many Voyages had been made for the perfect diſcovery of the Countrey: Many attempts for ſetling a Plantation there: Many Miſcarriages and Diſaſters in making the attempts: but all at laſt came to this, that in the year 1624, (which is the limit of our Narration) there was a Plantation ſetled, though but a ſmall one: but a few years after (by the ſending forth of new Supplies) encreaſed to ſo many thouſands, that if God continue to proſper it, as he hath begun, the *New-England* in a few Ages may prove as populous as the *Old*; and the King of *England* likely to have as many and greater Crowns in the *Indies*, than he had in his Realms of Great *Britain* and *Ireland*. But ſeeing of theſe and all other *Engliſh* Plantations in the *Indies*, whereof there are many, large diſcourſes are written by divers Authors, it ſhould be more than ſuperfluous to ſpeak more of them in this place: It is ſufficient to have ſhewed that King *James* had the honour to have them ſetled in his time, and under the influence of his peaceable Government.

Of the Earls *and* Barons *made by King* JAMES.

IN former Kings Reigns, the making of Earls and Barons was but rare, and therefore they are fitly ſet down at the ſeveral times of their making; but in King *James* his Reign, there were ſo many made, that it may not be unfit to ſet them down in a Catalogue together.

In his firſt year were made four Earls and nine Barons: namely, *Henry Howard* younger Brother of the laſt Duke of *Norfolk*, was made Earl of *Northampton*: *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurſt*, was made Earl of *Dorſet*; and ſhortly after *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, was made Earl of *Devonſhire*, and *Thomas Howard* Baron of *Walden*, was made Earl of *Suffolk*: *Henry Grey* was made Lord *Grey* of [illegible]roby, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Stanford*) *Henry Danvers* was made Baron of *Danby*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Danby*) Sir *John Peter* of *Eſſex*, was made Baron of *Wrottle*: Sir *William Ruſſel* was made Baron of *Thornaugh*: Sir *Thomas Gerard* was made Baron of *Gerard Bromley* in *Staffordſhire*: Sir *Robert Spencer* was made Baron of [illegible]ormelayton in the County of *Warwick*: Sir *Robert Egerton* was made Baron of *Elſemere*: Sir *Robert Cecill* was created Baron of *Henden* in *Rutlandſhire*; and Sir *John Harington* was made Baron of *Exon*.

In his ſecond year on the twentieth of *May* were made four Barons and one Viſcount: Sir *Robert Sidney* was made Baron of *Penhurſt*: Sir *William Knowles* Baron of *Grayes*: Sir *Edward Wotton* Baron of *Marley*: and *Maldmay Fane* Lord *de Spencer*: and in *Auguſt* the ſame year, Sir *Robert Cecill* Baron of *Eſſenden*, was created Viſcount *Cranburn*.

In his third year, on the fourth of *May*, were created three Earls, and one Viſcount, and four Barons; namely, Sir *Robert Cecill* Viſcount *Cranburn*, was created Earl of *Saliſbury*: Sir *Thomas Cecill* his elder Brother Lord *Burghley*, was created Earl of *Exceter*: and Sir *Philip Herbert* younger brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, was created Earl of *Montgomery*: *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurſt*, was created Viſcount of *Liſle*; Sir *John Stanhope* was made Baron of *Harington*; Sir *George Carew* Baron of *Clopton*; Mr. *Thomas Arundell* of *Devonſhire*, Baron of *Warder*; and Mr. *William Cavendiſh* Baron of *Hardwick*.

In his fourth year, on the fourth of *July*, Sir *Thomas Knevet* was called by Writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of *Eſtrick*, and was thereby Baron of that Title; and on the ſeventh of *September*, Sir *Jervis Clifton* was likewiſe called by Writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of *Layton Bromſenſold*, and was thereby Baron of that Title.

In his ninth year, upon *Eaſter Munday*, Sir *Robert Carre* was created Viſcount *Rocheſter*; and

In his tenth year, on the fourth of *November*, was created Earl of *Somerſet*.

In

In his eleventh year, *Lewis Steward* Duke of *Lenox* was made Earl of *Richmond*, and after Duke of *Richmond*.

In his thirteenth year, on the 29th of *June*, Sir *James Hay* of *Scotland* was created Baron of *Sawley*, and about three years after, was made Viscount *Doncaster*; and Sir *Robert Dormer* was created Baron of *Wyng*, (afterward by King *Charles* was made Earl of *Carnarvan*.)

In his fourteenth year, on the 9th of *July*, Sir *John Hollys*, Kt. was created Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton* in the County of *Nottingham*, and Sir *John Roper* of *Kent*, was made Baron of *Tenham*: and on the 17th of *August*, Sir *George Villiers* was created Baron of *Whadden*, and Viscount *Villiers*; and on the 7th of *November*, *Thomas Egerton* Lord *Elsemere* was created Viscount *Brackley*, and he dying soon after, his son *John* was created Earl of *Bridgewater*; *William* Lord *Knowles* was created Viscount *Wallingford*; and Sir *Philip Stanhope* was created Baron of *Shelford*: On the 5th of *January*, the Viscount *Villiers* was created Earl of *Buckingham*, and on the third of *March*, Sir *Edward Noell* of *Rutlandshire*, was made Baron of *Ryddington*.

In his fifteenth year, on *New-years* day, Sir *George Villiers* Earl of *Buckingham*, was created Marquess of *Buckingham*; and on the 12th of *July*, Sir *Francis Bacon* Lord Chancellor of *England*, was created Baron of *Verulam*, and not long after Viscount St. *Albans*. Also in the Summer of this year, the King created four Earls and one Countess: namely, the Viscount *Lisle* was made Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord *Compton* was made Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Rich* was made Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Cavendish* was made Earl of *Devonshire*, and the Lady *Compton*, wife to Sir *Thomas Compton*, and Mother of the Marquess of *Buckingham* was created Countess of *Buckingham*.

In his sixteenth year, on the 25th of *November*, Sir *John Digby* Vice-chamberlain to the King, was created Baron of *Sherburn*, by Patent to him and his heirs Males.

In his seventeenth year, in the month of *June*, *Esme Steward* Lord *d' Aubigny*, younger Brother to the Duke of *Lenox*, was created Earl of *March*. *James* Marquess *Hamilton* was created Earl of *Cambridge*, and Sir *John Villiers* Brother to the Marquess of *Buckingham* was created Baron of *Stock* and Viscount *Purbeck*.

In his eighteenth year, *William Cavendish* was created Viscount *Mansfield*; (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Newcastle*) and on Munday the fourth of *December*, Sir *Henry Mountague*, being first made Lord Treasurer, was created Baron of *Kimbolton*, and Viscount *Mandevile*, and not long after Earl of *Manchester*, and Sir *John Ramsey* Viscount *Haddington* of *Scotland* was created Earl of *Holderneſſe*; and *William Fielding* was created Baron of *Newhaven*, and Viscount *Fielding*.

In his nineteenth year, *Henry Cary* was made Lord *Cary* of *Leppington*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Monmouth*) Sir *Edward Montague*, elder Brother to the Viscount *Mandevile* was made Baron of *Boulton*, the Lord *Darcy* of *Essex*, was created Viscount *Colcheſter* (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Rivers*) the Lord *Hansdon* was created Viscount *Rochford*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Dover*) Sir *Lyonel Cranfield*, Master of the *Wards*, was created Baron *Cranfield* in *Bedfordshire*: and Sir *Tho. Howard* second son to *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, was created Baron of *Charleton*, and Viscount *Andover*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Berkshire*.)

In his twentieth year, in the month of *September*, the Viscount *Doncaster* was created Earl of *Carlile*, the Viscount *Fielding* was created Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Digby* was made Earl of *Bristow*, the Lord *Cranfield* was created Earl of *Middlesex*, and Sir *Henry Rich* was made Baron of *Kensington*.

In his one and twentieth year, the Marquess of *Buckingham* being then in *Spain* with Prince *Charles*, had his Parent sent him to be Duke of *Buckingham*; *William Grey* was created Baron of *Wark*. *Elizabeth* the widow of Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, was created Viscountess of *Maidstone*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Countess of *Winchelsey*.)

In his two and twentieth year, the Earl of *Clanriccard* of *Ireland*, was created Viscount *Tunbridge* in *Kent* (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of St. *Albans*) Sir *John Hollys*, Knight, Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton* was created Earl of *Clare*, Sir *Henry Rich*, Baron of *Kensington*, was created Earl of *Holland*; the Lord *Fives*, Baron of *Say* and *Seale*, was made Viscount *Say* and *Seale*: Sir *Francis Fane* was created Earl of *Westmorland*, *Oliver* Lord *St. John* of *Bletsho* was made Earl of *Bullingbrook*, Sir *Christopher Villiers*, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, was made Earl of *Anglesey*, and Sir *James Ley* was made Lord *Ley* (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Marlborough*.) Also this year, Sir *Francis Leak* was made Baron of *Deincourt*, and Sir *Richard Roberts* was made Lord *Roberts* of *Truro* in *Cornwall*.

And this was the number of all the Earls and Barons made by King *James*; but in his time also began another sort of Nobility to be made in *England*, which had none of the priviledges of *English* Barons, but had only Title to be called Lords of some place either in *England* or *Ireland*, although they possessed not a foot of Land in either: Of which sort, the number being great, I forbear to rehearse them, left I should be tedious, or otherwise be thought to encroach too much upon the Heralds Office. It is sufficient to have shewed, that King *James* advanced so many in honour, that in a kind it might be said of him, as was said of *Augustus Cæsar*, That he left *Rome* of Marble, which he found but of Brick.

Majors

Majors and Sheriffs of London *in his Reign.*

In his first year,
Sir *Thomas Bennet* was Major.
Sir *Will. Rumney*, Sir *Tho. Middleton*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir *Thomas Low* was Major.
Sir *Thomas Hayes*, Sir *Roger Jones*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Leonard Holyday* was Major.
Sir *Clement Scudamor*, Sir *John Jolles*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *John Wats* was Major.
William Walthall, *John Leman*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *Henry Row* was Major.
Geoffrey Elwes, *Nicholas Style*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *Humphrey Weld* was Major.
George Bolles, *Richard Farrington*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *Thomas Cambell* was Major.
Sebastian Harvey, *William Cockaine*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *William Craven* was Major.
Richard Pyot, *Francis Jones*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *James Pemberton* was Major.
Edward Barkham, *John Smithe*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *John Swinnerton* was Major.
Edw. Rotheram, *Alexander Prescot*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir *Thomas Middleton* was Major.
Thomas Bennet, *Henry Jaye*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir *Thomas Hayes* was Major.
Peter Proby, *Martin Lumley*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir *John Jolles* was Major.
William Goare, *John Goare*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir *John Leman* was Major.
Allen Cotton, *Cuthbert Hacket*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Sir *George Bolles* was Major.
William Holyday, *Robert Johnson*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Sir *Sebastian Harvey* was Major.
Richard Hearne, *Hugh Hamersley*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Sir *William Cockaine* was Major.
Richard Deane, *James Cambell*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir *Francis Jones* was Major:
Edward Allen, *Robert Ducie*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir *Edward Barkham* was Major.
George Whitemore, *Nicholas Rainton*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Sir *Peter Proby* was Major.
John Hodges, Sir *Humphrey Hantford*, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,
Sir *Martin Lumley* was Major.
Ralph Freeman, *Thomas Mounson*, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,
Sir *John Goare* was Major.
Rowland Heilin, *Robert Parkhurst*, Sheriffs.

The

THE REIGN OF King Charles the First.

1625. King Charles proclaimed.

KIng *James* being deceased on the 27th of *March* in the forenoon, the same day in the afternoon, *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, his only Son, then living, was proclaimed King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, with the general Acclamation of all sorts of people, as being a Prince of admirable endowments both of Mind and Body. He was now about the age of 25 years, whereof the most part of one he had spent in *Spain*; where, although he was frustrated of the end for which he went, yet it gave him a tincture of Travel and Experience, more worth, perhaps, than that he went for.

The celebration of the Funeral of King *James*.

The Funerals of the deceased King were celebrated on the seventh of *May*, his body being brought from *Somerset-House* to *Westminster*, where in St. *Peter's* Church he was with great magnificence interr'd, the King himself being principal Mourner; which though it was contrary to the custom of his Predecessors, yet he chose rather to express his Piety, in attending the Body of his Father at his Funeral, than to stand upon any old niceties and points of State.

The King and Queen espoused at *Paris*.

The first thing he did after the celebration of the Funeral, was to hasten the coming over of the Queen, to whom on Sunday the first of *May*, he was by his Proxie, the Duke of *Chevereux*, espoused at our *Ladies Church* in *Paris*; where the Espousals were performed by the Cardinal of *Richlieu*.

A while after the Queen began her journey towards *England*, accompanied to *Amiens*, with the Queen her Mother, the Duke of *Orleans* her Brother, and the Duke and Dutchess of *Chevereux*, with others of the Nobility of *France*, and she was attended by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earls of *Carlisle*, *Holland*, and *Montgomery*, and many of the English Gentry, who were sent over for that purpose.

The Queen staid for a fortnight at *Amiens*, and there she parted with her Mother; from thence she went to *Boloigne*, where a Fleet of one and twenty of the Kings Ships attended her, with the Countess of *Buckingham*, and a Noble Train of Ladies.

The Queen arrives at *Dover*.

On *Trinity Sunday*, late at night, she arrived at *Dover*, which being signified to the King (then at *Canterbury*) he went to her early the next morning, and received her with the greatest demonstrations of affection; and the same day they came to *Canterbury*, where their Nuptials were with all possible magnificence compleated, and the Duke of *Chevereux* surrendred his Royal Charge to the King. On *Wednesday* the fifteenth of *June*, they went by Coach to *Gravesend*, and the next day they came from thence to *Somerset-House* in their Royal Barges, attended with a very numerous Train of Lords and Ladies, and welcomed as they passed, by the great Ordnance from several Ships in the River, and the Tower of *London*, and accompanied or met by most of the Barges and Boats which could be found on the River of *Thames*.

The King and Queen came to *Somerset-House*.

The King's marriage declared.

The third day after their arrival, their marriage was declared at *White-hall*, with great acclamations of joy, the King and Queen presenting themselves in that Ceremony, on Royal Thrones before the Nobility: but the Pestilence began to rage in *London* at this time, which abated much of the Pomp of the Solemnity; though neither that, nor any thing else did divert the King from the Consideration of the other concernments of the Kingdom; for, having summon'd a Parliament to meet on the eighteenth of *June*; at the first assembling thereof he spake to them in these words:

My Lords and Gentlemen;

YOu are not ignorant, that at your earnest intreaty, March 24. 1623. *my Father (of happy memory) first took up Arms for the recovery of the Palatinate; for which purpose,*

by

1625. *by your assistance, he began to form a considerable Army, and to prepare a goodly* Armado *and* Navie-Royal. *But Death intervening between him and the Atchievement, the War with the Crown is devolved upon me; to the prosecution whereof, as I am obliged both in Nature and Honour, so I question not, but the same necessity continuing, you will cherish the Action with the like affection, and further it with a ready contribution. True it is, you furnished My Father with affectionate Supplies, but they held no Symmetry or Proportion with the Charge of so great an Enterprise. For those your Donatives are all disburst to a peny; and I am enforced to summon you hither, to tell you, That neither can the Army advance, nor the Fleet set forth, without further aid. Consider, I pray you, that the eyes of all* Europe *are fixt upon me, to whom I shall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to outgo Muster and Ostentation, if you now desert me. Consider it is my first attempt, wherein if I sustain a foil, it will blemish all my future Honour. If Mine cannot, let your reputation move you, deliver and expedite me fairly out of this War, wherewith you have encumbred Me. (Let it never be said whereinto you have betrayed Me.) I desire therefore your speedy supply. The Sun, you know, is entring into his declining point, so it will be soon too late to set forth, when it will be rather not too soon to return. Again, I must mind you of the Mortality regnant in this City, which should it, (as so it may, and no breach of Priviledge neither) Arrest any one Member of either House, it would soon put a period, both to the Consultation and Session, so that your own Periclitation necessitates an early resolution. In summe, Three of the best Rhetoricans,* Honour, Opportunity, *and* Safety, *are all of a Plot, and plead, you see, for Expedition. Perhaps it may be expected I should say something in way of account of My Religion, as also of the temper and tenour of my future Government. But as I hope, I have not been guilty of any thing which may justly start the least question in either, so I desire you would repose in this assurance, that I will in neither vary from those Principles, wherein I have been instituted at the feet of that eminent* Gamaliel *My late Father.*

This *Speech* was very well receiv'd, and though it did not produce so great a Supply, as the exigence of affairs required, yet the Commons gave two Subsidies without any Condition, and the Clergy three; and in the Grant of the Laity the Papists were to pay double.

The King very graciously accepted the gift, as an earnest of the good affections of his people, in reference to greater sums which he expected to follow: but the Plague encreasing in *London*, the Parliament, on the eleventy of *July*, was adjourned to *Oxford*, to be held there on the first of *August*. The Commons had sent up a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage to the Lords before the Adjournment; but because it was limited to a year, they thought it unfit to pass: for that most of the former Grants to the Kings Predecessors were for term of life. The cause of this restraint was, because the Customs had been raised by King *James*, by advice of his Council, in the eighteeneth year of his Reign, and the Commons had a purpose to reduce them to the rate setled in Queen *Maries* time. 1625.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

August the first, the Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, and in the fourth of the same Month, both Houses, by the King appointment, attended him in *Christ-Church-hall*, where he briefly acquainted them with his wants for setting out the Fleet; adding, that the eyes of the Confederates were fixt upon it.

The Commons upon their return from the King to their House, had several long Debates upon the substance of his *Speech*, and the present Condition of the Kingdom, all tending to an Arraignment of the Government. Some urged that our Necessities arose by improvidence; That the Kings designs were guided by evil Counsels, and, that though a former Parliament engaged the King in a War; yet if things were managed by contrary designs, and the Treasure misimployed, this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in designs not guided by sound Counsel; and that it was unusual to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies, before Grievances were redress'd, and before they would agree to any answer to what the King proposed (upon some jealousies that the Popish Religion was too much countenanced) they framed a Petition against Popish Recusants, which was presented to him by their *Speaker*, attended by all the House of Commons. The King seemed not displeased at this delay, and the Parliament received from him a very gracious and satisfactory answer to their Petition; nevertheless this kindness did not produce answerable effects: For, when the matters of supply came to be again debated by the Commons, great division arose, some would give, and others would not, and the majority were prevailed on by many passionates instances of mis-government, to insist on redress of Grievances before Supply, and to have a Remonstrance thereof drawn up, and presented to the King, inveighing in their Speeches against the Duke of *Buckingham*, as the chief occasion of all miscarriages in Government. Nothing more than this could shew the mutability of humane Affairs, and how little dependance is to be laid on the affections of the people; for in the last Parliament of King *James*, this Duke of *Buckingham*, against whom they now exclaimed, was extolled for the great Ornament and Honour of the English Nation, and the chief preserver of the Kingdom from the Spanish practises; nay, no Honour was thought large enough to requite his Merits. The King, from those of his Council in the House of Commons, had advice from time to time of the matter of this Remonstrance, in the debates of it, which tended chiefly to discredit the Duke, and remove him from his Counsels and Affection; but the expressions were so sharp, and the style so unusual from Subjects to their Prince, that the King determined rather to dissolve the Parliament, than admit of it; and thereupon he came to the Lords House, to put an end to it. The House of Commons were Resolved into a Grand Committee, when the Usher of the Black Rod came

The Commons debate a Remonstrance of Grievances.

to

1625. to call them up to the Lords House, in order to a Dissolution, but before they would admit the *Speaker* to resume the Chair, to sit as a House, one *Glanvill* stood up and declared the sence of the House in these words:

First, to give his Majestie thanks for His Gracious Answer to our Petition for Religion.

Glanvil declares in the Name of the House of Commons.

Next, for his care of our Health, in giving us leave to depart this dangerous time.

Lastly, a dutiful declaration of our Affection and Loyalty, and purpose to supply His Majesty in a Parliamentary way, in a fitting and convenient time.

This being done the Usher was called in, and declared his Message, and the dissolution of the Parliament immediately ensued.

Soon after this, a Proclamation was set out, to put the Laws in execution against Popish Recusants, commanding the return, by a prefixed time, of children of Noblemen and others, sent to be educated in Popish Schools, or Seminaries abroad; and all the Kings Subjects under the pay of the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Duchies who then governed the *Spanish NetherLands*, were speedily enjoyned to return to their Native Countries, to be employed in the Kings Service.

Term kept at *Reading*

The *Term*, because of the Plague in *London*, was kept at *Reading*, and special Instructions were given to the Judges, to put the Laws in execution against Recusants.

And now the War with *Spain*, for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, which was resolved on in the last year of his Fathers Reign, was vigorously prosecuted; and the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Holland* were sent Embassadours to the *United Provinces*, where they met at the *Hague* the Embassadours of *France* and *Denmark*, and concluded a League with them and the States, for restoring the Liberties of *Germany*. The King of *Denmark*, in conformity with the League, took up Arms, but was unfortunate therein, which he imputed to the Kings not performance of what was promised on his part, and that was occasioned by the Parliaments failure of supplyes of money. And for the same reason the Fleet, which should have been set out in the beginning of Summer, to attempt something on the coast of *Spain*, were not out till *October* following. In which expedition the Viscount *Wimbleton* was General of the Land Forces, and the Earl of *Essex* Vice-Admiral of the Navie.

The Fleet, with the addition of some *Dutch* Vessels, consisted of Eighty good Ships; at their first setting forth, they were encountred with so violent a Storm, that the greatest part of them were dispersed and scattered for seven days together, and a gallant Ship, called the *Long Robert* of *Ipswich*, with an hundred and seventy persons in it, were lost. After this Tempest, the Fleet met at the *Southern Cape*, where they entered into Consultation what they should attempt; the Earl of *Essex*, out of a great desire to equal the glory of his Father gotten at *Cadiz*, proposed the assailing of the Spanish Fleet, which then lay in that Harbour, but there were so many difficulties in the Enterprize, and so long time spent in the debate of it, that the whole Coast of *Spain* was thereby alarm'd, and the *Spaniards* had opportunity to prepare for their defence; so that when it was concluded, that they should sail to *Cadiz*, they landed their men there with great danger and opposition. The first place they attempted was *Puntal* Castle, under the shelter whereof the Spanish Ships rode; for the taking of which, twenty English and five Dutch Ships were ordered; but they, after the spending of two thousand great Shot against it to little purpose, came off again. This not succeeding, *Wimbleton* sent Sir *John Borroughs*, with a select Regiment of Foot, to attaque the Fort on the land side, but these, at their first appearance, were encountered by some Spanish Forces, which were drawn together for the defence of the Country, and after a sharp Engagement, they worsted the Spaniards in sight of the Castle; whereupon the Commander within it, hung out a white Flag, and after a short Parley, surrendred the place, with fifteen Barrels of Powder, and eight pieces of Ordnance; whilest this was doing, the Spaniard haled most of their best Ships, under the Port-Royal, so that Sir *Samuel Argale*, who was set to fire the Ships was disappointed of his purpose. But that which might have been very fatal herein, was the misgovernment of the Souldiers, who by the avarice, or negligence of their Commanders, were permitted to fill themselves so much with the Wine they found in the Cellers, and other places where they plundred, that they were more like to beasts than men, and if the Spaniards had had good intelligence, they might have been all cut off; for by this means they were so ungovernable, that the General fearing the consequence thereof, speedily caused them to be embarqued and left behind him the hopes only of Renown and Victory. From thence they sailed to the Southern *Cape*, where they staid twenty days, in expectation of the Plate Fleet, but by the inclemency of the Air, and the intemperance of the Souldiers and Mariners, so great a Contagion happened in the Fleet, that they wanted men to manage the Sails; and where some Ships had a greater number of infected persons than others, to remedy this, a most pernicious course was taken; for every Ship was ordered by lot, to take in two sick in exchange for so many sound men, which propagated the Pestilence, and forced the General to an untimely return, four days before the Plate Fleet came.

1625.

The unprosperous success of this Fleet displeased the King very much, and *Wimbleton* was some time prohibited his presence, but he excused himself, laying a great part of the miscarriage on the stubbornels of the Earl of *Essex*. Yet, though all where blamed, none were punished for the ill managery and conduct of the Expedition.

Money borrowed by letters of privy Seal.

The War became now very chargeable, and since the King could not be supplyed in a Parliamentary way, he was advised by his Council, to use other means, and it was resolved to borrow what money could be got by Letters of Privie Seals, sent to several of the ablest persons in all parts of the Kingdom; in each of which Letters, the King promised in the name of himself, and his Successors, to repay the money in eighteen moneths after the payment thereof to

To be repaid in 18 Months.

1625. the Collector, and the Collectors of this Loan were ordered to pay the sums received into the Exchequer, and to return the names of such as went about to delay, or excuse the payment of the money required of them.

This manner of proceeding was thought very improper, unless it had been resolved not to call a Parliament so soon after; for if the King in that conjuncture had clapt up a peace with *Spain*, (which the Spaniard had as much reason to accept, as he to offer) he might have freed himself from the necessity of calling Parliaments, (till by the goodness of his Government he had no necessity for a Parliament to work upon) and likewise prevented a following unluckly rupture betwixt him and *France*. The King, however, was resolved to try his fortune in another Parliament, which was summoned to meet at *Westminster* on the sixth of *February*; but first the Solemnities of the Coronation were to be performed, which was celebrated on the second of *February* (commonly called *Candlemas* day.) In the external pomp whereof the King omitted his triumphant riding through the City, from the Tower to *White-hall*, partly to save the Charges thereof, and partly to prevent the danger of popular concourse; for the Plague was not quite decreased, but some dregs remained of it. In the Sacred part there was a clause added, which had been pretermitted in the time of King *Henry* the Sixth, which is this that followeth, *viz.* "Let him obtain favour of the people, like *Aaron* in the "Tabernacle, *Elisha* in the Waters, *Zachari-* "*as* in the Temple; Give him *Peters* Key of "Discipline, and *Pauls* Doctrine. Which clause had been omitted in time of Popery, as intimating more Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be given to our Kings than the Popes allowed of.

A Parliament summoned to meet Feb. 6.

The Kings Coronation

The Coronation Oath, though the contrary was suggested, was the same which had been taken by his Predecessors, as appears by the Records of the Exchequer.

The solemnity being over, he began his second Parliament on the sixth of *February*, in which he had no better success than in his first. Sir *Heneage Finch* was chosen *Speaker* by the Commons, and approved by the King, a Person of great prudence and moderation. The House of Commons began where they left at *Oxford*, with matters of Religion and publick grievances; they made strict enquiry into what abuses had been of the Kings grace since that time, and who were the Authors and Abettors thereof, for they had been informed of many Pardons and Reprieves to Jesuits and Priests, and their grievances were stated under four Heads.

Grievances stated.

1. *The state of the King in the constant Revenue of the Crown.*

2. *The condition of the Subject in his Freedome.*

3. *The cause of the Nations good success in former times.*

4. *The present condition of the Kingdom.*

Under the first head was considered the great dispositions of Lands and Pensions *motu proprio* and other exorbitant expences: In the second the bringing in of new Impositions, the multiplying of Monopolies, and the levying of Tonnage and Poundage without an Act of Parliament. Under the third, they aser bed the great renown and reputation of our Nation in former times, to the wisdom and gravity of the Counsellors, when nothing was ordered but by publick debate; and whence arose a readiness in the Subject to assist their Sovereign in purse and person. In the fourth was represented the loss of the Nations wonted Reputation in the Expedition of *Cadiz*, and others; which was imputed to the want of such Counsels as were heretofore used; For as much as men through difference in success were backward to adventure either their persons or their purses. 1625.

The Earl of *Arundel* committed by the King.

Whilest these debates were agitated by the Commons, the Earl of *Arundel* was by the King committed to the Tower, because of a Mariage consummate betwixt the Lord *Maltravers* his Eldest Son, and the Eldest Sister of the Duke of *Lenox*, one near allyed in blood to the King; for the King had designed to marry her to the Lord of *Lorne*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Argyle*, a man of great power in *Scotland*, meditating thereby to reconcile those two Families, who had been antiently in feuds.

The Earl besought the Kings pardon, and protested his innocency, as no way privie to the business, being contrived by the Dutchess Dowager, and his Countess, without his knowledge; but the King would not hear him.

This commitment of the Earl was resented by the House of Peers, who petitioned the King, That it is their undoubted Right, that no Peer sitting in Parliament is to be imprisoned, without Order from the House of Peers, unless it be for Treason, Felony, or refusing to give security for the Peace. And they insisted the more on this Priviledge at this time, because the Earl had six Proxies deputed to him, which would be of no validity during his restraint.

Upon this Petition many debates passed in the House of Lords upon several Messages of the King about this Priviledge, which lasted from the fourteenth of *March*, to the eighth of *June*, ere he was satisfied with Reasons of the Peers; and then the Earl was released from his imprisonment.

Whilest these matters were agitated at home, to make the difference greater between the Dutch and the Spaniard, and for further promoting that War, the King of *France* did conclude a Little Treaty in the *Hague*, by the Baron of *Couper*, concerning the equipping of a Fleet of twenty Ships under the Admiral *Hautain*, upon a design to straiten *Genua* by Water, whilest the Constable *des Degueres* should be able to do the same by Land; and the English Embassador then Resident at *London*, had obtained of the King the *Vantguard*, one of the Navie-Ships, and six Merchant-Ships to be employed in the same Expedition; but shortly after these English Ships were received into the pay of *France*. *Monsieur de Soubize*, taking advantage of the French Armies advance towards *Italy*, incited those of *Rochel* to stir against the King, and he with some Ships he had got together, seized on the *Isle of Rhee*, and some of the King of *France* his Ships in the Harbour. At this the King was so incensed, that he turn'd his design for *Italy* upon *Rochel*; and that occasioned another Treaty at the *Hague*, with the *Hollanders*,

1625. *landers* betwixt *d'Espesses* the *French* Embassador and them, which was concluded the Twelfth of *April*, New Style; whereby the Twenty Ships under *Hautain*, were agreed to be employed against *Soubise*, and against *Rochel*. In the mean time many of the *French* Protestants took great offence at his assistance from *Holland* against *Rochel*, but their Alliance with *France*, and interest of State prevailed above all other considerations. *Montmorancy* the *French* Admiral being thus strengthened with the *Dutch* Fleet, and the seven English Ships, quickly chased *Soubise* into the Isle of *Oleron*, and reprized most of the Ships he had taken, and strengthened *Rochel* by Sea, whilest the *French* Army was marching to block it up by Land. The King was much offended, that the English Ships were employed in this Action, having not consented they should be used in any other Expedition, than against *Genua*; and thereupon he sent an expostulatory Message to the King of *France*, to have a reason thereof, and to demand restitution of the Ships; and when satisfaction was not given herein, the King caused a rich French Ship of *New Haven* to be seized on. This occasioned great clamour in *France*, and the French by way of Retaliation arrested the English Merchants Ships and Goods in their Harbours; but after a while a reconciliation was made, The King had his Ships again, and their Ship restored, and the English Ships and Goods were delivered back: and thus all was calm for the present, but it continued not long so, as shall be shewn hereafter.

The Traverses in the House of Peers about the Earl of *Arundel*, rather heightned, than allayed their intention towards the Duke of *Buckingham*, and encouragement is given to all that would to inform against him. One Doctor *Turner* a Physitian proposed Six *Quaeres* in the House of Commons, touching his ill Conduct in affairs, which reflected much upon the Kings Government, and was so resented by him.

Dr. *Turners* Queries.

1. *Whether the King hath not lost the Regality of the* Narrow Seas, *since the Duke became Admiral?*

2. *Whether his not going as Admiral in this last Fleet, was not the cause of the ill success?*

3. *Whether the Kings Revenue hath not been impaired through his immense Liberality?*

4. *Whether he hath not engrossed all Offices, and preferred his Kindred to unfit places?*

5. *Whether he hath not made sale of places of Judicature?*

6. *Whether Recusants have not dependance upon his Mother and Father-in-law?*

Neither was this the only thing which displeased the King, at this Time in the proceedings of the Commons. They had sent Committees to the *Signet-Office*, to search for Originals of his Letters for reprieving some Priests condemned at *York*; and when Sir *Richard Weston* Chancellour of the Exchequer, brought a Message to them from him for supply, acquainting them, that the Fleet was returned, Victuals spent, and the men in great necessity, and ready to mutiny for want of pay, and that a Fleet of 40 Ships which were ready to go out, could not move without money, and that the Army on the

Sir *Richard Weston* Message for Money.

Sea Coasts, was in want both of Victuals and Cloaths; They were not prevailed on, but one Mr. *Clement Cook* amongst other Invectives, said, *Twere better to dye by a foreign Enemy, than to be destroyed at home.* 1625.

This high temper of the Commons House was a Subject of much discourse at this time; it was said, The Parliament is a very excellent constitution, but is not without its inconveniences, as all others are; and amongst these, the great licence of *Speech* in the House of Commons is not the least; for though it be even necessary, that they should not be debarred of Liberty, yet that in the intention seems not to be boundless; for at all times the Zeal for Reformation of abuses in that House, being very great, those amongst them that have a facility of Eloquent *Speaking*, may do great hurt, if they be not well inclin'd to the Government. But, those that thought the Court, by long plenty and ease somewhat too exorbitant, believ'd this freedom of *Speech* very necessary.

And at this time whether it were out of a general Envy against the Duke, because of his sudden exaltation to Greatness, or a particular disgust of some that thought they merited (as well as he) a greater share than they had in the Kings favour; the Tide against him in both the Houses (but especially in the House of Commons) ran so high, that nothing would be granted to the King at a lower rate than his ruine. In the mean time the King manifested a great displeasure at those proceedings, and sent Sir *Richard Weston* to demand satisfaction; in which they not answering his expectation by so sudden an inquisition as he required, he called the Lords and them together, and by the Lord Keeper *Coventry* (who lately had the Seal given to him, upon the disgrace of *Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln* who was displaced) he acquainted them with his mind.

Lord Keepers Speech.

MY *Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons, His Majesties Command hath summoned you hither, and the same Command hath put me upon the service of signifying his Will to you. His Will was, That both Houses should be called together; You, my Lords, as Witnesses of the Justice of his resolutions, and of his Addresses to the House of Commons. His Majesty would have you know, there never was King, who better loved his People, or was more sincerely affected towards the right use of Parliaments, or more ready to redress what shall be represented to him, in the quality of Grievances (provided it be in a regular and decent way,) than Himself: but he would also have you know, That, as He loves His People, so he regards his Honour; and if he be sensible of his Subjects Grievances, of his own he is much more, especially when they flow from offences of such a nature, as not only blast his Reputation, but impede the progress of his Weighty Affairs.*

To come to Particulars, His Majesty saith, That whereas Doctor Turner, *and Mr.* Cook *spake very* SEDITIOUS WORDS *in your House, they were so far from being*

1625. *queſtioned or cenſur'd for them by you, that others were animated to the like rudeneſs by their impunit. And though Dr.* Turners *Articles were pretended againſt the Duke, it was in truth a libelling his Majeſties Government. And when his Majeſty did not only by Sir* Richard Weſton, *but in his own perſon declare his juſt diſpleaſure, and demanded Juſtice againſt thoſe Exorbitants, yet have you not only halted in your obedience to him, but have followed the very ſteps of this Doctor, and upon falſe-bottom'd ſuggeſtions endeavoured to ſtain his own and his Fathers honour.*

He alſo complaineth, that you have taken upon you to ſearch his Signet Office, and to examine the Letters of his Secretary of State, leaving him nothing free from their Diſcovery: a thing not formerly practiſed.

As concerning the Duke, whom you ſeem to perſecute with ſuch aſperity of diſguſt, I am alſo commanded to tell you, That his Majeſty knows (none better) he acted nothing of publick Employment, without his ſpecial Warrant, that he hath diſcharged his Truſt with abundance of both Care and Fidelity; That he merited that Truſt, both from his now Majeſty and his late Father, by his perſonal hazard both at home and abroad, and that ſince his return from Spain, *he hath been ſedulous in promoting the Service and Contentment of your Houſe. It is therefore his expreſs Command, that you abſolutely deſiſt from ſuch un-Parliamentary diſquiſitions, and reſign the Reformation of what is amiſs to his* Majeſties *Care, Wiſdom, and Juſtice.*

I am alſo to ſpeak about the buſineſs of ſupply, you have been made acquainted with the poſture of his Majeſties *Affairs, both forrain and domeſtique, and with his neceſſitous condition; the charge of all Martial preparations both by Sea and Land, hath been calculated to you, and you promiſed a ſupply both ſpeedy and ſuitable to his occaſions, but his* Majeſty *complaineth, that as yet you have not performed either, failing both in the meaſure, and in the manner. In the meaſure, by granting only Three Subſidies, and three fifteens, a proportion vaſtly ſhort of what is requiſite. In the manner, being both dilatory, and diſhonourable to the* King, *as arguing a diſtruſt of him; for you have order'd a Bill not to be brought into the Houſe, until your grievances be both heard and anſwered: which is ſuch a tacite condition, as his* Majeſty *will not admit of.*

Therefore his Majeſty *commands you, to take it into your ſpeedy conſideration, and to return your final anſwer by Saturday next, what further addition you will make; and if your Supplies commenſurate and equal the demands of the cauſe, he promiſeth to continue this Seſſions to your juſt content; elſe he muſt, and will entertain thoughts of your diſmiſſion.*

Laſtly, I am commanded to tell you, That his Majeſty *doth not charge the diſtempers upon the whole Body, and Aſſembly of the Houſe; but as he is confident, the greater Number are Perſons of a quiet diſpoſe, ſo he hopeth their influence, and this his* Majeſties *Admonition, will prevent the like for the time to come.*

This Speech cauſed great emotion in the *Houſe* of *Commons*, and produced a *Remonſtrance*, to this effect; (viz.) 1625.

A Remonſtrance.

That with extreme joy and comfort they acknowledge the Favour of his *Majeſties* moſt gracious expreſſion of Affection to his People, and this preſent Parliament. That concerning Mr. *Cook*, true it is, he let fall ſome few words, that might admit an ill conſtruction, and that the Houſe was diſpleaſed therewith, as they declared by a general Check at the very time he ſpoke them; and though Mr. *Cooks* explanation of his mind more clearly, did ſomewhat abate the offence of the Houſe, yet were they reſolved to take it into further conſideration, and ſo have done, the effect whereof had appear'd ere this, had they not been interrupted by this his *Majeſties* Meſſage; and the like interruption befel them alſo in the buſineſs of Doctor *Turner*.

As concerning the examination of the Letters of his Secretary of State, as alſo of his *Majeſties* own, and ſearching the Signet Office, and other Records; they had done nothing therein, not warranted by the precedents of former Parliaments upon the like occaſions.

That concerning the Duke, they did humbly beſeech his *Majeſty* to be informed, That it hath been the conſtant and undoubted uſage of Parliaments, to queſtion, and complain of any perſon of what degree ſoever; and what they ſhould do in relation to him, they little doubted but it ſhould redound to the honour of the Crown, and ſafety of the Kingdom.

Laſtly, as to the matter of Supply: That if addition may be made of other things, importing his Service then in conſultation amongſt them, they were reſolved ſo to ſupply him, as might evidence the truth of their intentions, and make him ſafe at home, and formidable abroad.

The Kings Anſwer.

To this the King anſwered briefly, That he would have them in the firſt place conſult about matters of the greateſt importance, and that they ſhould have time enough for other matters afterward. But this ſtaid not their progreſs againſt the *Duke*, to which the Earl of *Briſtol* alſo contributed in the Lords Houſe.

This Earl had been ſecluded from the preſence of both King *James*, and King *Charles*, ever ſince his return from his Embaſſy in *Spain*; and taking advantage of the time, he petitioned the Peers; That whereas being a Peer of the Realm, he had not received a Writ of Summons to the Parliament, he prayed he might enjoy the Liberty of a Subject, and the Benefit of Peerage, after two years reſtraint, without being brought to Tryal; and if any charge were brought in againſt him, he might be tryed in *Parliament*. Upon the reading this Petition, the Lords referred it to their Committees of Priviledge; from whence, after due conſiderations thereof, a Report was made to the Houſe by the Earl of *Hertford*.

The Earl of *Hertfords* report to the Peers from the Committe of Priviledges, concerning the Earl of *Briſtols* Petition.

That it was the Opinion of the Committees, That his *Majeſty* ſhould be moved to grant a Writ of Summons to the Earl, which was agreed to by the Houſe. And upon Requeſt made to the King, a Writ was iſſued accordingly, but accompanied with a Letter from the Lord *Keeper*

to

1626. to him, That though his *Majesty* had given way to the awarding of the Writ, yet notwithstanding his pleasure was, that his Lordship should continue still under the same restraint, as he did before, and that his personal attendance was to be forborn.

The Earl sends this Letter to the House of Lords, and a Second Petition with it, offering to them, how much this might trench upon the Liberty and Safety of the Peers, to be in this sort discharged by a Letter missive of any Subject, without the Kings hand, beseeching them he might be heard, both as to his wrongful Restraint, and what he hath to say against the Duke.

Earl of *Bristol* summon'd to the Lords Bar as a Delinquent.

This alarm'd the Duke to begin first with him, and by his perswasion the King commands the Atturney General to summon the Earl to the Lords Bar as a Delinquent.

Bristol appearing *May* the first, the Atturney acquainted the Peers, that he came to accuse him of high Treason, and exhibited Eleven Articles against him. But before they were read, the Earl said, *My Lords, I am a Free-man, and a Peer of the Realm unattainted, I have somewhat to say of high Consequence to his Majesties Service, and I beseech your Lordships give me leave to speak.*

Earl of *Bristol* accuses the Duke of *Buckingham* of high Treason.

The Lords upon this, bid him go on. Then said he, I accuse that man the Duke of *Buckingham* of high Treason; And immediately he presented 12 Articles against him.

The House after having read these Articles, committed the Earl of *Bristol* to the Custody of the Usher of the Black-Rod, and order'd that the Kings Charge against the Earl should be first proceeded on, before that of the Earl against the Duke; which the King took very well.

The Articles on both sides concurred in one design, which was to render each other suspected in matters of Loyalty and Religion; though by so doing they made good sport to their enemies, and the World besides, but in neither of them was any fact that amounted to Treason; and becaus no proceeding was made on them, it is not very requisite to describe them at large. But there being an endeavour to take the Earls cause out of the House of Lords, and to proceed by way of Indictment thereon in the Kings Bench, the Lords resented this, and gave five Reasons why they could not give way to that manner of proceedings; which were these following, (*viz.*)

The Lords Reasons why the Earl of *Bristol* cause should not be taken out of their House.

1. *He could have no Counsel.*
2. *He could use no Witness against the King.*
3. *He could not know what the evidence against him would be in a convenient time, to prepare for his defence.*
4. *The liberties of the House would thereby be infringed.*
5. *This Earl being indicted, it would not be in their Power to keep him from arraignment, and so he might be disabled to make good his Charge against the Duke; and therefore it was judg'd the most proper, and most legal way of proceeding; First to have the Charge delivered into the House of Peers in writing, and the Earl to set down his answer to it in Writing, and that the Witnesses might be examined, and Evidences on both sides heard; and if upon full hearing, the House should find it to be Treason, then to proceed by way of Indictment; if doubtful in point of Law, to have the Opinion of the Judges to clear it; if doubtful in matter of fact, then to refer it to* Regall fait. 1626.

The Commons to load heavier upon the Duke, did also, about this time, send up some of their Members, (*viz.*) Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Sir *John Elyot*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Glanvil*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Wansfort*, Mr. *Herbert*, and Mr. *Sherland*, with thirteen Articles of high Offences and Misdemeanors against him, containing several Encroachments on the Royal Favour, and some miscarriages, which at another time, and in another man might have been connived at. Nevertheless he put in his answer to them, which was inlayed with so much modesty and humility, that many who expected a more disdainful defence, were converted to a good opinion of him, and in regard there was nothing considerable in them, but what was acted and happened in the time of King *James*, and not legally cognoscible at this time, he claimed the benefit of Pardon in the 21 of King *James*, and the present Kings Coronation Pardon. But this being contrary to the expectation of the Commons, upon the 14 of *June* they had drawn up a Declaration of the same mould of their Impeachment, which was not without difficulty preferred before a Bill of Subsidy, then ready to be read; At which the King was so dissatisfied, that the next day, by a Commission under the great Seal, directed to certain Lords, He dissolved the *Parliament*. No sooner was he freed from this, but the necessity of his Affairs involved him in another Imbroylment. The French Priests and Domesticks of that Nation, which came into *England* with the Queen, were grown so insolent, and put so many affronts upon the King, that he was forced to send them home; in which he did no more than what the *French* King had done before him, in sending back all the *Spanish* Courtiers, which his Queen brought with her. But that King not looking on his own Example, and knowing on what ill terms the King stood, both at home and abroad, first seized on all the Merchants Ships, which lay on the River of *Burdeaux*, and then the Peace lately patcht up, was turned into an open War, so that the King was fain to make use of those Forces against the *French*, which were designed to have been used against the *Spaniard*, and comply with the desires of the *Rochellers*, who humbly sued to him at this time for his protection and defence. But the Fleet, which he designed for their assistance, not going out till after *Michaelmas*, found greater opposition at the Sea, than they feared from the Land, being encountred with strong Tempests, and thereby necessitated to return, without doing any thing, but only shewing the Kings good will, and readiness to help them.

The Commons prepare a Declaration of the matter of their impeachment against the Duke.

The Fleet designed to relieve *Rochel*, is distressed by Tempest.

Whilest this dispute betwixt the two Kings continued, very sad News came hither from *Germany*, That the King of *Denmark*, who had armed (as was before mentioned) on behalf of the Elector *Palatine*, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*,

1626. Bad News from Germany.

Germany, notwithstanding the late Aid sent from *England*, of Six thousand men, under the Conduct of Sir *Charles Morgan*, had on the seventeenth of *August* received a total overthrow by *Tilly*, and was reduced to such distress, that if present Succour came not, he was ruined for ever; That the *Sound* was like to be lost, the English Garrison at *Stoad*, straitly besieged, and our *East-Land* Trade and Staple at *Hambrough* almost given up for gone.

The King was much perplext at this, and the more because of his inability in the condition he was to send further Succours to him.

That which chiefly was wanting, was Treasure, and the present use of it could not admit of so much delay, as to call a Parliament, which is the ordinary means of supply. The King was therefore in this strait advised by his Council, That forasmuch as the Commons in Parliament, at their late sitting, had passed a Bill of Subsidies, and that the Parliament was dissolved before the Bill passed into an Act, he might require these Subsidies of the Subject, which the House of Commons, in their names, had assented to, and yet not by the name of *Subsidies*, but in the way of *Loan*, till the next Parliament should enable him to make payment of it, or to confirm the levying thereof, by a subsequent Act. In pursuance of this advice, Commissions were issued out under the Great Seal to divers Commissioners in all parts, for the levying these moneys, who had the Instructions following, to direct them in the execution thereof.

A Commission issued for a Loan.

Instructions to the Commissioners.

1. *That for a good example to others, they should themselves lend His Majesty the several Sums required.*

2. *To go according to the Rates at which people were assessed in the Book of the last Subsidy.*

3. *To stir up every man to a chearful lending, by declaring the unavoidable necessity of taking this course, and using other the most prevalent Arguments they could devise; as the honour of the Nation, the defence of true Religion, the Safety of Prince and People.*

4. *That they appoint the dayes of Payment to be within fourteen dayes.*

5. *That they treat with every one apart, and not in the hearing of others.*

6. *That they begin with such as are like to shew best examples.*

7. *That they endeavour to discover, whether any by under-hand perswasions, or otherwise, go about to hinder the good intentions of others, and if any such be found, to certifie their names, qualities, and habitations to the Council.*

8. *That they signifie His Majesties pleasure to rewit, upon the lending of these Sums, whatsoever hath been desired upon the late Benevolence, or Privy Seals.*

9. *That they admit of no suit to be made, or reasons to be given, for the abating of any sum.*

10. *That upon their Faith, and Allegiance to his Majesty they keep these Instructions secret to themselves, and not discover them to any others.*

And besides these private Instructions, they were to represent to the people the deplorable estate of *Rochel*, then closely besieged by the Duke of *Guise*; which, if not speedily relieved, would fall into the hands of the Enemies of the Protestant Religion. But though these Commissioners brought in good sums of money, yet many, and some of good quality refused, and were therefore committed to several prisons. 1626.

This Year died two of the most eminent Men for Learning, that ever the Nation had, Doctor *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount St. *Albans*.

1627. The Duke of Buckingham's Expedition to the Isle of Rhee.

It was now the Third year of His Majesties Reign, when *Rhee* Action was agreed on: and though money came not so plentiful as was hoped, yet the Duke of *Buckingham* High Admiral of *England*, desirous to wipe away the imputation of Negligence, in relation to his Admiralship, had, with much ado, completed his Naval Forces, consisting of Six thousand Horse and Foot in Ten Ships-Royal, and Ninety Merchant-men; with which he sets Sail from *Portsmouth* the 27th of *June*, and published his *Manifesto* the Twenty first of *July* following, declaring at large the Kings Affection to the Reformed Churches in *France*, and his displeasure at the last misimploying of his Ships against the *Rochellers*. The first design of this Fleet was intended against Fort *Lewis*, wherein being prevented by the Duke of *Angoulesme*, they resolved upon the *Isle* of *Rhee*; Twelve Ships therefore were sent to guard the entry of Port *Breton*, the rest sailed on to a Fort of the *Isle* of *Rhee*, called *De la Price*, making their approaches with their Canon so near, that *Monsieur Toiras*, Governour of the Citadel of St. *Martin*, perceiving their intention, sent out his Forces, to the number of one thousand, in seven partitions, Horse and Foot, to impede their coming on shore: These were encountred by Twelve hundred *English*, whom Sir *John Burrough*, Sir *Alexander Brett*, Sir *Edward Conway*, and Sir *Charles Rich*, had landed by the advantage of their great Ordnance. The fight was sharp and quick, wherein many brave Gentlemen lost their lives on both sides; of the French, *Monsieur Restringler*, Brother to *Toiras*, *Chascalois*, *Canses*, *Naval*, *Tatlian*, *Mountain*, *Heasteby*, *Boisoneer*, and *Candamine*. Of the *English*, Sir *Thomas York*, Sir *William Hegden*, Sir *Thomas Thornay*, Sir *George Blundel*, *Courtney*, *Glin*, *Whaley*, *Powel*, *Woodhouse*, *Goring*, &c. and a Kinsman of Sir *George Blundels*, with *Monsieur de Blancart*, Agent for the Duke of *Roan*, and the Protestants. And of the wounded were, *Rich*, *Conway*, *Hawle*, *Greenvile*, *Abraham Rainford*, *Wellome*, *Thorp*, *Marylet*, and *Bennet*: The Victory uncertain. The *English* General removed his Camp, and intrenching, dispatched *Soubize*, and Sir *William Beecher* to *Rochel*, who returned with five hundred Foot, and found the Duke before Saint *Martins* Castle (the chief strength of the Island) notwithstanding the disswasion of his Council, who advised him first to attempt the other Castle, called the *Mede*, which they might in all likelihood have carried, and would have proved an handsome, and safe place of retreat in their future necessity. *Buckingham* falls to Circumvallation, ordering the Ships to encompass the Island without, to hinder all provision and supply from *Toiras*; by which means the besieged were for the space of two months greatly distressed, in which time there hapned a hot conflict between both Parties, and that with equal success; and by a Letter of *Toiras* to *Monsieur Bellamount*, their

1625. their extremity appeared to be such, that (as he there said) the Mills could not long stand, all their Corn was spent, which enforced their Souldiers to feed on their Store of Bisket, not lasting above ten days: hereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* summons *Toiras*, who refusing to falsifie his Trust, the English now strengthened with fresh Auxiliaries from *England* and *Ireland*, under the Command of Sir *Ralph Bingher*, and Sir *Pierce Crosby*, set themselves to invent new sorts of Engines to batter the Citadel; all which were rendred fruitless by Wind and Waves. And one Abbot *Marseilane* procured *Monsieur Valin* to undertake the conveying of twelve Finnaces laden with provision, to the relief of *Toiras* and his Souldiers, which he prosperously atchieved, and at his return carried back with him their sick and wounded.

In the mean time scarcity afflicts the English Camp, and Sir *John Burroughs* viewing the Works, was shot through, whereof he shortly died. The French King came from Court to the Camp, and thrice in ten days attempted to send over some Aids to the Castle, but the English Ships repelled them, and three days after another Brother of *Toiras* was slain, and his Squadron put to flight. And now the Souldiers of the Castle were reduced to greater hardship than before, not being furnished with Bread for above four days; whereupon having no other way left, *Toiras* resolved to win time by treating with the Duke of *Buckingham* about surrender, hoping in the interim to have some better news from his Associates, which accordingly fell out; for *Monsieur Manpaile*, who with other Pilots, heretofore had sounded the Shelves, and designed the Station for some Ships, for the relief of the Island, contrived a way to bring them, in despight of the English: It was now the Winter, and the nights long & dark, by which advantage he had opportunity to pass by them with a Fleet of 35 Sail, 150 Mariners, 300 Souldiers, 160 of the Chief Nobility, and many Noble Commanders, with great store of all sorts of Provision, having before sent some dissembling Renegado's, to tell the English that he passed a contrary way: so that when the Duke of *Buckingham* expected a surrender, they boldly shewed him their Rundlets of Wine, and Turkies and Capons upon the points of their Pikes and Spears.

The Duke hereat dismayed, spends the night in Council, and determines with all speed to raise the siege, and be gone; but the *Rochellers* intreaties, and *Dolbiers* arrival from *England*, with assurance of *Auxiliaries*, unhappily prevailed with him for a longer stay, during which, the fame of fresh Supplies to the besiegers published over all *France*, to be coming, under the Command of the Earl of *Holland*, hastned the French to send forth another Fleet, consisting of fifteen good Ships, and other smaller Boats, part to St. *Martins*, and the rest to the *Meadow Castle*, besides seven others which got to the *Meadow Fort* under *Bellamonts* command. And now the French King resolved to dislodge the English, and dispatched over for the Service, an Army of four thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, besides Volunteers, under the Command of the Mrashal of *Schomberg*, with *Marylane* his Lieutenant General, to whom came all the besieged, and greatest part of the Islanders, being in all above eleven thousand men; after which another party under the Command of *Bussompiere* and *Haliere*, consisting of eight hundred of their Kings Life-guard, an hundred and fifty of the Country thereabout, 30 of the Kings Horse, and 3 great Brass Pieces, landed at the *Meadow Castle*. Against these last, the Duke of *Buckingham* marched with 500 Foot, and 40 Horse, and forced them to retreat to the Castle, but returning to his Camp, he finds the Trenches possessed by another party of the French Army; *Stanley* is ordered to beat them out again, which he doth by main force, though not without loss; and the Lord *Montjoy* seized a small Troop of French: him they endavoured to surprize with six Horse in shew; whom he chased so far, that he had almost come in danger of their Ambuscade. One dark night a party of the English fell upon a party of the French, and not well discovering one another, so mingled, that by mistake, the English falling into the French Camp, became a prey to them. 1626.

Nor did War only afflict the English, but also Sickness and Want, whereby their Souldiers and Seamen were generally enfeebled, which put the Duke upon his final resolution of taking his farewell of the Island, with one more Assault to Saint *Martins* Castle. *Toiras* had intelligence of it, & therefore he managed his business accordingly, and gave them so hot a welcome, as, being oppressed and fell'd to the ground with shot, they drop't in heaps: so that after a great loss received, the Duke commanded a retreat to be sounded, and soon after demolished his Works, filled his Ditches, and levelled his Trenches, in order to his departure. *Schomberg* and *Marylane* pursued, hollowing to them in a Bravado, and brandishing their Swords. The English thinking the Enemy would then have charged them, drew up in Battalia; but they knowing what advantage the way would shortly give them, made a halt, whereupon the Duke marched on in Military Order, until he came to the Village *Curda*, where they made another stand, and by an Ambuscade of Musqueteers placed behind the old Walls, Walks, Hedges, and Ditches, compelled the French to retreat; but the whole Army coming up, followed them slowly for 3 miles, till they came to *Anserine* Causway, which was so narrow, that they could only march six abreast, with Ditches on either side, mostly ending in Saltpits: and now *Schomberg* espying his expected opportunity, poured forth a great volley of shot against them, and then the English began to march as fast as possibly; but the Lord *Montjoy's* Troops unable to endure the charge of the French Horse, turned tail, and riding in amongst the other Ranks, put them into such a disorder, as inabled the French easily to break in upon them and rout them, with no small slaughter, overthrowing some into the Ditches and Saltpits, and piercing others as they lay in the dirt. Nor was flight any whit more auspicious to them; for those who confusedly ran away, and casting away their Arms, leaped into the Water, were also cut off. *Cunninghams* Horse fought it out nobly unto the last man. The Lord *Montjoy* was taken Prisoner, and civilly used. Some

Re-

1627. Reformadoes, by uneven, and turning paths, made their way to the further bridge, with much danger, there joyning with *Conway*, *Crosby*, *Fryar*, and *Hacksvil*, and their forces, they made good that Pass by the repulse of the enemy, and leaving a guard of Musqueteers there all day, set the Bridge on fire, and lodged that night straglingly up and down. The next day the Duke demanded and obtained the dead bodys, and went on board. Great was this days loss, *viz.* about fifty officers, among whom were Sir *William Cunningham*, Sir *Charles Rich*, and Sr. *Alexander Brett*, and near two thousand common Souldiers were slain, thirty prisoners of note, and fourty four Colours were taken: of the French not above three hundred were lost. The Duke hoised Sail, and met the Earl of *Holland*, with his unseasonable Recruits, near the Western Coast of *England*; and at his return finding a favourable reception at the Kings hands he laid the loss of the design upon the Earls not timely seconding the Expedition. But at Sea things went somewhat better, where Captain *Trettor*, in his return from *Hambrough*, seized by command a great French ship at the *Texel* in *Holland*, named the *Saint Esprit*, with twenty brass Culverines, two brass Semi-culverins, two other brass Guns, sixteen large Iron Guns & two lesser, & in the hold for ballast twelve great Guns, and Arms for eleven hundred Souldiers, and eighteen Barrels of Powder. And Sir *John Pennington*, Vice-Admirall, took thirty four of their rich merchant men, homewards bound, all which were safely brought into *England*, to sweeten though not countervail the loss received at *Rochell*. The ill Success of this Enterprise did much incense the People against the Duke of *Buckingham*, but the King did not discover any discontent towards him; only he told him, that Sr. *Sackvile Crow* had written to him of a far greater loss, than he acknowledged. During this expedition, *Abbot*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, by letters Patents of the 9th of *October* was suspended from all his *Metropolitan* Jurisdiction, and confined to his House at *Ford* in *Kent*, and the exercise thereof was committed to the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rochester*, *Oxford*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, or to any four, three, or two, of them. The occasion of this Commission was not discover'd otherwise than by what was express'd in the Commission it self, (*viz.*) *That the said Archbishop could not at that present, in his own person attend those Services, which were otherwise proper for his cognisance and Jurisdiction, and which as Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, he might and ought in his own person have performed, and executed.* But the true reason was, for that the King was perswaded, the Non-conformists to the Discipline of the Church, too much increased by the remisness of his Government.

He returns unsuccessful.

The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury is suspended and confined to his house.

This *Michaelmas* Terme there was a grand debate in the Kings-Bench, concerning some of those imprison'd, for refusing the Loan, who moved for an *Habeas Corpus*, and had it. The Atturney Generall, Sir *Robert Heath*, upon their appearance alledged, they were not baileable, and their Counsell the contrary, and the Court agreed with the Atturney, so that they were continued in Prison, till an order pass'd in Council, for a general release, which was shortly after. 1627.

The French King, encouraged by the Success he had against our forces, resolv'd upon a more formidable siege against *Rochell*, and having made a Line about it on the Lands-side, with three forts, by the advice of Cardinal *Richlieu*, and the loan of many Merchants ships, belonging to the Subjects of the *United Netherlands*, he attempted a Baracade, fourteen hundred yards in length, cross the Channel, to hinder all relief by Sea; whereby the *Rochellers* expected nothing but ruine, unless they could prevent it, so that they with great haste sent Monsieur *Sonbize* and their Deputies to *England*, to sollicite the King for Supplys, before the work should be complested; who was so affected with their miseries, that he promised them all the assistance he could; and to enable him thereunto he borrowed an hundred and twenty thousand Pound of the City of *London*, for which and other Debts, they had lands, to the value of one and twenty thousand Pounds a year assured to them. He also borrowed of the *East-India Company* thirty thousand pounds, and what money else he could get by privy Seals. Moreover it was resolved to levy money by Excise, and a Commission, under the great Seal, was pass'd on the third of *February* to authorize it, but the execution thereof was suspended by the King, who never was guilty of any irregular action, by the impulse of his own nature, nor perswaded by others but by extream necessity, & at this time, in compliance with his own good inclinations, he chose rather to call a Parliament, which was summon'd to meet on the 17th of *March*, than proceed in extraordinary ways, for he was much troubled at the general discontent of the People; and he hoped by their counsels to beget a good understanding betwixt himself and them.

A Barracade to be made cross the Channel leading to *Rochel*.

Monsieur *Sonbize* and others come from *Rochel* to *England* for Relief.

On the 17th of *March*, the Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and the King having sent for the *Commons* to the *Lords-house* expressed himself in these words to both Houses.

The Kings speech to both Houses of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THese times are for action, for action, I say, not for words; therefore I shall use but a few; and (as Kings are said to be exemplary to their Subjects, so) I wish you would imitate me in this, and use as few, falling upon speedy consultation. No man is, I conceive, such a stranger to the common necessity, as to expostulate the cause of this meeting, and not to think supply to be the end of it; and as this necessity is the product and consequent of your advice, so the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, and just defence of your Friends and Allies, being so considerably concern'd, will be, I hope, arguments enough to perswade Supply; for if it be (as most true it is) both my duty, and yours, to preserve this Church and Commonwealth, this exigent of time certainly requires it.

In this time of common danger, I have taken the most ancient, speedy, and best way, for supply, by calling you together. If (which God forbid) you do not your duty, in contributing what may answer the quality of my occasions, it shall suffice, I have done mine; In the Conscience where-

1627. *whereof I ſhall reſt content, and take ſome other courſe, for which God hath empowred me, to ſave that, which the folly of particular men might hazard to loſe.*

Take not this as a menace (for I ſcorn to threaten my inferiours) but as an admonition from him who is tyed, both by nature and duty, to provide for your preſervations; and I hope, though I thus ſpeak, your demeanors will be ſuch, as ſhall oblige me in thankfulneſs to meet you oftner, than which nothing ſhall be more pleaſing to me. Remembring the diſtractions of our laſt meeting, you may ſuppoſe I have no confidence of good ſucceſs at this time; but be aſſured I ſhall freely forget and forgive what is paſt, hoping you will follow that ſacred advice, lately inculcated, To maintain the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

The Parliament ſeemed very much affected with what the King ſaid, and the Commons freely voted, to grant him five Subſidies, whereof when Secretary *Cook* informed the King, he asked him, by how many voices it was carried, who replyed by one, at which perceiving the Kings countenance to change; Sir, ſaid he, your *Majeſty* hath the greater cauſe to rejoyce, for the Houſe was ſo unanimous therein, as they made but one voice. At which the King was exceedingly pleaſed, and bid the Secretary tell them he would deny them nothing of their Liberties, which any of his predeceſſors had granted. But whileſt a Bill was in preparation for theſe Subſidies, they conſidered of the publick grievances of the Kingdom.

1628. The Kings extraordinary wants put him, as you have heard, upon ſome unuſual courſes for levying of Money, not very warrantable by our ancient Laws, and ſome that were unwilling to countenance ſuch courſes, or otherwiſe diſaffected to the Government, upon refuſal were impriſoned; and becauſe no legal cauſe could be aſſigned for ſuch reſtraint, the Warrants, whereby they were impriſoned, had no cauſe ſpecified in them, which was exclaimed againſt, as not legal, and a great Grievance. There is ſcarce any thing ſhort of death, more grievous than impriſonment, and though by our Laws no man can be impriſoned without a legal cauſe expreſſed; yet thoſe that are in the exerciſe of power, in tumultuous times, upon extraordinary emergencies, are conſtrained to paſs over thoſe bounds; for no ſuch proviſion hath yet, or can be made, to exclude all manner of arbitrary exerciſe of Government; but whoever they be, that exceed in this tender point, it will become their prudence to do it with extraordinary caution.

Warrants of Impriſonment without ſpecification of the cauſe, illegal.

Upon the return of the Fleet after the late actions at Sea, the Souldiers, for want of pay, were billeted in private houſes, which was alledged to be againſt the Law; and to aggravate this, the rudeneſs of their perſons, and their Countrey (being Scotch and Iriſh) did much contribute. Nevertheleſs though their Actions were bad, and their perſons worſe, the Commons liked not that they ſhould be puniſhed by Law Martial. For there being a Commiſſion iſſued to try offences of the Souldiers by Martial Law, they exclaimed at it, and it was urged as a grievance; yet till that time the Kings Prerogative, in making and eſtabliſhing Martial Laws, was never queſtioned, though ſince the Petition of Right, there is doubt of it. *Magna Charta* and ſix other Statutes explanatory of it, were expreſs againſt illegal levies of Money, and impriſonments; and though thoſe Statutes were in force, whether the Parliament thought them antiquated, and therefore leſs regarded, or for what other reaſon it is not ſaid, to provide againſt the Grievances complained, &c. they drew up that memorable Law, called, *The Petition of Right*, and preſented it to the King, to which he gave the Royal Aſſent in full Parliament, to the very great liking of the people. And it was now thought there was ſo ſweet an Harmony betwixt the King and the Parliament, that nothing could hinder the Nation of as much happineſs, as it could be capable of; but this conceſſion inflamed the zeal of many of the Houſe of Commons, to preſs a little further, and they immediately framed a Remonſtrance of ſeveral late miſcarriages in Government, in the concluſion whereof, they ſaid, *The exceſſive power of the Duke of* Buckingham, *and the abuſe of that power is the principal cauſe of all the evils and dangers, therein mentioned; and therefore they humbly ſubmit it to his* Majeſties *Wiſdom, whether it can be ſafe for himſelf, or for his Kingdom, that ſo great power, both by Sea and Land as reſts in him, ſhould be truſted in the hands of any one Subject whatſoever.*

Martial law complained of by the Commons.

1628.

Concluſion of the Remonſtrance againſt the Duke of Buckingham.

On the 17 of *June*, this Remonſtrance was preſented to the King, with the Bill of Subſidies, in the Banqueting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, who when he had heard it read, told them he little expected ſuch a Remonſtrance, after he had ſo graciouſly paſſed the Petition of *Right*; and for the Grievances, ſpecified therein, he would conſider of them, as they ſhould deſerve.

The King had levied the duties of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, ever ſince the firſt of his Reign, which the Houſe of Commons alledged he ought not to have done, or at leaſt that they could not now be taken, ſince the paſſing of the late Petition of Right; and they prepared a Remonſtrance againſt it; but the King unwilling to hear of any more Remonſtrances of ſuch a ſtrain, reſolved to fruſtrate it, by proroguing the Parliament, from the 26 of *June*, to the 20 of *October*, and calling both Houſes together to that end, he delivered his mind as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King Speech.

I *T may ſeem ſtrange, that I come ſo ſuddainly to end this Seſſion, therefore before I give my aſſent to the Bills, I will tell you the cauſe; (though I muſt avow, I owe an account of my actions to none, but God alone.) It is known to every one, that a while ago, the Houſe of Commons gave me a Remonſtrance, how acceptable, every man may judge, and for the merit of it, I will not call that in queſtion, for I am ſure, no wiſe man can juſtifie it. Now ſince I am certainly informed, that a ſecond Remonſtrance is preparing for me, to take away my profit of* Tonnage *and* Poundage *(one of the chief maintenances of the Crown) by alledging, that I have*

1628. *given away my Right thereof, by my answer to your Petition.*

This is so prejudicial to me, as I am forced to end this Session, some few hours before I meant it; being willing not to receive any more Remonstrances, to which I must give an harsh answer.

And since I see, that even the House of Commons begins already to make false Constructions of what I granted in your Petition, lest it be worse interpreted in the Country, I now make a declaration, concerning the true intent thereof.

The profession of both Houses, in the time of hammering this Petition, was no wayes to trench upon my Prerogative, saying, they had neither intention, nor Power to hurt it.

Therefore it must needs be conceived, that I have granted no new, but only confirmed the ancient Liberties of my Subjects. Yet to shew the clearness of my intentions, that I neither repent nor mean to recede from any thing, that I have promised you, I do here declare, that those things, which have been done, whereby men had cause to suspect the Liberty of the Subject to be trenched upon (which indeed was the true and first ground of the Petition) shall not hereafter be drawn into example for your prejudice; And in time to come (on the word of a King) you shall not have the like cause to complain.

But as for Tonnage *and* Poundage, *it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, never meant (I am sure) by me to grant. To conclude, I command you all that are here, to take notice of what I have spoken at this time, to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your Petition; but especially you, My Lords the* Judges, *for to you only under me belongs the interpretation of the Laws, for none of the Houses of Parliament, joynt or separate, (what new doctrine soever may be raised) have any power either to make or declare a Law, without my consent.*

During this Session, the Duke was not discouraged by the former Remonstrance, as to hinder his activity, in preparing a new, for the relief of *Rochel*, both by Sea and Land; but being ready to set sail, he was suddenly cut off, being slain at *Portsmouth*, in the 36 year of his age, by the hand of one *John Felton*, a discontented Officer of the last years Army.

The D. of Buckingham slain at Portsmouth.

The first News of this fact came to the King (then about four miles distant) at his publick devotion, whose intentions were so steady upon that sacred duty, that he received it without the least emotion of Spirit, or discomposure of Countenance. He sent Dr. *Hutchinson* (one of his Chaplains in ordinary, and then in the course of his attendance) to try, if he could learn out of him, by what inducement he committed that horrible murder; who told him, his only motive was, That the Duke had been declared an enemy to the Commonwealth in the late Remonstrance, tendred to the King by the Parliament, and afterwards said the same again, and again, both at the time of his examination before the Lords of the Council, and at his execution. Nevertheless, when he was made sensible of the foulness of the Act, he manifested great sorrow and contrition for it. But that, which excited this miserable man to so great a mischief, had likewise influenced the people in general, who rejoyced at his death, as one of the greatest enemies of their Countrey. 1628.

But those that knew him, and observed his actions, deliver him to posterity as one of the most generous and accomplished persons of that time. *His outward form was a great masterpiece of Nature, exact in every part, nor was his mind without his ornaments, being of a very affable and curteous disposition, and though advanced to as great dignity as a subject could be capable of, he did not leave those qualities. He was said to be addicted more than was fit, to the love of women, but it is not said, that his passion that way, reached to the ruine, or publick defamation of any particular person, or family. He had less studied books than men, and if he had lived a few more years, to have seen through the temptations of greatness, he might have proved as a great Pillar of this State, as any that went before him. He was very bountiful to his kindred and servants, most of which he advanced to honour and wealth; and to all to whom he professed friendship. He was constant in it, in so much, that there rarely passed a day in Court whilest he was there, wherein he did not some good Office to one or other; and as I have heard from one near him, every morning, before he went to the King, he collected in paper, what publick matters he had to acquaint him with, and the suits he had to make in behalf of those that sollicited him. But as he was kind to his friends and dependants, so he was formidable to his enemies, especially to such as deceived him under a guise of friendship. His courage was very great, and did too much transport him; for if he had a little yielded to the times, and withdrawn from those storms, he could neither prevent nor allay, he might perhaps have found a milder fate.* His Character.

His bowels were interr'd in *Portsmouth*, and his body was brought to *York-house*, from whence after some time it was entomb'd at *Westminster* in St. *Edwards* Chapel, and a stately Monument was erected over it by his Executors. And *Felton* being arraigned, and found guilty at the *Kings-bench-bar* at *Westminster*, was hanged at *Tyburn*, and afterwards his body was sent to *Portsmouth*, where without the Town it was hanged in chains, till it was consumed. The Dukes body entomb'd at Westminster at St. Edwards Chapel.

The sad accident of the Dukes death made little or no stop in the proceedings of the Fleet, which at the last set forward under the Earl of *Lyndsey*; but before he could get to *Rochel*, the Haven was so barr'd, that it was impossible for his ships to force their way (though it was gallantly often attempted) so that the *Rochellers* seeing this hope to fail, sent out some of the principal of the Town, to make their submission to the King, and set open the gates, to receive him.

The time now drawing near for the meeting of the Parliament, the King for many weighty reasons, put off their Assembling to the twentieth of *January*, and in the mean time Archbishop

Abbot

1628. Arch-bishop Abbot restored to favour.

Abbot was admitted to kiss his hands, and commanded not to fail of his attendance at the Council Table: which was done at this conjuncture, to moderate the heats of certain Ecclesiasticks; who made great disturbance in the Church, by some Scholastical controversies, in the points of Predestination, grace and perseverance. Both parties were abetted by several Bishops, and each of them would pretend the opinions they held, to be the Doctrine of the Church, when in truth they were but the opinions of private men (for nothing can be called the Doctrine of the Church, that is not so declar'd by the whole Clergy, lawfully assembled in Convocation) These were distinguished by the names of *Calvinists* and *Arminians*. The first countenanced by the Commons in Parliament, and some few of the Bishops; the latter justified by most of the Bishops, and not discountenanced by the King. The first of these were likewise somewhat remiss in exacting a rigid conformity to the Ceremonies; the latter perhaps more earnest than was needful therein at this time, but withal they were great Assertors of the Prerogative Royal. The King was very intent for the Peace of the whole, and caused the Nine and thirty Articles of the Church to be published, with a Declaration to restrain all disputes, in the points controverted; and now also a book, writ by one *Montague* (in King *James* his time) of these Controversies, called *Appello Cæsarem*, was called in, and Dr. *Potter* a *Calvinist*, is made Bishop of *Carlisle*; but these Acts did not mollifie the minds of those, for whom they were intended, for a while after (*viz.*) the 20th of *January* the Parliament Assembled, and the Grand Committees, which are usually the first things settled at the opening of that Assembly, were very busie and Active. That of *Religion* made great complaints of the invasions upon Religion, which they pretended was much endangered, by the increase of *Popery* and *Arminianisme*, and many instances were made to heighten the apprehensions of the people therein, whilst the House was not less active in their inquisitions into the miscarriages in civil affairs, concerning which diverse Petitions were presented, importing that many Merchants had their goods seized, and informations preferr'd against them in the *Star-Chamber*, for refusing to pay the custom of Tonnage and Poundage against the tenour of the Petition of Right; and one of these Merchants, named *Rolls*, being a Member of the House of Commons, what was done towards him, was judged a breach of Priviledge, for which the Customers were summoned to the House, to answer their misdemeanour therein: The King interposed in this matter, and informed the House, that what they did, was done, as by men addicted to his command, adding, he did not commissionate them, to take it as of Right belonging to him, but out of a firm presumption, that the House of Commons, suitable to their large professions, would grant it him by Bill, which he desired they would dispatch to put an end to the dispute. This gave no satisfaction, but debates in the House ran very high, and they resolved to proceed to a Remonstrance against the levying the Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Act of Parliament. In which point they were so earnest on the second of *March*, that fearing they should be dissolved, before they had vented their passion in it, they locked the doors of the House, and gave the Key to Sir *Miles Hobbard*, one of their Members, to keep; and refused to admit the Usher of the Black-rod, whom the King had sent with a Message to them; whereat he was so offended, that he sent for the Captain of the Pensioners, and the Guards, to force an entrance, and in the mean time the heads of a Remonstrance were offered to Sir *John Fynch* the Speaker, to be put to the question; which he refusing, because the King had given order to adjourn to the tenth of *March*, and to put no question, nor admit of any debate, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, and Sir *Peter Heyman* held him in the Chair, till by one of them the Protestation was read, and then they rose before the Pensioners and Guards came, and the House was adjourned to the tenth of *March*.

The Parliament is Assembled.

Grand Committees settled and very active.

1628. The Commons lock the doors of their House, and refuse to admit the Usher of the Black Rod.

The Protestation of the Commons.

1. *Whosoever shall bring in an Innovation of Religion, or by favour seek to introduce* Popery, *or* Arminianisme, *or other opinions, disagreeing from the true and Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a Capital enemy to the Kingdom and Common-wealth.*

2. *Whosoever shall counsel, or advise the taking or levying of the Subsidies of* Tonnage *and* Poundage, *not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an Actor or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a Capital enemy to this Common-wealth.*

3. *If any man shall voluntarily yield or pay the said Subsidies of* Tonnage *or* Poundage, *not being granted by Parliament, he shall be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of* England, *and an Enemy to this Common-wealth.*

Two daies after a Proclamation was issued to declare the Parliament dissolved, though the dissolution was not formally executed, till the tenth of *March*, at which time the King came to the Lords-House, and being set on his Throne, with his Crown on his Head, and in his Robes, and the Lords in their Robes also, he bespoke them them:

My Lords,

I Never came here upon so unpleasant an occasion, it being the dissolution of a Parliament: therefore men may have some cause to wonder, why I should not rather chuse to do this by Commission, it being a general Maxim of Kings, to leave harsh Commands to their Ministers, themselves only executing pleasing Commands; yet considering that Justice as well consists in the reward and praise of vertue, as punishing of vice, I thought it necessary to come here to day, to declare to you, and all the world, that it was meerly the undutiful, and seditious Carriage of the Lower-House, that hath made the dissolution of the Parliament. And you My Lords are so far from being causes of it, that I take as much comfort in your dutiful demeanours, as I am justly distasted with their proceed-

1628. *dings. Yet to avoid miſtakings let me tell you, that it is ſo far from me, to adjudge all that houſe guilty, that I know there are as dutiful Subjects, as any in the World; it being but ſome few Vipers amongſt them, that did caſt this miſt of undutifulneſs before their eyes; yet to ſay truth, there was a good number there, that would not be infected by this Contagion, inſomuch that ſome did expreſs their duties in ſpeaking, which was the general fault of the Houſe the laſt day. To conclude, as theſe Vipers muſt look for their reward of Puniſhment, ſo you, My Lords, muſt juſtly expect from me that favour and protection, that a good King oweth to his loving and dutiful Nobility.*

The King was highly provoked, as is evident by this Speech, at the diſorder and tumultuous carriage of many of the Members of the Commons-Houſe of Parliament, who ſtrain'd all things beyond their natural length; a little moderation and obſequiouſneſs might have obtain'd of him, whatſoever was deſired; and if he had not had better intentions towards his Subjects, than ſome of thoſe diſcontented Spirits would have made the world believe he had, the diſſolution of this might have been the end of all Parliaments, and we might have been deprived of that Spring, from whence the bleſſings of Peace, and happineſs have formerly been derived on this Church and State. And this there wanted not ſome, to infuſe into him, by the example of the King of *France* then Reigning. For whereas in an Aſſembly of the three Eſtates (which is in the nature of our Parliament) ſome years before this time, the Commons (being their third Eſtate) entrenched too buſily upon the Liberties of the Clergy, and ſome Priviledges, which the Nobility enjoyed, by the favour of the former Kings; it gave the King ſo great offence, that he diſſolved them, and their conſtitution together, and ordained another kind of Aſſembly in place thereof, which he called *L' Aſſemble des Notables*, That is to ſay, The Aſſembly of principal Perſons, which are compoſed of ſelect perſons out of all orders of Eſtates of the Kings nomination, to which is added a Counſellor out of every Court of Parliament in *France*, and the Acts of this Aſſembly are no leſs obliging to the People, than the others were. The King would receive no impreſſions of this nature, but yet he was very earneſt to vindicate his Authority, and Commandment, which in his proclamation, before mentioned, He alledged to have been ſo contemned, as his Kingly Office could not bear, nor any former age parallel. He had on the fourth of *March*, ſix daies before his coming to the Lords (by the advice of the Privy Council, and by their warrant) ſent for ſeveral Members of the Commons-Houſe to appear the next day at the Council-Table, (*viz.*) *Denzill Hollis*, Eſquire; Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, Sir *Miles Hubbart*; *John Selden*, *Will. Coriton*, *Benjamin Valentine*, *William Stroud*, and *Walter Long*, Eſquires, who were the principal authors of the late Diſorders, at which time *Hollis*, *Elliot*, *Coriton*, and *Valentine* appearing, and refuſing to anſwer out of Parliament, what was ſaid and done in Parliament, they were committed to the Tower; The reſt not then appearing, were afterward apprehended, and committed to ſeveral other Priſons.

Several Members of the Houſe of Commons impriſoned.

1628.

But leſt thoſe diſtempered Spirits, that had by imprudence cauſed ſo much diſquiet at *Weſtminſter*, ſhould to excuſe themſelves, diſperſe abroad in their Countries, ſome of their malignities, to aſperſe the Government, and alienate the hearts of the good Subjects from the King, he publiſhed a Declaration, ſetting forth his Reaſons and Motives for diſſolving the Parliament, with breviates of all tranſactions, in this and the former Seſſion, the heads whereof we think it not improper to inſert in this place;

The Subſtance of the King's declaration.

He profeſſed therein, To maintain the true Religion and Doctrine, eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, *without admitting or conniving at any Back-ſliding, either to Popery or Schiſm, having been ever deſirous, to be found worthy of that Title, which he accounted the moſt glorious in his Crown*, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH; *nor would he ever give way to the authoriſing of any thing, whereby any Innovation might creep into the Church, but to preſerve that unity of Doctrine and Diſcipline, eſtabliſhed in the time of Queen* Elizabeth, *wherein the Church had ſtood, and flouriſhed ever ſince. He ſhewed alſo how careful he had been to command the execution of the Laws againſt Popiſh Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants, and if his commands were not duly executed, the fault ought to be laid on the remiſneſs of the Officers and Miniſters, to whom it belong'd; for it was his part to direct and order well, but the part of others to perform the miniſterial Offices.*

Next to Religion, his care of ſettling the Right and Liberties of the People, was manifeſted in his anſwer to the Petition of Right, which ſince that time had not been infringed.

Nor was he leſs careful in the provident ordering of the Supplies given to him the laſt Seſſion, wherein no part had been put to any other uſe than to what it was granted.

But he could not but take notice of ſome glances in the Houſe, and rumours abroad, as if his anſwer to the Petition of Right, had not only given away his impoſition upon goods exported and imported, but the Tonnage and Poundage alſo, whereas in the debate thereof there was no mention in either Houſe, concerning thoſe Duties, but concerning Taxes, and other charges within the Land; for though in the matter of Tonnage and Poundage, his neceſſities pleaded ſtrongly for him, he was reſolved to guide himſelf by the practice of his Nobleſt Predeceſſours, and therefore he cauſed Records to be ſearched, where it was found, that the Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage was not granted to King Edward *the fourth, till the third year of his Reign, yet he received it the firſt day of his acceſſion to the Crown, until it was granted by Parliament; and in the ſucceeding times of* Richard *the third, King* Henry *the ſeventh, King* Henry *the Eighth, King* Edward *the Sixth, Queen* Mary, *and Queen* Elizabeth, *the Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage was not only enjoyed by every one of thoſe Kings and Queens, from the death of each of them deceaſing, until it was granted by*

1628. *by Parliament unto the Succeſſour; but in all thoſe times, the Parliament did moſt readily and chearfully, in the beginning of every of thoſe Reigns grant the ſame, as a thing moſt neceſſary for the guarding of the Seas, ſafety and Defence of the Realm, and ſupportation of the Royal dignity. And in the time of his Royal Father, of Bleſſed Memory, he enjoyed the ſame a full year, wanting very few daies, before his Parliament began; and above a year, before the Act of Parliament, for the grant of it was paſſed; and yet when the Parliament was Aſſembled, it was granted without difficulty. And in his own time he quietly received the ſame three years, and more, expecting with patience in ſeveral Parliaments, the grant thereof, as had been made to many of his Predeceſſours, the Houſe of Commons ſtill profeſſing that multitude of other Buſineſſes, and not want of Willingneſs on their part had cauſed the ſettling thereof to be ſo long deferred.*

And when the grant of an Act came to be treated of, all expreſſed a great Willingneſs to grant it, but a new ſtrain was found out to puzzle the buſineſs, that it could not be done without peril to the Right of the ſubject, unleſs he would diſclaim his Right therein, and put himſelf out of the poſſeſſion thereof; whereas it was evident, all the Kings before named did receive that duty, and were in actual poſſeſſion of it before, and at the very time, when it was granted to them by Parliament. Nevertheleſs he did declare, That it was his meaning by the gift of the people to enjoy it, and that he did not challenge it of Right, but took it De bene eſſe, *wherein he ſaid he deſcended, for their ſatisfaction, far beneath himſelf, being confident never any of his Predeceſſours did the like, nor was the like required of them, but yet for all this the Bill was laid aſide. Whilſt the Duke of* Buckingham *lived, he was intitled to all the ill events of Parliament, but now he is dead, no alteration was found amongſt thoſe envenomed Spirits, which troubled the Harmony betwixt him, and his Subjects, and continue ſtill to trouble it; So that the Duke was not the Mark they ſhot at; but as a meer Miniſter of his, taken up in their paſſage to more ſecret deſigns, to caſt his affairs into a deſperate condition, to abate the Power of the Crown, and to bring the Government into obloquy, that in the end all things might be overwhelmed with Anarchy and confuſion. And then concludes, That all wiſe, and diſcreet men, might judge of the Rumours and fears maliciouſly bruited abroad, and diſcern by examination of their own hearts, whether in reſpect of the free paſſage of the Goſpel, indifferent and equal Miniſtration of Juſtice; Freedom from oppreſſion, and the great peace and quietneſs which every man enjoyeth under his own Vine, the happineſs of this Nation can be paralel'd by any of our Neighbours Countries; and if it cannot be, acknowledge their own Bleſſedneſs, and for the ſame be thankful to God, the Author of all Goodneſs.*

On the ſeventh of *May*, the Attorney General preferred an Information in the Star-Chamber, againſt Sir *John Elliot*, and the reſt of the impriſoned Members, and they iſſued a Proceſs againſt them, to anſwer his allegations in that Court; To which they demurr'd, and the King had ſeveral Communications with the Judges about it, but they moved for Writs of *Habeas Corpus*, and had them granted, but had no returns to them as was deſired, till the King had received the Reſolution of the Judges in the Matter, which he did the 30th of *September*, at *Hampton-Court*; where the King calling them aſide (after he had propoſed ſeveral matters to them, by way of advice, and had heard the anſwer, which was, *That their offences were not capital, and that by the Law they ought to be bailed, giving ſecurity for their good behaviour*;) he told them, he purpoſed, to proceed againſt them, by the Common-Law in the King's Bench, and to decline his proceeding in the Star-Chamber, and was contented they ſhould be bailed, notwithſtanding their obſtinacy, that they had not given him a Petition to expreſs their ſorrow for offending him; adding, that he was pleaſed with them for dealing plainly with him; or words to that effect. 1628. Information in the Star-Chamber againſt Sir John Elliot, and the impriſon'd Members. 1629.

In purſuance of this advice, as ſoon as *Michaelmas* Term began, the Court of Kings-Bench was moved to bail the priſoners; To which the Judges with one voice ſaid, they were content, they ſhould be bailed, but that they ought to find Sureties for their good Behaviour; To which *Selden* anſwered (and all the reſt agreed to it) that they had Sureties ready for the Bail, but not for the good Behaviour, for that was a point of diſcretion meerly, and they could not aſſent to it, without great offence to the Parliament, where the matters ſurmiſed were acted. To this the Judges replied to this effect, *That the return did not mention any thing done in Parliament, and the ſurety of good Behaviour is a prevention of Damages to the Common-wealth, and an Act of Government and Juriſdiction, and not of Law, and would be no inconvenience to the priſoners for the ſame Bail ſhould ſuffice, and all ſhould be written in one piece of Parchment.* But they refuſed, and were remanded, and the ſame Term an Information was exhibited by the Atturney General in the Kings-Bench, againſt *Elliot*, *Hollis*, and *Valentine*, for words ſpoken by them in the fore-going Parliament, ſaid to be *falſo, malitioſe, & ſeditioſe, as well verſus Regem, Magnates, Prelatos, Proceres & Juſtitiarios ſuos, quam Magnates, Proceres & Juſtitiarios, & reliquos Regis Subditos, & totaliter deprivare & avertere Regimen, & Gubernationem Regni Anglia, tam in Domino Rege, quam in Conſiliariis, & Miniſtris ſuis, cujuſcunque generis, & inducere tumultum & confuſionem, in all Eſtates and partes, & ad intentionem, that all the King's ſubjects ſhould withdraw their affections from the King.*

A motion in the King's-Bench to bail the Priſoners.

Information in the Kings-Bench againſt them.

Then the words were expreſſed at large, and at the end of the information it was urged, that Sir *John Finch* the Speaker endeavouring to go out of the Chair according to the King's Command,

1629. mand, to adjourn the House, they assaulted and evil intreated him *violenter, manu forti, & illicita*, and being out of the Chair they assaulted him in the House, *& violenter, manu forti, & illicita*, drew him to the Chair, and thrust him into it, *&c.*

The Defendants demur to the jurisdiction of the Court. The demur is over-ruled, and a day adjoined.

To this Information, the Gentlemen put in a Plea; Forasmuch as these Offences are supposed to have been done in Parliament, they ought not to be Punished in this Court or any other, unless in Parliament. Upon this the Court gave day to adjoin in demurrer that Term, and on the first day of the next Term the Record to be read, and within a day after argued at the Bar.

Information in the Star-Chamber against Mr. *Long.*

Against Mr. *Long* particularly, an Information was preferred in the Star-Chamber, which was agreed the first day of *Hilary* Term; It was not for any thing said in Parliament, but to this effect following, (*viz.*) *For that he being high Sheriff of the County of* Wilts, *had the charge and Custody thereof committed to him, and had taken his Oath according to the Law to abide within his Bailywick all that time of his Sheriffwick, and his trust and imployment requiring his personal attendance therein, did contrary thereunto suffer himself to be chosen a Citizen for the City of* Bath, *to serve in the last Parliament, and did attend at* Westminster *in Parliament without his Majesties Licence, He being Sheriff at the time, which was done in contempt of his Majesties pleasure signified to him under his great Seal, when he granted him the Office of Sheriffwick:* And after hearing his Counsel upon his demurrer, and plea, and other Arguments and reasons used in that behalf by his Counsel, the whole Court agreed in a sentence against him in these or the like words: For the fore-mentioned offences in breach of his Oath, neglect of his trust, and contempt of his Majesty, it is decreed and adjudged, that he shall be committed to the Tower during his Majesties pleasure, and pay a Fine of two thousand Marks to his Majesty, and make a submission and acknowledgement of his offence in the Court of Star-Chamber, and to his Majesty before his enlargement.

Sentence in the Star-Chamber against Mr. *Long.*

The same Term, the Counsel of Sir *John Eliot*, and the other Gentlemen (inform'd against in the Kings-Bench) argued also against the information, and the jurisdiction of the Court; but the Judges hearing both parties for and against it, unanimously agreed, *That the Court as the Case is, shall have jurisdiction, although these offences were committed in Parliament, and that the imprisoned members ought to answer, and that they were by the Court ruled to plead further*; but they not putting in any Plea, the last day of the Term judgement was granted against them upon a *Nihil dicit*, and they were sentenced by the Court,

The opinion of the Court of King's-Bench.

1. To be imprisoned during the Kings pleasure.

2. None of them to be delivered out of prison until security given in Court for the good behaviour, and submission, and acknowledgement made of the Offence.

3. Sir *John Eliot* fin'd to pay to the King, two thousand pounds, being the greatest offender; Mr. *Hollis* a thousand Marks, and Mr. *Valentine* five hundred pounds, and in like manner the rest were proceeded against, and several Fines were accordingly imposed upon them, most of which were paid, and the Gentlemen afterwards released from their imprisonments. If any of them did refuse to pay such fines, as were set upon them, they were men either of decayed or of small estates, and so not able to make payment of the fines imposed. 1629.

Heylin's Observations in his History of the Reign of K. Charles.

Many weighty and learned arguments were made in the Case of these Gentlemen, before the judgement given, both by the Kings learned Counsel and their Counsel also, who objected all that could be thought of in the matter, some of which we shall mention for the better understanding of the matter in Question.

That this was a priviledge of Parliament, whereof the Court were not competent Judges. *Obj.* 1.

To which was answered, in 8 *Eliz.* it was the opinion of *Dyer, Catlin, Welsh, Brown* and *Southcot*, Justices, that Offences committed in Parliament are punishable out of Parliament; and *Plowden*, in the time of Queen *Mary*, was fined for words spoken in Parliament against the dignity of the Queen; and in 6 *H.* 6. a judgement given in a Writ of Annuity in *Ireland*, the said judgement was reversed in Parliament there. Upon which Writ of Error was brought in this Court, and the judgement reversed. *Answ.*

This is an inferiour Court to Parliament, and cannot meddle with matter done in it. *Obj.* 2.

To which was answered, the Court Questions not the judgement of Parliaments, for what is done in Parliament by consent of all the House shall not be questioned elsewhere, but the particular offences criminally committed there, are punishable here; for if particular members of a superiour Court offend, they are punishable in an inferiour. As if a Judge shall commit a Capital offence in this Court, he may be arraigned thereof at *Newgate*. *Answ.*

The Parliament Law differs from the Law by which this Court judgeth in sundry Cases, as for instance, by the Statute none ought to be chosen Burgess for a Town in which he doth not inhabit, but in that the usage of Parliament is contrary. *Obj.* 3.

The reply to this was, That they are the judges of Acts of Parliament, and if Information be brought upon the said Statute against such a Burgess, the Statute is a good Warrant for the Court to give judgement against him. *Answ.*

The Queen miscarried of a Son.

In the spring of this year the Queen being affrighted, aborted of a Son, which added something to the King's troubles at home; though abroad matters succeeded well, for the King of *France* being in a Transalpine expedition at *Susa*, for the relief of *Casall*, was so intent on that War, that he was very inclinable to peace with us, and by the intervention of the States of *Venice*, a Peace was concluded upon the ensuing Articles.

The King of *France* desirous of Peace.

The State of *Venice* mediate the Peace with *France*.

1. *That the two Kings shall accord to renew the former Alliance between the two Crowns, and to preserve it inviolable with free Commerce, and in reference to the said Commerce, liberty is given, that such things be proposed as either part shall judge convenient either to add or diminish.*

2 *That*

1629. Articles of the peace with France.

2. *That considering it is very difficult to make restitution of what hath been taken as Prize, as well on one side, as the other, during the late Wars: It is agreed between the two Crowns, that for what is passed no satisfaction shall be demanded on either side.*

3. *As to the Articles and contract of marriage of the Queen of Great* Britain, *they shall be confirmed, and for what concerneth her domesticks, it shall be lawful to propose what shall be thought expedient to be either added or diminished.*

4. *All former Alliances shall stand good between the two Crowns, saving wherein they shall be changed by this present Treaty.*

5. *The two Kings being by this present Treaty remitted to the affection they formerly had, shall respectively employ this correspondence toward the assistance of their Allies (so far as the restitution of Affairs, and the general good will permit) for the procuring repose of the troubles of Christendom.*

6. *The premises being established on both sides, persons of Eminency shall be reciprocally dispatched as Embassadors on either part for ratification of the accord, and for nomination of Agents ordinarily resident at either Court, for the better preserving this Union.*

7. *And because many Ships are now at Sea, with letters of Marque, who cannot suddenly take cognisance of this peace; it is agreed, that what shall occurr in the name of Hostility for the space of two moneths on either side, shall not prejudice or derogate from this agreement. Provided notwithstanding that what shall be made prize of within the space of two moneths, after signature shall be resolved on either side.*

8. *Lastly, The two Kings shall respectively sign the present Articles the* 14. *of this present moneth of* April, *and at the same time they shall be consigned into the hands of the Lords Embassadors of* Venice, *to deliver reciprocally to the two Kings at a day prefixt. And from the day of signing, all Acts of Hostility shall cease, to which end proclamation shall be issued out in both Kingdoms the twentieth day of* May.

And for a confirmation of this League, in *September* following the Marquess of *Chasteau Neuf*, was sent in Embassy from *France*, and Sir *Thomas Edmonds* was sent thither from hence.

About the month of *July*, there hapned a great Fray in *Fleet-street*, upon the rescue of one Captain *Bellingham* (an officer in the late expedition to the *Isle* of *Rhee*) which was attempted by some students in the Temple, wherein some were hurt and carried to prison. But this drew together many of the Gentlemen to rescue the prisoner who made a Barracade against St. *Dunstans Church*, and beat back the Sheriffs Officers, and released their friends; of which the Lord Mayor being inform'd, he and the Sheriffs with a band of trained Souldiers came down to keep the Peace, and disperse them; who were now encreased to the number of five hundred, and armed with swords and pistols: The Lord Mayor made Proclamation, That on pain of rebellion they should dissolve themselves; but prevail'd not, he then tryed other means, and the souldiers fired their Muskets on them charg'd with powder only; but the gentlemen provok'd at this, shot bullets, and very fiercely attacqued the Train-bands, kill'd five outright, and wounded near a hundred; yet the City souldiers were so reinforced, that in the end the gentlemen, were subdued, and one *Ashurst* and *Stamford* two Captains, with some others were taken and committed. The King was much offended at the uproar, and immediately sent for the Lord Chief Justice, by whose advice a special Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* was issued out, and about a fortnight after the malefactors were arraigned in the *Guild-Hall* of *London*, and *Ashurst* and *Stamford* being found guilty of murder, were condemned and executed at *Tyburn*. *Stamford* was a relation and servant to the last Duke of *Buckingham*, and much intercession was made for him: but the King would not pardon him, but said he had murdered a watch-man before, and was pardon'd, and hath now kill'd another, and he would take order he should not kill a third. 1629.

A great Fray in Fleet-street.

In the month of *January*, Don *Carlos de Colomas*, sent Embassador from *Spain* arrived at *London*, and had audience six dayes after; his business was to treat of a Peace, betwixt the two Crowns, which was a while after concluded, all things being left on both sides in the same condition in which they were before the War, and the *Spaniard* did engage that he would make use of all his interest with the Emperour for restoring the Prince Elector *Palatine* to his lost estate.

This Peace, and that with *France* brought a great encrease of Trade to us, the *Spaniards* sent hither yearly in *English Bottoms*, no less than 600000 Crowns in *Bullion*, for the use of the Army in the *Netherlands*, redounding very much to the Kings benefit in the Coinage, and no less to the profit of the Merchants also, most of the money being return'd into *Flanders* in Leather, Cloth, Lead, Tin, and other the Commodities of this Kingdom. The *Dutch*, and *Easterlings* being great Traders, lookt upon *London* as the safest bank not only to lodge, but increase their treasure; so that in a short time, the greatest part of the Trade of Christendom was driven upon the *Thames*.

On the tenth of *April*, this Year *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Steward of the Kings Household died suddenly of an Apoplexy, he was the Son of *Henry* Earl of *Pembroke*, Son of *William Herbert* created Earl of *Pembroke*, and Lord *Herbert* of *Cardiffe* in the fifth year of King *Edward* the sixth, whose great Grandfather was *William* Earl of *Pembroke* taken prisoner in the Battle of *Banbury* in the year 1467. in the quarrel of the House of *Lancaster*, and beheaded in the ninth year of King *Edward* the fourth. 1630.

He was a comely Person, of a very generous mind, and one that in all his actions, appeared to be of the true ancient stock of *English* Nobility; He was competently learned, and a great lover of his Prince and Country without flattery or faction, which made him be ever esteemed by the first, and loved and respected by the later: He marryed *Mary*, the eldest Daughter, and Coheir of *Gilbert Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, by whom he had not issue. The King was somewhat touched at the death of so good a Counsellor. But to qualifie that loss, God blest him with

1630. with a Son, the Heir of his Dominions, on the twenty ninth of *May*, who on the twenty seventh of *June* following was with great solemnity baptized, and named *CHARLES*, the Godfathers were the King of *France*, and the Prince Elector, represented by the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Marquess of *Hamilton*; the Godmother was the Queen of *France*, whose Substitute was the Dutchess of *Richmond*. After this joyful Ceremony was performed, the King was intent on the Business of the Prince Elector, and having intelligence of a Dyet to be kept this Summer at *Ratisbone*, he sent Sir *Robert Anstruther*, his Ambassadour to the Emperour, taking that opportunity, when the Estates of the Empire were assembled, to treat of his brothers restitution to the *Palatinate*. Sir *Robert* went in very noble Equipage, and was very well received, when he came thither, and at his first audience he delivered his Message to this effect.

The Birth of Prince Charles.

Sr. Rob. Anstruther sent Ambassador to the Emperour.

His Speech to the Emperour.

That nothing did affect his Master, the King of Great Britain, *more, than the daily Calamities, undergone by his Brother the Prince Elector, his Wife and Children: that he deem'd no place more convenient, where to treat of their Reconciliation, and re-establishment, than in this Dyet; therefore he made it his most ardent Request to his most Imperial* Majesty, *that having regard to the many Intercessions of his late Father, and other Kings and Princes, he would remit the displeasure conceived against his Brother, and recall the proscription issued out against him. True it is, his Brother had offended, and was inexcusably guilty (unless the Rashness and precipitation of youth may somewhat plead for him) But others had been as culpable as he, whom yet his Imperial* Majesty *received into Grace and favour; and would he be pleased to extend to him the same clemency, it would oblige his Master to demonstrations of greatest gratitude, and raise a glorious imitation in others to imitate so Majestick a Pattern. That the Palsgrave would entertain this favour with an heart so firmly devoted to his service, as all the intention of his Spirit should be disposed to compensation and reparation of his by-past miscarriages. That his Master held nothing so dear, as the affection of his Imperial* Majesty, *and establishment of a durable peace between them; and as upon all occasions he hath been forward to represent himself solicitous of it, so at this time he is ready to give more ample testimony, if his* Imperial Majesty *be pleased to incline to a treaty.*

The Emperours Answer.

The Emperour and Estates did not answer the Kings expectation, for besides the Complements which the Ambassadour receiv'd, all the answer to this Business was, *That the present affairs of* Germany, *which call'd them thither, were of that important concernment, as would not admit of any forain debate. But when leisure served, his Master should have such satisfaction, as they hoped would give content.* The Emperour was the colder in this matter, because he had some intimation of the Kings Correspondence with the King of *Sweden*, who was at this time ready to enter into *Germany* with an Army. And he was not much deceiv'd in his intelligence, for ever since the King of *Denmark* was by Count *Tilly* driven out of *Germany*, The eyes of all this part of the World were upon *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*; as the fittest person, to check the greatness of the House of *Austria*. Him therefore, two years ago, the King elected into the Noble Order of the Garter, wherewith he was solemnly invested in the midst of his Army, at the Siege of *Darsaw*, a Town of *Pomerella*, belonging to the Crown of *Poland*, and then the grounds were laid, which (being seconded by the French, the States of the *United Provinces*, and the distressed Princes of the Empire) brought that King into *Germany*. For which Expedition on the thirteenth of *June*, he imbarqued himself, and all his Army, in Seventy men of War, and two hundred lesser Barques. He had made great preparations the year before for this design, and had entertain'd many Scottish and English Commanders and Souldiers, lately in the Service of the King of *Denmark*, (after the Peace at *Angle* in *Holstein*, made the year before with that Crown) and had dispatch'd some of them to raise Recruits, to compleat their Regiments in *Scotland* and *England*, and likewise he entertained *Germans*, who had return'd from the *Cesarean* Army, and from that Army that was sent to assist the King of *Poland*, under the conduct of *Harven*, and from those who had been disobliged by *Wallestein*, the Emperours General; he receiv'd good intelligence of the State of the Empire, and gave them Commissions to raise forces with all speed: So that with some of these and the remainder of the Army, which was brought from the wars of *Livonia*, he had got together above Twelve thousand horse and foot of old Souldiers; But time was very favourable to the Enterprise, for the Princes of *Germany* had been much oppressed by the late Military Government, which *Wallesteyne* had introduced amongst them. Who had under his command a hundred thousand foot, and 30000 horse of divers Nations, dispersed over all *Germany*, whereby the Princes of *Germany* were not treated as free Princes, but Subjects. Whereupon for that the excessive Authority of private men, and over-greatness of Neighbouring Potentates is never lik'd by great ones, The Electors, which pretend to keep the Imperial condition within its limits, could not suffer either the burthen they lay under upon this former occasion, nor that so many Souldiers should be maintain'd in *Germany*, in the time of Peace, to the peoples so great Grievances, nor that the Throne of *Cæsar* should be raised so high. They therefore privately sought out all opportune means, how they might disarm him, and take from the *Empire* such a support; To which the *Spanish* Ministers at *Vienna* willingly concurr'd, to moderate the greatness of *Wallestein*, and prevailed with the *Emperour* to the disbanding of the supernumerary Forces, to please the Electors, and to oblige them thereby, to adhere to favour the King of *Hungary*, at Election of the King of the Romans. *Wallestein* was hereupon immediately laid aside, which made him exclaim that the Emperour was betrai'd; and certainly there was some grounds for it. But if he had been more

1630.

The King of *Swedens* Expedition into *Germany*.

complacent

1636. complacent in his behaviour, his authority had not been so easily taken away, nor so many of the forces disbanded, which whilest they were kept together made the Emperour so powerful, that the King of *Sweden* could never have made that impression he did into his Dominions. *Wallestein* thus removed retired into *Bohemia*, and lived there till he was call'd again to imployment.

Thus *Germany* became weakened, being not only divided by the dissonancy of Religion, but exasperated by the late pressures upon them, whereby the King of *Sweden* had a very easie entrance into *Pomerania*, for in a very little time he had taken the Islands of *Rugen*, and *Usedon*, and all the forts therein, and *Wolghast* and the strong Town of *Stetin* in *Pomeriana*, and restored *Bogislaus* Duke of *Pomerania* to his authority.

His success.

The news of the Success of the King of *Sweden*, made our King very willing to send aids to him, and the Marquess of *Hamilton* had Commissions to levy six thousand men, for the service against the next spring, which were most of them to be of the *Scottish* Nation: For the encouragement of the Marquess in this expedition, the King gave him the impost of wines in *Scotland*, which amounted to twenty thousand pounds Starling a year: but for the raising of those men, and an intended supply of moneys to the King of *Sweden* greater sums were required. And therefore the King by the advice of his Attorney General and other his Counsel, learned in the Law, was forced to use all ways by the Law allowable to furnish himself.

Marquess of *Hamilton* his commission to raise 6000 men to aide the King of *Sweden*.

By the Common Law every man of full age that could dispend a Knights fee, was compellable by the Kings writ to take the Order of Knighthood, or else to make fine for the discharge or respite of the same: but because of the uncertainty of the quantity of lands that made a Knights fee, K. *Edw.* the second in the first year of his Reign granted a writ in the time of Parliament, and caused it to be there entered of record, (which is therefore stiled by some a statute) wherein no man was thereafter to be distrained for Knighthood, that had not twenty pounds a year in Fee Simple or Fee tail, or for term of life, which Sir *Edward Coke* explains, to be tenant by courtesie; and almost in every Kings Reign till the time of *Edward* the 4th. men were summon'd by proclamation to take the order of Knighthood, but the value of land was seldom limited so low as twenty pounds a year, for in the 18th. of King *Henry* the 6th. which perhaps is the last time before this wherein proclamations of this kind were issued, the same was express'd to be 40. *l.* a year. The King having this warrantable way to supply his necessities, did cause several writs to be issued out of the Chancery for Proclamations to be made in every County, to summon all persons of full age, and not Knights, being seized of lands or rents of the yearly value of 40. *l.* or more, to appear in the Kings presence at a certain day therein limited, to take upon them the Order of Knighthood, upon return of which writs and transmitting the same with their returns into the Exchequer, and upon other writs for enquiring of the names of such as did not appear, process by *Distringas* was made against them, and they were fined for the same, which brought a hundred thousand pounds or more into the Exchequer.

All persons seised of 40. *l.* or more pecuniis summon'd to take the order of Knighthood.

1636.

But this money would not answer the Kings occasions, wherefore Mr. *Walter Montague* was sent over to Negotiate the payment of the moyety of the Queens portion (being four hundred Thousand Crowns) behind, and to require satisfaction for such rich Ships, taken from us by the French, since the last peace concluded; and with him *Philip Burlamach* a Merchant, was sent to receive the money, and make it over by Exchange or otherwise. The *French* King received the message with kindness enough, but complain'd that one Captain *Kirk* had two years before, taken the fort of *Kelech* in *Canada*, which was in possession of the *French*, and put an *English* garrison into it; this after a little consideration was found so equitable, that the King gave order to have the Fort deliver'd, and thereupon his full and just demands were satisfied. During the sitting of the last Parliament, one *Leighton* a *Scotchman*, writ a Book called *Zions Plea*, which he presented to them; it was of a very fiery nature, exciting the Parliament and people to kill all the Bishops, and to smite them under the fifth Rib, bitterly enveighing against the Queen, calling her a Daughter of *Heth*, a Canaanite, an Idolatress, for which he was this year sentenc'd in the Star-Chamber, to be whipt and stigmatiz'd, to have his ears cropt, and nose slit, but betwixt the pronouncing and inflicting of this censure, he made his escape into *Bedfordshire*, but by the diligence of the Warden of the Fleet, he was quickly recover'd, and the punishment to which he was sentenc'd inflicted upon him. The Romish recusants were about this time very active in *England*, and their Religion begun to encrease by the industry of their Priests, who needed not now to fetch their Ordination from abroad, by reason that the Pope had sent hither Doctor *Smith*, the Titular Bishop of *Calcedon* to ordain Priests, who took also upon him to approve of such regular Priests as were to be standing Confessors, which the General of the Jesuites thought an usurpation upon his Jurisdiction, and that Order by their insinuation being more powerful in *England*, prevail'd with many of the most eminent of their Religion, to remonstrate against his authority, asserting all sufficient power in the Regulars to whatever was pretended by the Bishop, and the no necessity of having a Bishop in *England*; The *Spanish* Ambassadour favoured the Jesuites in this contest, to which the Kings Proclamation for the Bishops banishment concurring, he was frighted into *France*. Nor were this sort of men insolent in *England* only, but in *Ireland* also, for at *Dublin* whilst the Lord Justices were hearing divine service in *Christs-Church*, they had as publick resort to Mass as is sometimes in *London*, to the houses of Ambassadors of that Religion; which the Lords Justices taking notice of, they sent the Archbishop, the Mayor, Sheriff, and Recorder of the City to apprehend them, which they did, taking away their Crucifixes, Chalices, and Copes, and delivering the Fryers and Priests into the hands of the Pursivants, whom the people threw stones at, and had rescued them, but that a Guard was sent to defend them: nevertheless the Justices

Leighton a Scotchman punished for writing a seditious book called *Zions plea*.

Contests in *England* between the Jesuites and Secular priests.

Tumults in *Dublin* about restraining the liberty of the Catholicks.

were so careful to prevent the like disorders, that most of their houses of Religion were immediately seized into the Kings hands, and such Inquisition after the rest, that two Priests hang'd themselves at the apprehension of this (as they then call'd it) persecution.

The Marquess of *Hamilton* suspected of a design to convert his forces raised for forreign service against *England*.

The Marquess of *Hamilton* was at this time under some umbrage at Court, though his power with the King quickly broke through it. The occasion thereof was this; He had sent a creature of his own *David Ramsey* into *Germany*, on pretence to notifie his coming thither to the King of *Sweden*, and to inform himself of the condition of the *Scots* then in that Service, but by what appear'd after, it was suspected he had another intention than the King of *Swedens* assistance. There were at this time eight and twenty Colonels of the *Scotch* nation in the *Swedish* service, amongst which, there were four of the name of *Hamilton*, with whom *Ramsey* had made a near acquaintance, for he lived at a great expence; he had also indear'd himself to Colonel *Alexander Ramsey* Governour of *Crentzenach*, a person of good esteem and interest both with the *Swedes* and those of his own nation; Amongst these Officers, there was the Lord of *Rhees Mackey*, who commanded a Brigade of *Scots*, a person of great honour and reputation, who having discovered by some expression of *Ramsey*, that the Marquess had a deeper design than the present expedition to *Germany*, he insinuated into him to find out the bottom of it, and was told by him in much secrecy, that the Marquess would convert these Forces which he was by the Kings authority to raise in *Scotland* for foreign Service against *England*, That their Friends had provided arms and ammunition, and more were expected from *Sweden* and other parts, and he and Colonel *Alexander Hamilton* solicited him to be of their party; to this the Lord of *Rhees* made a cold answer, but thought himself bound in duty to come into *England* and make it known to the King, which he did the rather because *Ramsey* was then return'd also; but he upon this accusation denyed the whole matter, and the Lord having no proof thereof (as in such secret practices it could hardly be) more than a confident aspersion and the engagement of his honour, the King thought good to refer the controversie to the tryal of the Constable and Marshal with the assistance of other Lords in Commission with them according to the antient law of the Land; The Earl of *Lindsey* being made Constable to that end and purpose, many days were spent accordingly in pursuance of it. But when most men expected that the matter would be tryed by Combat, as had been accustomed in such cases, the business was hush'd up at Court, the Lord *Rhees* dismiss'd to his imployment in the war, and the Marquess did not only continue in the Kings great favour, but *Ramsey* was permitted to hold the place of a Gentleman of the privy chamber which had formerly been procured for him.

The tryal of the Lord *Audley*.

On the 25 of *April* this year, *Mervin Touchet Lord Audley* was indicted and arraigned of Rape and Sodomy before his Peers in *Westminster-Hall*, The Lord *Coventry Lord-keeper* of the great *Seal*, was for that day constituted *Lord High Steward* of *England*, and the Peers joyned with him were; The Earl of *Portland Lord Treasurer*, The Earl of *Manchester Lord Privy Seal*, The Earl of *Arundel Lord Marshal*, and the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Kent*, *Worcester*, *Bedford*, *Essex*, *Dorset*, *Salisbury*, *Leicester*, *Warwick*, *Carlisle*, *Holland*, *Bark-shire*, and *Denbigh*, The Viscounts *Wimbleton*, *Conway*, *Dorchester*, *Wentworth*, The Barons *Percy*, *Strange*, *Clifford*, *Peters*, *North*, *Goring*, where divers unnatural and bestial actions being prov'd against him, he had sentence to be hang'd; but by the clemency of the King to him that sentence was chang'd to a beheading, which was executed on him at *Tower-Hill* on the 14 of *May*; and in the same Month of *May*, Sir *Giles Allington* of *Cambridgeshire*, married his own Neece the Daughter of one Mr. *Dalton*, for which he was questioned in the high Commission Court, but he declined the Jurisdiction, and moved the Court of Common Pleas therein, from whence he obtain'd two rules; one requiring the Commissioners to shew cause why a prohibition should not be granted; The other, That if they proceeded further before cause shewn, a prohibition should be awarded; This gave great offence to the Bishop of *London*, who complain'd to the King thereof, and he by the Lord Keeper signified his displeasure to the Judges for their proceeding herein, whereat they desisted, and the Court consisting of eight Bishops, and four other Commissioners gave the sentence following against him, to be Fined to the King twelve thousand pound; to stand obliged in the penalty of twenty thousand pound, never to cohabit or come near his Neece any more: and to be committed to Prison, or put in sufficient bayl, till both he and his Neece shall have done penance at *Pauls-Cross* and at great St. *Maries* at *Cambridge* at a day appointed by the Court. Never was delinquent censured there, by a more solemn and venerable Consistory: many spake excellent well, but Sir *Henry Martyn*, whose custom it was before to out-go others, did then surpass himself.

And of Sir *Giles Allington*.

The Marquess of *Hamilton* arrival with his forces on the *Oder*.

About the midst of *July* the Marquess of *Hamilton* arrived in the *Oder* with six thousand foot, well arraied and furnished of Artillery for the Service of the King of *Sweden*, and with three hundred thousand Dollers in money, he himself came to the King at his League at *Werben* on the *Elve*; The King received him very respectfully, and shewed him all the fortifications, and the preparations he had made against the Count *de Tilly*, who was marched as far as *Wolmestat* towards him; so that he had no leisure to entertain him as he would, but after he had form'd his instructions he was dismiss'd, and his forces were appointed to joyn with General *Bavier*, he told him he was very sorry his Army arrived in such parts of the Country that were ruined, in that both the Armies had lain there above a year before, but within a while, he said, they shou'd have better quarters, but the men were almost all lost whilst they were there, finding not only famine to consume them, but the Plague also, which did so rage that two hundred a week of them dyed, and they were much weakned, but those that survived did good service, and their coming at this time was great furtherance of the King of *Swedens* cause, for thereby a good part of the Enemies forces were for fear of them diverted

1631. diverted towards *Silesia*, and this diversion aided much to the Conjunction of the Kings Army with that of the Duke of *Saxony*, and consequently of his further advance into *Germany*, and his victory obtained at *Leipsigh* on the seventeenth of *September* following, likewise the reputation of this supply, and the King of *Englands* friendship and concordance brought in the Landgrave of *Hessen* and Duke *Bernard Weymer* to offer their service to the King, and most part of the Towns of the upper Circle of the Empire were desirous to joyn in Confederacy with him.

Sr. Henry Vane sent Ambassador to the King of Sweden.

Our *King* immediately after the dispatching the Marquess *Hamilton*, sent Sir *Henry Vane* his Ambassador to the King of *Sweden*, who arrived at *Wertzburg* on the *Main*, a fortnight after the Battel of *Leipsigh*, about which time *Magdeburgh* was block'd up by the Forces under the Command of Marquess *Hamilton* and General *Bannier*, who had a little before took in the Town of *Vansleber* in *Pomerania*. The Embassadour after some refreshment, went to the King of *Sweden* at *Frankford* on the *Main* which had open'd his Gates to him; on the 17 of *November*, hither also came the Marquess of *Hamilton* with a very Magnificent Train, and the French Embassador, and a little before them the Palsgrave arrived, and the Queen of *Sweden* also came thither attended by the *Rix Chancellor Oxenstern*, and Sir *Patrick Ruthen* the eldest Colonel of the *Scotish Nation*: here the King gave audience to our Ambassadour, and many Treaties were in agitation both for the prosecution of the War the next year, and the restitution of the Palatinate, but the shortness of the Kings Stay hindred the bringing of any Counsels to Maturity, for he was not here a week when upon advice that divers troops of Spaniards and Flemings raised in *Luxemburg* were marching towards the Palatinate to recruit the Garrisons of *Mentz*, *Wormes*, *Frankendal*, *Heidleberg* and other Towns in those parts, he broke off the negotiations for that time, and hasten'd to his Army, with a purpose to pass over the *Rhine*, in order whereunto he first lay down before a Sconce lying on the *Rhine* over against *Oppenheim*: it was a place very well fortified with deep and broad Fosses full of water, with a draw-bridge over, and well provided of Victuals and Ammunition, and it was so scituated that the men had free passage to the Town and back again without any danger; after the Batteries were made, the King left the old Scotish Brigade Commanded by Colonel *Hepburne*, and the blew Regiment Commanded by Colonel *Winckles* before it, and he gave order to have some Boats that the *Spaniard* had sunk, taken up and emptied of water, by which means he passed over two thousand Scots of the Lord *Rhees* Regiment, Sir *James Ramseys* Regiment, and old *Spense* his Regiment, and with these he secured the landing place, till he passed over a good part of his Army, and unexpectedly came before *Oppenhoine*; and the next day these in the Sconce (hearing the King had pass'd the *Rhine*,) capitulated and surrendred the place to Colonel *Hepheim*: *Oppenheim* was also after a while surrendred to the King of *Sweden*, and from thence he made a farther impression on the Palatinate with so great success, that he quickly took in all the Cities and Towns thereof, except *Heidleberg* and *Frankendal*, where we shall leave him victorious, and return to *Domestick* affairs. 1631.

About five years since certain Feoffees were intrusted to purchase in Impropriations with their own and the money of other well disposed persons, and with the profit thereof to set up and maintain preaching Ministers in places of greatest need, where preaching was much wanting, whereupon in a short while many great sums were advanc'd. There are in *England* Nine thousand two hundred and eighty four Parish-Churches endowed with Glebe and Tyth, but of these when these Trustees entred on their work, three thousand eight hundred forty and five, were either appropriated to Bishops, Cathedrals, and Colledges, or impropriated as lay-fees to private persons, as formerly belonging to Abbies; to purchase which last sort, they had made such progress, that it was believed in fifty years rather purchases than money would have been wanting to them. The King was perswaded that this project would prove dangerous to the Church, and *Noy* the Attorney General at the later end of the year exhibited a Bill in the Exchequer Chamber against the Feoffees.

1632. The proceedings of the Feoffees for impropriations, censured as dangerous to the Church and State.

It was charged against them, that they diverted the charity wherewith they were intrusted; for being by their Feoffment directed to settle preaching Ministers in distant obscure places where preaching was most wanting, they first setled a morning Lecture at St. *Antholines* in *London*: To this they answer'd, That *London* being the chiefest place from whence their charity derived, it was fit they should have some benefit of their own bounty, and that they were not so confined to the uses in their Feoffment, but that in their choice they might reflect as well on the eminency as necessity of the place; That they expended much of their own as well as other mens charity, and hoped they might do with their own as they pleased: It was urged against them, that they generally preferr'd Non-Conformists to the Lectures of their erection: To which they said, none were placed therein, but such whose sufficiency and conformity was approved by the Ordinary; and moreover, that one of the Feoffees acquainted the Bishop of *London* at his house at *Fulham*, that if he either disliked the persons who managed, or the order they took in the work, he would submit the alteration to his discretion. In conclusion, the Court condemned their proceedings as dangerous to the Church and State, pronouncing the Gifts and Feoffments to be illegal; and so dissolved the same, confiscating the money to the Kings use; their criminal part was referr'd to the Star-Chamber, but never prosecuted, because many discreet and devout men were rather desirous of the regulation, than ruine of so pious a design.

Duke Hamilton returns into Scotland from Germany.

Duke *Hamilton* in *September* this year came from *Germany*, his men being by Famine, Plague and the accidents of War drawn to so small a number, that they were not fit for his care. The King of *Sweden* had many communications with the Palsgrave and our Ambassador about the affairs of the Palatinate, in which the French Ambassadour, and *de Pauch* the Ambassadour of the *United Provinces*, did mediate so as matters

1632.

The King of *Sweden's* death.

were near drawn to a good Concluſion, when all was again made deſperate by the death of the K. of *Sweden*, which hapned at that memorable battel of *Lutzen* on the ſixth of *Novemb. old Stile*: the Palſgrave was in hopes of recovery, when news came to him of the death of the King of *Sweden*, which reſented him with ſo intenſe a paſſion that he dyed on the 29 of the ſame Month, nor could the rendition of *Frankendal* then ready to be ſurrendred to the Engliſh Officers then before it any whit moderate his grief; the Earl of *Leiceſter* was now ſent Ambaſſador to the K. of *Denmark* to condole the death of our Kings Grand-Mother *Sophia* Queen Dowager of *Denmark*, and to demand the dividend of a fixth part of what ſhe left as due to him and the Q. of *Bohemia* in the right of Queen *Anne* their Mother, which ſixth part amounted to 15000 l. Sterling; The K. of *Denmark* told the Ambaſſador when the accompt was ſtated of what was due to him in arrear of thirty thouſand pound a moneth from the Crown of *England* upon the contract made in the year 1625. towards the ſupport of his Army, he would make up the reſt, ſo that the Earl was fain to return *re infecta*. The King having had great experience of the ability and faithfulneſs of the Lord Viſcount *Wentworth* (whom he had lately raiſed to that honour and made him Lord Preſident of the North) made him Deputy and chief Governour of the Realm of *Ireland*, where affairs were in much diſorder by the inſolence of the Romiſh Catholicks, who did not uſe moderately the Kings clemency to them in relaxation of the Rigour of ſome penal Statutes; they are indeed a people that cannot bear any indulgence towards them with temperance, but are too apt to be alienated in the apprehenſion of favour to their own detriment and the ſcandal of the Kings Proteſtant Subjects. On the ſecond of *December* this year the King fell ſick of the ſmall Pox, but there was ſo little malignity in the diſtemper that he ſoon recover'd; The ſame moneth the Earl of *Arundel* was ſent to the Hague in *Holland* to the Queen of *Bohemia*, to condole the death of her husband and ſolicite her and her Childrens Journey into *England*, which at this time ſhe refuſed becauſe of the grief ſhe lay under, and an indiſpoſition of health that made her unfit in the Winter ſeaſon to take ſuch a Journey.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* ſent Ambaſſadour to the King of *Denmark*.

Viſcount *Wentworth* made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

The King had this year a great check to the proſperity of his Government, which firſt appeared in *Scotland*, where ſome factious and ſeditious male-contents began to ſow ſome ſeeds of diſcontent, which afterwards encreaſed to that degree, as well near deſtroyed the proſperity and happineſs of three flouriſhing Kingdoms, on this occaſion.

The firſt occaſion of the diſcontents in *Scotland*.

In the minority of King *James*, the Lands of Cathedral Churches, and religious Houſes, which had been ſettled on the Crown, by Act of Parliament, were ſhared among the Lords and great men of that Kingdom (by the Connivence of the Earl of *Murray*, and ſome other of the Regents) in the minority of King *James*, to make them ſure unto their ſide. And they being thus poſſeſt of the ſaid Lands, with the regalities and tythes belonging to theſe Eccleſiaſtical Corporations, lorded it with pride and inſolence enough in their ſeveral territories, holding the Clergy to ſmall ſtipends, and the poor peaſant under a miſerable Vaſſalage and ſubjection to them.

1632.

King *CHARLES*, ingaged in War at his firſt coming to the Crown, and having little aid from thence for the maintenance of it, by the advice of his Council of that Kingdom, was put upon a courſe of reſuming thoſe Lands, Tythes, and Regalities into his own hands, to which the preſent poſſeſſors could pretend no other Title, than the unjuſt uſurpation of their Anceſtors. This he endeavoured firſt by an Act of Renovation, but that courſe not being like to ſpeed, he followed in the way of a legal proceſs, which drew on a Commiſſion for ſurrendring of Superiorities and Tythes, to be retaken from the King on ſuch conditions, as might bring ſome profit to the Crown, ſome augmentation to the Clergy, and far more eaſe and benefit to the Common people. But theſe occupants choſe rather to expoſe their Countrey to the danger of a publick ruine, than to part with any of that power, which they had exerciſed on their vaſſals (as they commonly called their tenants;) and thereupon conſpired together, to oppoſe the King in any thing, that ſhould be offered in the following Parliament, which had Relation to the Church or to Church-affairs.

But becauſe Religion and the care thereof is commonly the beſt bait to catch the vulgar, they muſt find out ſome other means, to divert the King from the proſecuting of that Commiſſion, than the conſideration of their own perſonal and private Intereſt, and they found means to do it on another occaſion, which was briefly this.

King *JAMES*, from his firſt coming to the Crown, had a deſign, to bring the Kirk of *Scotland* to an Uniformity with the Church of *England*, both in Government and form of worſhip. And he proceeded ſo far as to ſettle Epiſcopacy amongſt them, naming thirteen new Biſhops for ſo many Epiſcopal Sees, as had been anciently in that Church; three of which received conſecration from the Biſhops of *England*, and conferred it on the reſt of their Brethren at their coming home: which Biſhops he armed alſo with a power of high Commiſſion, the better to keep down the inſolent and domineering Spirit of the Presbyterians. In order to the other he procured an Act, to be paſſed in the Aſſembly at *Aberdene*, Anno 1616. for compoſing a Liturgy and extracting a new Book of Canons out of the ſcattered Acts of their old Aſſemblies, and at an Aſſembly, held at *Perth*, Anno 1618. he obtained an order for receiving the Communion kneeling, for adminiſtring Baptiſm, and the Lords Supper in private houſes in caſes of extreme neceſſity, for Epiſcopal confirmation; and finally, for the celebrating the Anniverſary of our *Saviours* Birth, his Paſſion, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion, and the coming down of the Holy Ghoſt. All which he got to be confirm'd in Parliament.

So far that wiſe King had advanced the work of Uniformity before his engaging in the cauſe of the *Palatinate*; his breach with *Spain*, and the War, which did iſſue upon it, had took off his thoughts from proſecuting that deſign, which his Son being more intangled in wars abroad, and diſtempers at home, had no time to finiſh till he had

1632. had setled his affairs, and attain'd to some measure both of power and glory: but being it was a business, which was to be acted leasurely, and by degrees, he deferred the execution of his purpose, till he came into *Scotland*, towards which he went this year about the middle of *May*, and arrived at *Edenburgh* the tenth of *June*, and on the eighteenth following, his Coronation was celebrated with great solemnity; he had before summoned a Parliament, to meet at *Edenburgh*, which assembled a while after the Coronation, and he caused an Act of Ratification of all that had been done by his Father, to be proposed to them, determining, as soon as that was passed, to go in hand with introducing a publick Liturgie, in the effecting whereof he found a stronger opposition in the Parliament, than he had reason to expect, but carried it at last by a far major part of that assembly.

The King takes a Journey into *Scotland* to be crowned there.

This gave him the first taste of their disaffection to his person and Government, but he went forward notwithstanding, in pursuit of those purposes, which he brought thither with him, for not long after his return into *England*, he gave order to the *Dean* of his Chapel Royal in *Edenburgh*, for Prayers to be read therein, according to the English Liturgie, a Communion to be had every Month, and all Communicants to receive the Sacrament on their knees; that he who officiated it, if he were a Bishop, should perform it in his Rochett, and other Episcopal Robes, and in his Surplice if a common Presbyter: And that not only the Lords of his Council, but the Lords of the Session, and as many of the principal Magistrates of that City as could conveniently, should not fail of their attending the divine Service there, on Sundays and Holy-dayes, for by this means he gave himself no improbable hopes, that the English *Liturgie* passing a probationership in the Chapel Royal, might find a plausible entertainment in the Churches of *Edenburgh*, and be retained by degrees in all the rest of the Kingdom.

The King commands that the English Liturgie, with its usual Ceremonies, should be used in his Royal Chapel at *Edenburgh*.

But the Presbyterian *Scots*, not ignorant of the Kings intentions, insinuated into the minds of the common people, that this was a design only to subject that Kirk to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, which they said was superstitious, and therefore that it did behove them to stand together, as one man, to oppose their entrance.

The Presbyterians beget a dislike of it in the minds of the Vulgar.

The Lords and Gentry of that Realm, who feared nothing so much as the Commission of Surrenders, before mentioned, laid hold of this occasion also, and they being seconded by male-contented Spirits, who had not found the King to be as prodigal of his favour to them, as his Father had been before, endeavoured to possess them with fear and Jealousies, that *Scotland* was to be reduced to the form of a Province, and governed by a Deputy or Lord Lieutenant, as *Ireland* was: the like was done also by some Lords of Secret Council, who before had governed, as they listed, and thought their power now diminished, and their persons under some neglect, by the placing of a Lord President over them to direct in chief.

Which is further promoted by the insinuations of the Lords and Gentry.

So that the People generally being fool'd into this opinion, that both their Christian and Civil Liberties were in no small danger, became capable of any impression, which the Presbyterian faction could imprint upon them, which visibly appeared by a virulent and seditious Libel, published in the year 1634. wherein the King not only was charged with altering the Government of that Kingdom, but traduced for very strong inclinations to the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, the chief abettor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord *Balmerino*, for which he was legally committed and condemned of Treason, but pardoned by the Kings great Goodness, though by his following actions he deserved not that favour. The Fire thus breaking out in *Scotland*, it was no Marvel, if it laid hold on *England* also, the discontented of both Nations working themselves about this time into a body, and from henceforth communicating their counsels and designs unto one another. As will hereafter appear.

1632.

And occasion the like fire in *England*.

This year ended with some stirs in *Somersetshire*, where some of the Justices were much offended, at the keeping of Wakes, Church-ales, and Bride-ales on the Lords day, which occasioned many disorders and misdemeanors to be committed: and therefore they moved the L. Chief-Justice *Richardson*, and Baron *Denham*, then in their Circuit in the Lent Vacation to make some Order therein; these in complyance with their desire, make an order on the 19 of *May*, (founded on former presidents signed by the Chief Justice *Popham*, in the later end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign) therein suppressing such Revels, in regard of the infinite number of inconveniences, daily arising by means thereof; injoyning the *Constables* to deliver a Copy thereof to the Minister of every Parish, who on the first Sunday in *February*, and likewise the two first Sundays before *Easter*, was to publish the same every year. This was look'd on by the Bishops, as an usurpation of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and they therefore procured a Commission, directed to the Bishop of *Bath*, and other Divines to enquire into the manner of publishing this order, and the carriage of the Judges in the Business; Notwithstanding which the Chief Justice, at the next Assizes, gave strict charge against these Revels, and required an account of the publication and execution of the former order, punishing some persons for the breach thereof; after whose return the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* sent for him, and told him it was the Kings pleasure, he should revoke his order, as he would answer it at his peril; which he did at the next Assizes, (but with this Limitation, *as much as in him lay.*) But this ended not here, for the Justices of that County hearing of this dealing with the Chief Justice, made an humble Supplication to the King, for suppressing the aforesaid Assemblies, which induced the King to renew his Fathers Declaration, about lawful sports, on the Lords day published in the sixteenth year of his Reign; hoping thereby, by the restriction therein directed, to hinder the abuse of those Recreations, and to free the Consciences of his Subjects from those servile yokes, which some Divines about that time endeavoured to introduce, maintaining the indispensible morality of the fourth Commandment, and consequently the necessary observation of the Jewish Sabbath, for it was in the declaration prescribed,

The King publishes a declaration for lawful sports on the Lords day.

1. *That*

1632. 1. *That these pastimes should be no impediment, or lett to the Publick duty of the day.*

2. *That no Recusants should be capable of the benefit of them.*

3. *That none should use them, that were not diligently present at all divine Offices, which the day required. And*

4. *That the Benefit should redound to none, but such as keep themselves in their own Parishes.*

The Publication of this, however piously intended, gave great offence; and the rather, because, though there was nothing expres in the declaration, that the Minister of the Parish should be pressed to the publishing, yet some Ministers, for refusing the reading thereof, were some suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, some deprived, and more molested in the High-commission; the truth is, the ill reception it had among the people, in the former Publication of it, in the time of the Kings Father, might have deterred the like at this time, for that the strict observation of the Lords day was much increased since that time, though it was not known in *England*, till the year 1595. when Dr. *Bond* first published it in his Book of *Sabbath Doctrines*; nor in *Ireland*, till just twenty years after, when it was inserted in the Articles of Religion, there established; nor in *Scotland*, till above twenty years after that: and at this day in *Geneva*, shooting in long bows, tennis, bowling, and other sports of that kind are used, and the like in all foreign places, where the Protestant Religion is professed; but it was generally disliked here, many complaining that mans badness took occasion to be worse, under the protection of those sports permitted to them: for though liberty on the Lords-day may be so limited in the Notions of learned men, as to make it lawful, it is very difficult so to confine it to the actions of the people, but that they will degenerate into licentiousness, so that the declaration after a while dyed of it self, and it was wished by many prudent men of that time, it had never lived.

Ministers suspended and deprived for refusing to publish the Declaration.

The Merchants of *London*, and other parts made great complaints at the end of the last year, of the obstructions of Trade, for want of good Convoyes, to secure them against the Turks and other Pirats, that infested our Coast, which made the King very earnest in making preparations to make himself strong at Sea, to which he was the more inclined for the vindication of his Just Authority of the Soveraignty of the British Seas; which was not only actually usurp'd by the *Hollanders*, but the right it self disputed by a Tract, written by *Hugo Grotius*, a learned man of that time, called *Mare Liberum*; but whilst the King by his power omitted not to maintain his right, our learned *Selden*, by his pen encountred *Grotius*, in a learned book called *Mare Clausum*, wherein he did not only assert the Soveraignty, or the Dominion of the British Seas to the Crown of *England*, but clearly proved by constant and continual practice, that the Kings of *England* used to levy money from the Subjects, for the providing of Ships and other necessaries, to maintain that Soveraignty which did of right belong unto them; but before the writing of this Tract, the King had well advised how to enable himself with Treasure, to support his authority, and defend the Kingdomes by the Industry of *Noy*, his Attorney-General, a most indefatigable Inquisitor into our antient records, who had found many presidents for levying a Naval aid upon the Subjects by the sole Authority of the King, whensoever the safety and preservation of the Kingdom did require it of him, and that such aid had been heretofore levyed in the same year, in which the Kings that took it, had received subsidies in the way of Parliament; for which he gave this reason, When a King of *England* wants money to supports his own expences, or for the enlarging his Dominions in foreign Conquests, or otherwise to advance his honour in the eye of the world, he ought to be beholding to his Subjects for it by aid in Parliament; but when the Kingdom is in danger, and the safety of the Subject concern'd therein, he may by our lands raise such sums of money as he thinks expedient for the preventing of the danger, and providing for the publick safety of himself and his. And thereupon by this advice, writs were issued and directed to all the Port Towns and Maritime Counties of the Kingdom, to set out a certain number of Ships furnisht with Mariners, Ammunition, Victuals and all other necessaries for defence of the Realm, whereby the King quickly had Equipped a very good Fleet, though not great enough for the end intended; which occasioned the like Writs to be issued out to all the Counties in the Kingdom, in the year 1636. of which more hereafter.

The King makes preparation to maintain his right of Soveraignty of the Seas.

1632. Ship money designed by the Kings Attorney General.

This year was unfortunate to the *Swedes* in *Germany*, where General *Arnheim* was constrained to retire out of *Bohemia* into *Saxony*: The City of *Ratisbone*, was regained by the Imperialists, General *Allaringer* slain near *Landshut*, and the whole Army totally routed by the King of *Hungary*, and the Cardinal *Infante* at the battail of *Norlinger*, after which ensued the surrender of that Town, and the Conquest of the Dukedom of *Wittemburg*, whose Duke fled to *Strasburgh*; but though this gave a great stop to the *Swedish* greatness, yet it brought a little repose to *Germany*, for shortly after this success, a peace was concluded, though it lasted not long.

The *Swedish* success declining in Germany.

A Peace concluded between the *Swedes* and the Emperor.

In *Ireland* the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, was very busie in setling the quiet of that Nation, and because Popery was chiefly encreased for want of able Ministers, and that occasion'd by the poor maintenance they had in most places, he procured of the King by the mediation of Archbishop *Laud*, that all the impropriations then in the Crown should be restored to the Church, to a great diminution of the Royal Revenue, though the King was never sensible of any loss to himself, if thereby gain might redound to God in his Ministers.

The Lord Deputy *Wentworth*'s care for suppressing Popery, and Setling an able Ministry in *Ireland*.

On *Candlemas* night, the Gentlemen of the four Inns of Court, presented a Masque to the King and Queen at *Whitehall*, riding in Stately Chariots from the Temple thither, it was indeed a Pompous and Magnificent shew, but made more glorious, by a long train of *Christian* Captives, who having been many years inslaved in the chains of bondage, were sent for a present to the King, by the Heriffe or Emperour of *Morocco*, in testimony of the assistance received from our King, whose Fleet assisted in the taking of *Sallee* then in Rebellion against him, and in enmity to all the world, it being a nest of Pirats, by whose destruction

A mask presented to the King and Queen, by the Inns of Court.

destruction commerce was very free in those parts.

The death of the Earl of *Portland* Lord high Treasurer of *England.*

This year dyed Sir *Richard Weston*, Earl of *Portland*, Lord high Treasurer of *England*, a great Statesman, but suspected to be too much a favourer of the Religion of *Rome*, in which he was reputed to have dyed, and some of his Children were educated therein, his place for the present was intrusted to Commissioners, till a fit person could be found on whom to bestow it.

His place given to Commissioners.

1635.

It was now the year 1635. when a gallant fleet was set out by the aid of the Ship money, under the Earl of *Lindsey* Admiral, and the Earl of *Essex* Vice Admiral; whereby our trade was not only made secure by scowring the Seas of pirats, but the King became very formidable to all his Neighbours, and by his interposition this summer *Flanders* was preserved, which had else probably been swallowed up by the *French* and *Hollanders*, for the King of *Spain* could not bring 8000 men into the field and leave his Garrisons provided, and the *French* King and they were in confederacy for that purpose, by which it was agreed that he should invest *Dunkirk* with an Army, whilst the *Hollanders* did block it up with their Navy, that so all passiges into the Country being secured, they might the more easily subdue the inward parts; which design had taken effect, if the *English* Fleet had not dislodged the *Hollanders* from before the Town and reliev'd it, and the *French* by their insolencies at *Dieft* and *Tellemont* inflamed and incouraged the peoples heats against them, for before they had been so practised on by the *Holland* faction that few or none would arm to repulse their enemies.

A fleet fit out under the Earl of *Lindsey* to scour the Seas.

Thomas Parr brought up to the Court by the Earl of *Arundel.*

September the 29th. the Earl of *Arundel* brought up to *London* out of *Shropshire*, one *Thomas Parr*, as the wonder of the time for the proxevity of his age, he had almost reach'd to the hundred and sixtieth year, and in all likelyhood had outlived that time some years, had not so tedious a Journey, and the over violent agitation of his body, together with the change of his wonted course of dyet, accelerated his end.

Charles Prince Elector *Palatine* Charles Prince Elector with his Brother Prince *Rupert* come into *England.* came into *England* at this time to visit his Uncle, and to consult with him for his restitution to the *Palatinate*, and a while after his arrival, his brother Prince *Rupert* came also.

The Kings reputation was very high, and the *Hollanders* a wise and industrious people took all occasions to endear themselves to him: at this time they sent an Ambassador over to congratulate with the King and Queen, for the birth of their second Daughter the Princess *Elizabeth*, and to ingratiate themselves the more, they sent by him a very rich present, a massie piece of Amber-grise, two huge basons of China, a noble Clock, the workmanship of *Rodulphus* the Emperour, and some exquisite pieces of painting of *Titian* and *Tintaret*, which were well accepted.

The princess *Elizabeth* born.

The King finding some inconvenience in the managing of his Treasure by Commissioners gave the Office to the Bishop of *London*, which was a very good choice, for whereas most of the Treasurers of these latter times, had rather served themselves in that Office than the King, raising themselves to great Estates and dignities thereby, he thought fit to choose this Church-man, who having no Family to raise, nor Wife and Children to provide for, might better manage the incomes of the Treasury to his advantage, than they had been formerly; and so it proved, for by his care of the revenue, the King began to be rich, and he was of so well temper'd a disposition, that he gave exceeding great content to all the people.

The Bishop of *London* made Lord high Treasurer.

1636.

Another fleet fit out under the command of the Earl of *Northumberland.*

The Kings Naval preparations were very great this year; The Fleet consisting of sixty good Ships, under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland* now made Lord high Admiral of *England*, who sailing Northward, and finding a great number of *Dutch* Busses fishing on our coast, he seized on many of them and dispersed the rest. This made a great consternation amongst the people of the *United Provinces*, many of whose subsistance depended on this fishing, wherefore upon a supplication from the States to the King they had permission granted by him, for he was more displeased at their presumption in doing it as in their own right and in contempt of his authority in the Dominion of these Seas, than at the thing done. As the Navy was greater this year than before, so the charge of it was much augmented, wherefore, whereas the last year the Ship writs had been sent only to the maritime Counties, they were now issued to all the Counties in *England*, and the people generally paid what rates and assessments were set upon them in pursuance thereof, but some few refused, and many of the Clergy complain'd that they were unreasonably rated by their neighbours some of them at a sixth, and others at a fourth part of the tax of the parish; for satisfaction of the refusers, The King writ to the Judges for their opinion, who are by their oaths his proper Counsellors in all difficulties concerning the law; and to ease the Clergy, he writ to all the Sheriffs of *England*, requiring that the Clergy possessed of Parsonages, should not be assessed above a tenth part of the land rate of their several parishes, and that consideration should be had for Vicars accordingly.

The King refers the case of Ship money to the Judges.

The Letter to the Judges was.

His letters to them requiring their opinions.

To our trusty and well beloved, Sr. *John Bramston* Knight, chief Justice of our Bench, Sir *John Finch* Knight, Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas; Sir *Humphrey Davenport* Knight, Chief Baron of our Court of Exchequer; And to the rest of the Judges of our Court of Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and the Barons of our Court of Exchequer.

CHARLES REX.

TRusty and well beloved we greet you well; Taking into our Princely consideration that the honour and safety of this our Realm of England, *the preservation whereof is only entrusted to our care, was and is more dearly concerned than in late or former times; as well by divers Counsels and attempts to take from us the Dominion of the seas, of which we are sole Lord, and right owner, and Proprietor, and the Loss whereof would be of greatest danger and peril to this Kingdom, and other our Dominions; and many other wayes:*

We

1636. *We for the avoiding of these and the like dangers, well weighing with our Self, that where the good and safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, there the charge and defence ought to be born by all the Realm in general; did for the preventing so publick a mischif, resolve with our self to have a Royal Navy prepared, that might be of force and power (with Almighty Gods blessing and assistance) to protect and defend this our Realm, and our Subjects therein, from all such perils and dangers, and for that purpose we issued forth writs under our great Seal of* England, *directed to all our Sheriffs of our several Counties of* England *and* Wales, *Commanding thereby all our said Subjects, in every City, Town, and Village, to provide such a number of ships, well furnisht, as might serve for this Royal purpose, and which might be done with the greatest equality that could be. In performance whereof, though generally throughout all the Counties of this our* Realm, *we have found in our Subjects great chearfulness and alacrity, which we graciously interpret as a testimony, as well of their dutiful affection to us, and our service, as of the respect they have to the Publick, which well becometh every good Subject, Nevertheless finding that some few, happily out of ignorance what the* Laws *and* customs *of this* Realm *are, or out of a desire to be eased in their particulars, how general soever their charge be, or ought to be, have not yet paid and contributed to their several rates and assessments that were set upon them. And foreseeing in our* Princely *wisdom, divers suits and Actions, are not unlike to be commenced, and prosecuted in our several Courts at* Westminster; *We desirous to avoid such inconveniences, and out of our* Princely *love and affection to all our people, being willing to prevent such errours as any of our loving Subjects may happen to run into, have thought fit in a case of this nature to advise with you Our* Judges, *who we doubt not are well studied and informed in the Rights of our* Soveraignty, *and because the Tryals in our several Courts, by the formalities in pleading, will require a long protraction, We have thought fit by this letter directed to you all, to require your Judgements in the Case, as it is set down in the inclosed paper, which will not only gain time, but also be of more authority to over-rule any prejudicate opinions of others in the point. Given under our signet, at our Court of* White-hall, *the 2d. of* February, *in the 12th. year of our Reign.* 1636.

CHARLES REX.

The State of the case proposed.

When the good and safety of the Kingdom in general is concern'd, and the whole Kingdom in danger; whether may not the King *by Writ under the great Seal of* England, *command all the Subjects in his* Kingdom *at their charge, to provide and furnish such number of Ships with men, victuals, and munition, and for such time as he shall think fit for the defence and safeguard of the* Kingdom, *from such danger and peril? and by law compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractorines? and whether in such case is not the* King *the sole* Judge, *both of the danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?*

1636.

To which, the Judges delivered their opinions as followeth.

The Judges opinions about it.

May it please your most excellent Majesty, We have according to your Majesties command severally and every man by himself, and all of us together, taken into serious consideration, the case and questions signed by your Majesty, and inclosed in your letter. And we are of opinion, that when the good and safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, your Majesty may by writ, under your great Seal of England, *command all the Subjects of this your Kingdom at their charge to provide and furnish such number of Ships with men, victual, munition, and for such time as your Majesty shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the Kingdom from such peril and danger. And that by Law your Majesty may compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractorines. And we are also of opinion that in such case your Majesty is the sole Judge both of the danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.*

John Bramston.	George Crook.
John Finch.	Thomas Trevor.
Humphrey Davenport.	George Vernon.
John Denham	Robert Barkley.
Richard Hutton.	Francis Crawly.
William Jones.	Richard Weston.

These opinions being subscribed by all the Judges, were enrolled in all the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*, and the King thought he had now warrant sufficient to proceed against the defaulters, the chiefest whereof, was one Mr. *Hambden* a Gentleman of *Buckinghamshire*, who being summon'd by process, appeared and required Oyer of the Ship-writs, which being read, he demur'd in law thereunto, and demanded the opinion of all the Judges upon the Legal sufficiency thereof. This great case came to be argued in the *Exchequer* chamber, and the major part of the Judges delivered their opinions in favour of the writs, and accordingly the Barons gave Judgement against Mr. *Hambden*; yet did not the question altogether so repose, but Master *Hambden* observing that two of the Judges, *viz. Crooke* and *Hutton*, were of a contrary sense, held up the contest still though all in vain, all his inquietude not gaining him the least acquittal, until an higher power interposed.

The Earl of *Arundel* sent Ambassadour to *Ferdinand* the third about the restitution of the Prince Palatine.

There was an Imperial Dyet held this year for the electing of a King of the *Romans*, and the King sent thither the Earl of *Arundel* his Ambassador to treat with the Emperour and the Princes for the restitution of the *Palatine* to the *Palsgrave*. But that Embassy could effect nothing, for the Duke of *Bavaria*, who had in his possession the upper *Palatinate*, and the electoral dignity, would by no means hear of any Propositions to part with either. But the lower *Palatinate* he might have had upon some terms which the Emperour proposed: but our Ambassador was not instructed to accept of any thing in diminution

1637. diminution of the Electors Right: so that the Palsgrave had no fruit of this Embassy, yet were his hopes a little rais'd by an overture of marriage made at this time betwixt the King of *Poland*, and one of his Sisters, which was almost effected by the legation of Prince *Radzovil* here in *England*. But the Emperour privately obstructed it, and by the insinuation of the *Jesuites*, so instigated the Clergy of *Poland* against it, because of her Religion, that the Treaty was broken off, and the King afterwards married the Lady *Cecilia*, second Sister to the Emperour.

Dr. Bastwick Mr. Pryn and Mr. Burton censured.

On the 14 of *January* Mr. *William Pryn* an Utter barrister of *Lincolnes Inne*, Doctor *John Bastwick*, Dr. of Physick, and *Henry Burton* a Minister, were censured in the *Starr-Chamber*: The offence of *Pryn* was for writing and dispersing Libels against the established Discipline of the Church of *England*: That of *Bastwick* for inveying against the proceeding of the High Commission against him, before which he had been accused for writing a Book, called *Flagellum Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialium*, and committed to the *Gatehouse*, in which time besides his arraigning the high Commission Court, he published a *Latine* Apology (called by the Court a Libel) *ad Præsules Anglicanos*, and a Letany very virulent against them. That of Mr. *Burton* was, for publishing a Sermon, which he preached on the fifth of *November* before, wherein the Prelates were charged for introducing several innovations into Divine worship, which was deemed a Libel: For these offences, the judgement of the Court was *That they should lose their Ears in the* Palace-Yard *at* Westminster; *be each of them fined five thousand pounds to the King, and imprisoned during life in three remote places.* *Finch* the chief Justice, moved the Court, that it might be added to Mr. *Pryns* censure, to be branded in each cheek with *S. L.* for a slanderous Libeller, which was consented to, for they were the more severe against him, because he had been an Offendor before in the like kind, having been three years before censured to lose his Ears on the Pillory, for writing a Book, called *Histrio-Mastix*, or the *Whip of Stage-players*, wherein some indecent reflections were taken to be on the Queen her self, as too much delighted in Masques.

The Prince Elector, and his Brother Prince *Rupert* went to *Holland* about this time in order to a design, which was put in practice the next year, to attempt something with an Army in the *Palatinate*; The Assistance and credit of the Kings Purse, did so prevail under hand with the Prince of *Orange* and the *States* of the *United Provinces*, that a small beginning of an Army was raised, with which they advanced into *Westphalia*, and besieged *Lemmingen*: But *Hatsfield* one of the Emperours Generals came so soon upon them, that they effected nothing, but were forced to fight to great disadvantage, having had 2000 men slain, and most of the rest dispersed, and many Prisoners taken, amongst which were Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Craven*, the Prince Elector himself escaped by flight, and retired to the *Hague*.

The Bishop of Lincoln fined and imprisoned for certain Misdemeanors.

Williams, Bishop of *Lincoln*, was on the 11 of *July* censured in the Star-chamber, for tampering to suborn witnesses, to be fined 10000 *l.* to the King, and imprisoned during the Kings pleasure, being referred to the high Commission for a further censure: The occasion whereof we shall briefly relate. 1637.

This Bishop, after the great Seal some ten years since had been taken from him, retired to *Bugden* in *Huntington-shire*, wherein he lived very hospitably, and had great concourse; Amongst others Sr. *John Lamb*, Doctor *Sibthorp*, with *Allen* and *Burden*, two Proctors, came to visit him, and being at Dinner with him, there was much discourse about *Non-Conformists*, and the Bishop knowing these to be busie men in the prosecution of such, advised them to take off their heavy hand from them, informing them, that the King intended to use them hereafter with more mildness, as a considerable party, having great influence on the Parliament, without whose concurrence he could not supply his necessities; adding, that he had communicated this unto him by his own mouth.

A few years after, *Lamb*, upon some difference with the Bishop, informed against him for revealing the Kings Secrets, whereupon an Information was put in against him in the Star-Chamber: To which he put in an especial answer, declaring how all was contrived by a conspiracy and combination of *Lamb*, *Sybthorpe*, *Allen* and *Burden*, out of an intent to advance themselves and hatred to him, for not permitting them to Poll and Pill the Kings Subjects in *Leicester-shire* in their Ecclesiastical Courts, by haling them into their Nets, *Ex officio mero*, without any previous Complain; under an imaginary colour of Puritanism. To this answer the Kings Attorney rejoyned in Issue, admitting the Bishop to prove his special matters who proceeded to the examination of his witnesses therein: but after a while the Attorney being somewhat remiss in the prosecution, one *Richard Kilvert* was entertained to be the Bishops Protecutor, who had found out, that one *John Prigion* a Register of *Lincoln* and *Leicester*, was a most material witnes in the Bishops defence: And the credit of this Testimony he designed to invalidate, by charging him with getting a Bastard, on one *Eliz. Hodson*: The Bishop thought it behoved him to support the Reputation of *Prigion*, and engaged himself more zealously therein, than was conceived consistent with the gravity of so great a Prelate, to such who knew not that he and one Doctor *Morrison* were the only persons of note present at his Table, where the discourse above mentioned passed between him and Sir *John Lamb*. This Bastard was by the Sessions at *Lincoln* ordered to be kept by *Prigion*, as the reputed father thereof, but at a Sessions following, that order was reversed, and the Child fathered upon one *Borne*, and *Prigion* acquited: in the doing whereof, it is said *Powel* and *Owen*, two Agents of the Bishop, did menance and tamper with the witnesses: But at a third Session, *Prigion* was again charged and *Borne* freed: yet this last order, being upon a *Certiorari* brought to the Kings-Bench, was there quashed as insufficient, and *Prigion* was after cleared from the Child: *Kilvert* nevertheless in the traverse of this affair, let fall the first information in the Star-chamber, and proceeded upon that, whereon the Sentence before named was grounded, viz.

1637. for Subornation, and therein he succeeded: This dealing with the Bishop was very rigorous, and the rigour of it imputed to *Laud*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who thought him one that too much opposed his intentions, in reducing the Clergy to an exact and strict conformity to the orders of the Church, in point of Ceremony, and therefore unfit to have any Government in it, for after that part of his sentence came to be executed, which was referred to the High Commission, he was by that suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, and all his preferments in the Church sequestred to the use of the King: And the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, as Arch-bishop of the Province, exercised all kind of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction throughout the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, not only as Ordinary of that Dioceſs, but as Visitor of all those Colledges, which had any dependances on that See.

New broiles and commotions in *Scotland* about reading the Common Prayer.

On the 23 day of *July*, being the day before this last part of the sentence against the Bishop of *Lincoln* was executed, there was a very great commotion in *Edenburgh*, about reading a Book of Common-prayer, some time before sent thither, and because it was an action that drew after it great misery and confusion to the King, and all his Kingdom, we shall be a little more particular in the Narration of it, and the consequences thereof, than is suitable to the brevity herein used in other transactions of lesser moment.

In the year 1616. as has been related, King *James* obtained an Act of the general Assembly at *Aberdeen*, for the compiling a Liturgy or Common-prayer, which was to be first presented to the King, and after his approbation, universally received throughout the Kingdom: this book in pursuance thereof was framed, and sent up to the King, who himself perused, and considerably revised it, and referred it also to the consideration of others, in whom he reposed much trust, and after all his own and their observations, additions, expunctions, mutations and accommodations, he returned it to *Scotland*, to be commended to that Church, but before a period and consummation was put to that Business, the King dyed. This pious intention of King *James*, for an Unity and Uniformity in the publick Prayer, Liturgie, and Service of the Church of *Scotland*, was so far intended by the King, that shortly after his return from that Kingdom, he did not only enjoyn a stricter celebration of the *English* Liturgy in his own Chapel at *Edenburgh*, than had been formerly but frequently consulted how to have it universally used through the whole Kingdom; but the Scots-Bishops, being jealous that this might be an argument of their dependance on the Church of *England*, rather desired that the Liturgy framed in *Scotland*, in King *James* his time might be received, wherein the new Translation authorized by that King in the *Psalms*, *Epistles*, *Gospels*, *Hymns*, *and Sentences*, instead of the old translation was received; and (except on *All Saints* day, when *Wisdom* the third, and *Ecclesiasticus* the fourteenth are appointed to be read, for morning and evening prayer) no *Apocrypha* Chapters were directed to be read therein: though above 60 Chapters are read in the *English* Liturgy, for the first Lessons from the 28 of *Septemb.* to the 24 of *Nov.* To this proposition the King agreed, and the book sent by K. *James* formerly into *Scotland*, was remitted to *England*, and after many serious consultations and some alterations, made by advice of divers of the Bishops, and Clergy of *Scotland*, then here it was perfected, Printed and Published and sent into *Scotland*: The Bishops and Noblemen of the Kings Council, then present at *Edenburgh*, resolved, That the book should be first read in the great Church, on the before-mentioned 23 of *July*, and on the Sunday before notice thereof was publickly given in the Church: There were present both the Arch-bishops, many of the Privy Council, and others of the best Quality in *Edenburgh*, besides a great concourse of ordinary people: Amongst this multitude, there appeared no sign of trouble, but no sooner was the book opened by the *Dean* of *Edenburgh*, but a Number of the meanest sort with clapping their hands, and outcryes, made a great uproar, and one of them, called *Jane* or *Janet Gaddis*, (yet living at the writing of this relation) flung a little folding-stool, whereon she sate, at the *Deans* head, saying, *Out thou false Thief, dost thou say the* Mass *at my Lug?* which was followed with so great noise and confusion, that not any one could either hear or be heard; whereupon the Bishop of *Edenburgh* stept into the Pulpit, and hoping to appease them by putting them in mind, that the place, in which they were, was holy ground, and by intreating them to desist from the profanation of it, they were the more enraged, throwing at him cudgels, stools, and what else was in the way, even to the endangering of his life. Upon this the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews* Lord Chancellor, called down the Provost and Bayliffs of the City from their Seats to their assistance, who (not without some difficulty) put the unruly people out of the Church, and made fast the doors: This done, the *Dean* proceeded in reading the book, the multitude in the mean while rapping and pelting the windows with stones, to disturb the exercise, but notwithstanding all their clamour, the Service was ended, but not the peoples rage, who waiting the Bishop's retiring to his Lodging, so assaulted him, as (had he not been rescued by a strong hand) he had probably perished by their violence. 1637.

The same morning the Service Book was read in the next Church to St. *Gyles*, though not without noise and tumult, yet not so great as in the other: In the *Gray-Fryers* Church M. *Ramsey* refused to read it, and was afterwards suspended for the same, but the Elect Bishop of *Argyle*, his Colleague began to read it, but was so menaced, cursed and exclaimed against, that he was forced to give over; In the *Colledge* Church *Rollock*, one of the Preachers, who the Sunday before at the intimation of the reading had much commended the Book, and undertaken this day to read it, upon notice, how it was received in the Church of St. *Gyles*, broke the promise he made to read it, thinking it the safer course, to leave himself to the Censure of all men for his levity, than offend the multitude, whose favour he sought, but he was suspended also.

The morning thus past, the Council assembled at the Lord Chancellors Lodging, and sent for

1637. for the Provoſt and Bayliffs, to adviſe with them how to prevent the like tumults in the afternoon, which they promiſed to endeavour, and it was ſo effected, that the Book was read in the Church of S *G les*, and ſome other Churches that afternoon, without any ſuch diſturbance as it had in the morning: only the Biſhop of *Edenburgh* in his return to his lodging was rudely treated by the people, both by execrations and other waies.

All this time the Magiſtrates and Council of the City ſeemed ſo to diſlike thoſe tumultuous proceedings, that when their Miniſters craved a diſpenſation from reading the Book, until ſecurity were given for the ſafeguard of their perſons, they drew up an Obligatory Act, both for indemnity of their perſons, and alſo for their ſettled maintenance; and whilſt this was doing, to expreſs their zeal herein, they ſent two particular Letters to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, into *England*, in which they deſired him, *To recommend to the King their fidelity to his ſervice, and to undertake for them, their zeal and forwardneſs for ſettling the peaceable practice of the Service-Book*; this undertaking of the Magiſtrates of *Edenburgh*, made the King remit much of his intended rigour againſt the offenders in the firſt uproar, hoping by that his clemency to oblige them the more in their duty towards him: and now the Council were in conſultation for appointing a new day, for renewing the exerciſe of the Service-Book, to which the Biſhops, Miniſters, and Magiſtrates agreed; But before the time came, The Magiſtrates and people were ſo practiſed on by the ſuſpended Miniſters *Rollock* and *Ramſey*, and one *Henderſon* a ſilenced Reader, that they began to relent of their former promiſes, and preſented to the Council a Petition, requeſting that the Service-book might not be impoſed upon them, until the King's Pleaſure ſhould be further known; which Petition they alledged, they were neceſſitated to preſent by the Example and incouragement of all ranks from all parts of the Kingdom; And the Miniſters alſo petitioned, that the orders, whereby they were enjoined to receive the Book might be ſuſpended. There was nothing elſe of publick note done from *Lammas* (which is the day on whic h the Long Vacation there begins,) till the firſt of *October*, for the time of Harveſt drew all ſorts of people (ſave the Citizens) into the Country. But ſo ſoon as Harveſt was done, the Deſigners of the following diſorders had ſo correſponded, That the conflux of Nobility, Gentry, Miniſters and Burgeſſes, from all parts, came to be very numerous at *Edenburgh*, in expectation of ſome great matters of Religion to be treated on in Council, at their firſt appointed day of ſitting, and they were ſo tumultuous in their behaviour, that a preſent inſurrection was feared, which forced the Council on the 27th of *October*, the firſt appointed day of aſſembling, to make three Proclamations: The firſt intimating, *That nothing ſhould be treated, concerning Church Buſineſs, till the times and meetings of the people ſhould be more quiet and peaceable, and therefore all that come thither about any ſuch matters, were required to repair home in twenty four hours, under the pain of Rebellion.*

Three Proclamations for appeaſing the Tumults in Edenburgh.

The ſecond for removing the Seſſion (which is with us called the Term) from Edenburgh *to* Lithgow; *and the third for calling in, and burning a ſeditious Book, entituled*, A Diſpute againſt the *Engliſh Popiſh* Ceremonies, obtruded upon the Kirk of *Scotland*. 1637.

Theſe Proclamations rather fomented than extinguiſhed the flame then begun, for the next day the Biſhop of *Galloway* being to ſit with the Chief Juſtice upon ſome ſpecial Buſineſs in the Council Houſe, he was purſued with vehement railings all along the ſtreet to the Council-door, where he was no ſooner got, but they ſurrounded the Houſe, and demanded the delivery of him to them; The Lord Treaſurer advertiſed of the Biſhops danger, came to his relief, but being got in, he was in no better plight than the Biſhop; for the fury of the people ſtill increaſed, hereupon the Provoſt and Council of the City were called to ſuppreſs the Tumult, but their condition was the ſame as the others, for they were incompaſſed by the people, and threatned with fear of their lives to ſign a paper. Firſt, *That they ſhould adhere to them in oppoſition of the Service-book*; Secondly, *Reſtore to their places* Rollock, Ramſey *and* Henderſon. Upon notice of this, the Treaſurer and the Earl of *Wigſton* went in perſon to the Town Council houſe, where they find the heat ſome-what abated, becauſe the Magiſtrates had ſigned the Paper, and they were going back in hopes, that the diſorders would be ſo far quieted upon this Condeſcenſion, that they might ſet the Biſhop free: but no ſooner had they appeared in the ſtreet, but they were aſſaulted, and the Treaſurer had his white ſtaff, hat and cloak taken from him, and hardly got into the Council-houſe. In this great hazard, the Lords ſent to ſome of the Popular Noblemen, and Gentry in the Town, diſaffected to the Service-Book, to come to their aid, who readily came, as was deſired, and they peaceably guarded the Lords to *Hally-rood-houſe*, and the Biſhop to his Lodgings.

Outrages committed by the rabble upon the Biſhop of Galloway and the Lord Treaſurer with others.

The Lords of the Council, after the Tumults were diſſolved, that very afternoon commanded Proclamation to be made at the Croſs at *Edenburgh*, for the repreſſing ſuch diſorders for the time to come; but to this little obedience was yielded, for whereas the firſt Tumult had been acted by the ſcum and baſeſt of the people, and was decried by all the better ſort: This ſecond was the fact of the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens (except the Magiſtrates) who were now grown ſo inſolent, that they ſent Commiſſioners to the Council-Table, to require that their ſilenced Miniſters and Reader might be reſtored, and have aſſurance for the performance of what was promiſed to them by the Magiſtrates at the laſt inſurrection; and a while after, there were preſented to the Lord Chancellour and Council two Petitions; The firſt in the name of the Men, Women, Children and Servants of *Edenburgh*, againſt the Service-book; but the Second in the Name of divers Noblemen, Gentry, Miniſters and Burgeſſes, againſt the Service-book, and Book of Canons, as impoſed contrary to Law (becauſe not allowed by a General Aſſembly) by the procurement of the Prelates, and therefore they decline their authority, and crave they may not any of them ſit in Council, being parties,

Another Proclamation for repreſſing diſorders in Edenburgh.

Two Petitions preſented to the Lord Chancellour and Council in Edenburgh againſt the Service-book.

1638. till their complaints be tried; This laſt Petition was by the Council ſent to the King, who was ſo much diſpleaſed therewith, that he delayed to give any anſwer to it, but gave order to the Council, to ſignifie to all his good Subjects his averſeneſs from Popery, and deteſtation of Superſtition, the contrary whereof the heads of the commotions had abuſed them with. The Council alſo finding *Edenburgh* at this time a Seat of Sedition, and diſobedience to the Kings Authority, cauſed the Seſſion to be adjourned from *Lithgoe* (which was ſomewhat too near) to *Sterling*, which was 24 miles diſtant, that ſo the diſorderly multitude, there met together, might be diſperſed by the neceſſary attendance of ſuch as had any Law buſineſs, where by the King's Command, the Lords of the Council publiſhed a Proclamation, for diſperſing the great and dangerous multitude, yet together, and aſſuring the people of the King's ſincerity towards the Religion eſtabliſhed in that Kingdom; upon the publication whereof, both at *Sterling*, *Lithgoe* and *Edenburgh*, it was received, whilſt it was reading, with jeering, and after it was ended with a Proteſtation againſt it by many Earls, Lords, Miniſters, and Burgeſſes, and a conflux of all other ſorts of people; And in purſuance of this Violation of the King's Authority, they began to inveſt themſelves with the Marks and Majeſty of Soveraignty, erecting in *Edenburgh* four principal Tables or Councils, one of the Nobility, another of the Gentry, a third of the Burgeſſes, and a fourth of the Miniſtry, out of which there was a general Table of ſeveral Commiſſioners, choſen from the other four, who conſulted of what was propoſed to them by the other Tables, and what they did, was put in practice with ſtrict obedience over all the Kingdom.

Many of the Nobility, Miniſters and Burgeſſes proteſt againſt it.

Four Tables or Councils erected in Edenburgh.

The firſt Act of this General *Table*, was the Renewing of a Confeſſion of Faith ſubſcribed by King *James* and his houſhold, in the year 1580, taken after by all perſons 1581. by Ordinance of the Lords of the Privy Council and Act of the General Aſſembly, and ſubſcribed again 1590 by a new ordinance of Council at the deſire of the general Aſſembly, with a general Band for maintenance of the true Religion, and the Kings Perſon; This Confeſſion was called the negative Confeſſion, wherein the Authority of the *Pope*, *Tranſubſtantiation*, *Images*, *Reliques*, *Opus operatum*, *Merits*, *Auricular Confeſſion*, *Prayer for the dead*, and all the corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, as well in Doctrine, as outward Rites are enumerated at large, and particularly abjured, and a clauſe is inſerted by which the Subſcribers did call God to witneſs, that in their minds and hearts they did fully agree to the ſaid Confeſſion, and did not feign and diſſemble in any ſort.

The Negative Confeſſion renewed without the Authority of the King.

The occaſion of the firſt taking thereof, we ſhall make a little digreſſion to relate, for the better underſtanding theſe proceedings.

The Earl of *Lenox* being near of blood to King *James*, alwaies bred in *France*, in the year 1580. came from thence to viſit him, and by his courteous and modeſt behaviour grew ſo much into his favour, that he would not let him return thither, but gave him many preferments in *Scotland*. This gave a great diſtaſte to ſome about the Court, and becauſe he was of the *Roman* confeſſion, the Miniſters exclaimed much againſt him as ſent from *France* to pervert the King in his Religion: The King to ſtay their declaimings, called the Miniſters to *Edenburgh* together, and acquainted them that he had taken great pains to Convert his Couſin, and had obtained his conſent to take a Miniſter into his houſe, which would ſerve to debar Jeſuites and *Romiſh* Prieſts from him, and win him by conference to a great liking of the Truth; Mr. *David Landſey* a Miniſter of *Leith*, was held the fitteſt for this ſervice, as well for his skill in the *French* Tongue, as for his moderation otherwiſe; by whoſe labours, the Earl was quickly brought to join himſelf to the Church, and openly at *St. Gyles* to renounce the errours wherein he had been educated. Yet did not this remove the jealouſies of the people, which were incenſed by the intercepting of certain Diſpenſations ſent from *Rome*, whereby the *Roman* Catholicks were permitted to promiſe, ſwear, ſubſcribe, and do what elſe ſhould be required of them ſo as in mind they continued firm, and did uſe their diligence to advance the *Roman* faith. 1638.

Theſe Diſpenſations being communicated to the King he cauſed his Chaplain, Mr *John Craig*, to form the Confeſſion of faith aforementioned, which he himſelf for example to others, did publickly ſwear to and ſubſcribe, and the like was done by the Earl and the whole Council and Court at that time, and it was afterward renewed at the times before expreſſed.

This Confeſſion was not the National Confeſſion of the Church of *Scotland*, for that was penned twenty years before, and containing the poſitive grounds of Divinity was ratified by Act of Parliament, in the year 1567. and regiſtred in the body thereof, and confirmed by a number of ſucceeding Parliaments: but this Negative confeſſion, hath little more than the mandate of King *James* in his Minority (being but fifteen years of age) on the occaſion before recited, to which he himſelf afterwards manifeſted his diſlike at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, ſaying, Mr. *Craig* the compiler thereof, with his, *I Renounce*, and *I Deteſt*, did multiply ſo many particulars, that ſimple people were not able to conceive them, and ſo being amazed did either fall back to Popery, or remain ſtill in their ignorance If I (ſaid he) ſhould hold my ſelf to that form, the confeſſion of my Faith muſt be in my Table-book, and not in my head. But that which was an aggravation in the renewing of this Confeſſion, by theſe Confederates, was not only the doing it without the authority of the King or his Council, but adding a Band or Covenant to it far differrent from the Band in the year 1590. wherein they make an interpretation of the Confeſſion, contrary to the ſenſe and true meaning of it, for the better carrying on of their intended reformation. The firſt Band was for maintenance of the King's perſon and Authority with their lives and fortunes in defence of the Goſpel of Chriſt, and liberties of the Kingdom; but in this Covenant they ſwear to the mutual defence and aſſiſtance one of another, with their beſt counſel, bodies, means, and whole power, againſt all perſons whatſoever, wherein the King was not excepted.

This

1638. This Confeſſion and Covenant was firſt taken by the Tables, and afterwards impoſed on all ſorts of people, wherein great violence and menaces were uſed in many places, with beating, tearing of cloaths, drawing blood, and expoſing to thouſands of injuries and reproaches, at *Edenburgh*, S. *Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, *Glaſgow*, *Lanerick*, and many places more; all thoſe Profeſſours in Colledges, and Miniſters, who out of Conſcience towards God, and loyalty to the King, did either diſſwade others, or could not by their entreaties or threatnings be perſwaded to it themſelves. The Laws were poſitive againſt this manner of Leaguing, it being expreſly declared in two Acts of Parliament, 10 *Jac.* 6. Act. 12. and *Parliament. nono Reg. Mariæ*, Act. 75. That all Leagues of ſubjects amongſt themſelves without the privity and approbation of the King to be Sedition, and the Authors and abetters of them to be puniſhed as movers of Sedition: but ſo great was the tranſportation of Zeal in the people, inflamed by the inſinuations of the chiefs of the confederates, that the Law could take no place. All Profeſſours in Colledges, and Miniſters that refuſed to ſubſcribe their Covenant were removed, for many good men that miſlik'd the tumultuary way of offering it, were alſo ſcandalized at the interpretation by the Tables put upon it, for they declared, That this Confeſſion was to be interpreted and ought to be underſtood of all the pretended Novations, no leſſer than if every one of them had been expreſſed in the ſaid Confeſſion: by which, the five Articles of *Perth* before ſpoken of, paſſed in the year 1618. concerning kneeling at the Sacrament, private Communion to the ſick, private Baptiſm, Confirmation of Children, and Obſervation of Feſtivals, as alſo the Service-Book, the Book of Canons, the High-Commiſſion, things which Mr. *Craig* never heard of (nor perhaps imagined) are ſworn againſt, ſo that they made the living ſwear what was the mind of the dead, for in that Confeſſion, thoſe Romiſh corruptions were only abjured which in that time had infected the Church: theſe Zealots nevertheleſs when ſome eminent Miniſters (who at their admiſſion had ſworn obedience to and practice of theſe points) when they diſputed this interpretation, and offered ſome qualification to it, they aſſured them they might ſwear, with a reſervation of not abjuring Epiſcopacie, the Articles of *Perth*, or any thing by Parliament or General Aſſembly eſtabliſhed; urging, that it would breed great diviſion, if any alteration of the words wherein the Govenant was conceived, ſhould be admitted.

Violence uſed to thoſe that refuſed this Covenant.

Profeſſours of Colledges and Miniſters removed upon the ſame account.

The King being much diſpleaſed with theſe indignities upon his Royal Authority, and their refuſal of that ſatisfaction which he offered to redreſs their complaints, intended to do that by power, which perſwaſion could not effect; but the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* then very prevalent with him, diverted that courſe, offering his ſervice to compoſe the differences: The King being in his nature alwaies prone to lenity, was quickly induced to condeſcend to this motion, and ſent him down in the quality of High Commiſſioner, authorizing him with large power to ſettle the peace of that Kingdom. The Marqueſs at his firſt arrival finding the City of *Edenburgh* filled with extraordinary numbers of perſons from ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, becauſe of the ſitting of the Tables, went to a place called *Dalkeyh*, about four miles from thence, where he aſſembled the Council to conſider of the beſt waies and means of ſerving the King in the proſecution of the truſt committed to him; but whilſt he was in theſe conſultations, the Magiſtrates of *Edenburgh* preſented an humble ſupplication to him, to repair to the King's Palace at *Edenburgh*, where (as they pretended) they might more conveniently give demonſtration of their affection to the King's ſervice. The Marqueſs conſidering what great influence the City had over all the reſt of the Cities and Burghs of *Scotland*, was willing to gratifie them in their requeſt, and told them, That if they would undertake that their Citizens ſhould behave themſelves as dutiful Subjects, and take order that the multitudes now preſent there (who call themſelves Covenanters) and the Guards which the Tables had lately ſet about the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* ſhould be diſmiſſed, he would repair to the City, otherwiſe not: The Magiſtrates undertook to perform all that the Marqueſs propoſed, adding, that they feared ſome aſperſions might be laid upon them of diſloyalty to the King, from which they doubted not to clear themſelves, when he ſhould pleaſe to hear and examine their proceedings: The Marqueſs upon this their undertaking, went the next day to *Edenburgh* to the King's Palace at *Haly-rood* Houſe, where after he was a while ſettled, he fell preſently upon the main buſineſs with the Confederates, to whom he made two Propoſitions.

The Marqueſs comes into Scotland to compoſe the differences.

1638.

First, what they expected from him for ſatisfaction to their Complaints; and next, what might be expected from them for returning to their former obedience, eſpecially in renouncing and delivering up their late Covenant. To which after ſome time, they made anſwer, *That they requeſted a General Aſſembly of the Church, and then a Parliament, in which two Judicatures they would repreſent and diſcuſs their Grievances: To the ſecond, they ſaid, They could not acknowledge that they had ever parted from their obedience; and for their Covenant, they would rather renounce their Baptiſm, than abate one word or ſyllable thereof.* And preſently after they had given their anſwers, they poſſeſſed the people with many miſ-reports, and the Sermons of the Preachers of *Edenburgh* were filled with admonitions, that they ſhould take heed of crafty compoſitions, or yielding in the leaſt point of their intended Reformation.

His two Propoſitions.

The Marqueſs ſeem'd much troubled at theſe actions, and thought the beſt expedient he could uſe to reclaim the people, was to publiſh a Proclamation, which he had brought with him from the King, of his Grace and Favour towards them, for relieving their Grievances, and ſatisfying them with his forwardneſs for the maintenance of the true Religion, and his averſeneſs from Popery; but before he did this, by advice of the Privy Council he writ a Letter to the King, to deſire him to ſweeten it with a favor of reſtoring to the City of *Edenburgh* the ſitting of the Seſſion, and all Courts of Juſtice, as a thing very acceptable to the Judges, Advocates, and all Dependents upon the Law, and to all others which had buſineſs depending in the Courts, but chiefly to the City of *Edenburgh*, which complained much of being impo-

The Marqueſs obtains of the King for the reſtoring of the ſitting of the Seſſions, and all Courts of Juſtice.

1638. impoveriſh'd by their abſence: To this the King returned a very Gracious Anſwer, conſenting that the Courts of Juſtice ſhould preſently begin again to ſit at *Edenburgh*, and in purſuance thereof Proclamation was made for the firſt ſitting down of the Seſſion on the third day of *July*, which was receiv'd with great joy by the Judges, Advocates, and the Magiſtrates and Citizens of *Edenburgh*, ſo that the Marqueſs and the Council did then hope the peoples minds began to be prepared to receive the Declaration of the King's grace and favour which was to be publiſhed in the next Proclamation: but upon the news of this ſome of the Confederates pretending to know the ſubſtance of it, were ſo bold as to tell the Marqueſs, It would give no ſatisfaction to the people, and if they publiſhe it, they would make proteſtation againſt it; but not prevailing in this, they perceiving the bringing back of the Courts of Juſtice to *Edenburgh* had wrought very much upon many of their party, to a good reſentment of the King's kindneſs towards them, caſt about how to pervert them; in order whereunto they ſent ſome of their number to the Marqueſs, to deſire that Sir *Robert Spotswood*, Preſident of the Seſſion, and Sir *John Hay*, Clerk, Regiſter or Maſter of the Rolls might be removed from their places, ſaying they would prove bribery and corruptions againſt them: To which the Marqueſs replyed, That upon the proof thereof, they ſhould be ſubjected to tryal, but he thought it not fit they ſhould be puniſhed for any crime before they were legally convicted of it; but this ſatisfied them not, nor did they expect to be gratified in ſo unreaſonable a requeſt, but they thought his denial would give them occaſion to irritate the people to a diſguſt of the King's favour intended towards them; for they preſently upon this poſſeſs'd their party that thoſe Judges were Enemies to their Covenant, affected to Epiſcopal Government, and Procurers, and Abettors of the late Innovations, giving out that they would publiſh a Proteſtation, that whatſoever Act, Decree or Order ſhould be made where any of theſe Judges were preſent, ſhould be null and void in Law; but notwithſtanding all this their threatning talk they never proceeded in any proceſs againſt them, or made any ſuch proteſtation, though they were often told by the Marqueſs, it would be a very good ſervice to the King, if they could prove their allegations, of which, if they were found guilty, they ſhould not only be diſplaced, but receive ſuch puniſhment as the Law had provided for ſuch Notorious criminals; but they perceiving their way of calumniation did not ſucceed, deſiſted from further dealing therein, which they would not have done, if the Judges had been guilty of what they alledged againſt them: And now the Seſſion being ſettled, the Marqueſs cauſed the King's Proclamation to be pronounced at the Croſs at *Edenburgh*, wherein the King took notice that many diſorders had lately happened upon the Introduction of the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High Commiſſion, many thereby fearing Innovation of Religion and Laws, wherefore He aſſured his good Subjects, *That he was reſolved to maintain the true Proteſtant Religion, and not thereafter preſs the practice of the Canons and Service-Book, nor any thing of that nature, but in ſuch a fair and legal way as ſhall manifeſt he never intends Innovations in Religion nor Laws; That he will reform the High Commiſſion, ſo as it ſhall not be grievous to the people, and what is further fitting to be done, ſhall be agitated in a General Aſſembly and Parliament which ſhould be indicted in convenient time; concluding, that he would not have them miſled by any diſaffected perſons, who under pretext of Religion would draw them to diſobedience to his grief and their ruine.* This Proclamation was no ſooner read, but the confederates arraigned it in a Proteſtation, which they cauſed to be publickly read, importing *That they never doubted the ſincerity of the King in defence of the Proteſtant Religion. That what he granted them, was not a ſufficient remedy for their grievances, in that he did not wholly aboliſh the Service-Book, nor the High Commiſſion, which was impoſed upon them contrary to the Laws of the Land. That no Proclamation can ſecure them from the re-entry of the Innovations which this ſeemed to diſcharge, and that an Aſſembly and Parliament are the only remedies of their evils, and means to prevent the like, and that their proceeding ought not to be interpreted a drawing to diſobedience under pretext of Religion, and running headlong into ruine.*

A Proclamation made for the firſt ſitting.

The King's Proclamation pronounced at the Croſs at *Edenburgh*.

1638.

The Proclamation anſwer'd in a Proteſtation of the Confederates.

The Marqueſs found by this their manner of proceeding, he was not likely to reduce them to obedience; and the moſt they could be brought to, was an Explication of their Covenant, wherein they pretended to expreſs great demonſtrations of affection to the King; but when it was preſented and read, little more was in it than a Juſtification of the Confeſſion and their Covenant, proteſting they never had any intention to withdraw themſelves from their dutiful ſubjection and obedience to the Kings Government: But whereas it was expected that to theſe words of their Covenant, whereby they bind themſelves to mutual maintenance againſt all perſons whatſoever, ſhould have been added, *except the King and his Succeſſours*, that was refuſed.

The Marqueſs was not ſatisfied herewith, but he told them he had ſpent all his Inſtructions, and could treat no further with them, till he had been with the King to acquaint him with his proceedings, and receive his further Orders, but he promiſed to return ſpeedily to them with the Kings final anſwer to their demands, which he would ſhew to him, exhorting them in the mean time to break up their meeting, and contain themſelves in quietneſs and peace: This they promiſed to do, but added, if he did not return by the 5th of *Auguſt* with ſuch an anſwer as they expected, that then they would hold themſelves free, and proceed in the courſes they had reſolved on.

The Marqueſs comes to the King at Greenwich, and acquaints him with the affairs.

The Marqueſs went immediately to the King, whom he found at *Greenwich*, and to him he related the particulars of all tranſactions; The K. was offended at the inſolencies of the Confederates, but was perſuaded to try a little further if he could reduce them by a Gentle means: wherefore he diſpatched the Marqueſs with new Inſtructions, and gave him order to call a General Aſſembly, and after that a Parliament, but ſo as he ſhould be firſt ſatisfied, by all Informations he could conveniently receive, of the conſtitution of a General Aſſembly, none having been kept for divers years.

He is ſent back with new inſtructions, and an order to call a General Aſſembly, and after a Parliament.

As ſoon as he came into *Scotland*, he deputed ſome of the Lords of the Council to confer with

ſome

1638. some of the chief of the confederates of all Orders concerning some necessary propositions fit to be resolved on before the calling of the Assembly, both concerning the members of which it was to be constituted, and concerning the matters to be treated of; (two consultations usually previous to that meeting; for the omission whereof, in an Assembly of later times, they had so grievously complained, that in a Petition exhibited by the Ministers of their side it was alledged for a Nullity of that Assembly) but this was rejected as a limitation of the Assembly: The Marquess then told them, he could not call the Assembly till he had once again attended the King: Upon this they caused rumors to be spread, that the Marquess neither had power from the King, nor any intention from himself to give them satisfaction; Wherefore the Marquess to disabuse the people in this matter, reduced what he at first propounded, to two heads, which he tendered to them in these words;

The Marquess propoſals in order to an Assembly and Parliament.

1. If the Lords and the rest will undertake for themselves and the rest, that no Laicks shall have voices in chusing the Ministers to be sent from the several Presbyteries to the General Assembly, nor none else but the Ministers of the same Presbytery.

2. If they will undertake that at the Assembly, they shall not go about to determine of things established by Act of Parliament, otherwise than by Remonstrance or Petition to the Parliament, leaving the determining of things Ecclesiastical to the General Assembly, and things setled by Act of Parliament, to the Parliament.

Then I will presently Indict a General Assembly, and promise upon My Honour, immediately after the Assembly to Indict a Parliament which shall Cognosce of all their Complaints.

They dislike the propoſals, and invest themselves with a power of convoking an Assembly.

This would not be condescended unto, but they told the Marquess, if he did not return from the King by the 21th. of *September*, to Indict a General Assembly by the Kings authority, they would themselves call one: for they had about this time published a Book, wherein amongst other things it was asserted, that the power of Convoking an Assembly, in case the Prince was an enemy of the Truth, or negligent in advancing the good of the Church, was in the Church it self.

The Marquess hastened with all diligence to the King, and informed him of all occurrences that passed, which occasioned many debates of the way to be used to bring that Kingdom to peace and quietness.

The *Scots* about the King advised, that he should not have any recourse to Arms, but in an unavoidable extremity; the Lords of the Privy Council in *Scotland* were many of them in private League with the Confederates, so that nothing could be relyed on from them; And therefore that which was thought the best expedient, was to take an exact view of all the Petitions, Remonstrances and Protestations of the Confederates which they had since the beginning of the troubles exhibited either to the King, or the Marquess, or Privy Council, and to grant them all: And besides all these, because the heads of the Confederates had made it a principal motive to alienate the minds of the people from the King, that he was inclined to Popery, and had an aversion to the Reformed Religion, It was adjudged and consented to by the King, to command and urge the renewing of that Confession and Covenant by his authority, which they had taken without it, by which Legitimation, to save the people who were to swear it, from incurring the danger of those Laws, which made it very criminal to enter into any Covenant without his Authority: And instead of that unjust band of confederacy, which they added to the confession to bind themselves to mutual maintenance and defence against all persons whatsoever, the King caused the General Band for maintenance of the true Religion, and the Kings person to be added in the same words as it was expressed, and taken in the year 1590 by an Ordinance of the Privy Council at the desire of the General Assembly. 1638.

With these concessions all drawn up in a Proclamation, the Marquess returned into *Scotland* within eight daies after his first coming to *Oatelands* to the King, and arrived there before the time limited for his return: The Confederates had made many resolutions in his absence, and though they promised no election of Commissioners for the Assembly should be made before the 21. of *September*, the day agreed upon for his return, they gave order that the Election should be made the two and twentieth being the next day after, according to which order, Commissioners for the Assembly were elected in many Presbyteries before the Kings answer could be known, or before the Assembly was indicted, which was not till some daies after these elections; and although they would admit of no conference with the Marquess, for debating of what members the Assembly was to be constituted, and the manner thereof, which they said, would be a pre-limitation of it, they sent out to every Presbytery several Articles, wherein many Qualifications were made, limiting both the matter and manner thereof, with a form of Commission to be given to the Commissioners from every Presbytery, requiring that the persons elected should repair to *Edenburgh* after their Election, to consult before-hand of what was to be said or done at the Assembly.

Notwithstanding all these disorders, the Marquess assembled the Council at *Holy-Rood* house, and communicated to them the particulars of the Kings grace and favour for the appeasing of the Troubles of the Kingdom, which they received with excessive joy, believing that malice it self could not invent a pretence of keeping the people from being fully satisfied: The news of this made the heads of the Confederates bestir themselves, fearing their reign was towards an end, and some of them came to the Marquess sitting in Council, and moved him to delay the publishing of the Proclamation till the *Monday* following, for the next day being *Sunday*, they intended their Ministers should in their Pulpits cast such aspersions on it as might not easily be removed; but the Marquess would not be prevailed with, and the Proclamation was that day published at the Market-Cross; which was to this effect: *That the King did annul and rescinde all Acts and Proclamations that had been made concerning the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission, and the practise of them: he also dispensed with the*

The Kings Proclamation published at the Cross, where he authorizeth their confession and band annexed.

1638. *the practice of the five Articles of Perth, and it was declared, that all persons Ecclesiastical or Civil of what quality, title or degree soever should be lyable to the Tryal and censure of Parliament, general Assembly, or any other Judicatories competent, and that no other Oath should be administred to any Minister, at their Entry into the Ministry, but that which is contained in the Act of Parliament: Likewise an manifestation of the Kings integrity to Religion, all persons should be enjoyned by his authority, to subscribe the Confession of faith, with the Band annexed, and that no doubt may be left in the minds of the people of the Kings intentions, it is declared, that the Marquess the Kings Commissioner, has Warrant to summon a Free General Assembly, to be holden at Glascow, the 21 of November, and a Parliament at Edenburgh, the 15 of May.*

The Lords of the Council approve the Kings Proclamation, and subscribe and swear to the conditions and band as drawn by the King.

All the Lords of the Council did seem very well to approve of this Proclamation, highly extolling the Goodness and Piety of the King, for having offered so just a means for the conservation of the purity of Religion and the peace of the Kingdom; and in a letter, which they sent to him upon this Subject, they offered to defend his Person and Royal Authority, in the profession of that confession, now by him authorised, which they all solemnly subscribed after the Marquess, who represented the Kings person, and appointed Commissioners for all Countreys and places, to have it sworn to, and subscribed by all the people, throughout the Realm. Many of the more moderate, both Magistrates, Ministers, and others in several Towns and places, that had taken the Covenant injoyned by the Confederates, were very well satisfied, with the expressions of the Kings condescensions mentioned in the Proclamation, and did swear and subscribe to the confession and Band, by the King directed, which began now to be called the Kings Covenant: But the Lords, Ministers and others of the Tables, and their Confederates did not acquiesce therein, alledging that this Proclamation did in many parts of it tacitely condemn the precedent actions, and restrain the Liberty of the Intended General Assembly; and to shew their dislike, they framed a long Protestation against it, a copy whereof they tendred to the Kings Herald, at the same time the Proclamation was proclaimed, which was to this effect.

A Protestation of the confederates against the Kings Proclamation.

That what the King granted in this Proclamation, did not free them from their just fears and apprehensions, and was not sufficient to cure the wounds of the Church and State; That the King ascribed the last Troubles to their fear of the innovations of Religion and Law, and not to the Innovation themselves, as if the cause were rather in apprehension, than in reality and substance. That the King having extolled the present Government of the Church, according to the late innovated forms of service therein, they could not be secured with a bare suspension of their Usage; if they were not formally taken away. That the General Assembly would be deprived of its just liberty, both in the Election of its Members, and the matters to be therein discussed, because the King appointed Bishops in the Indiction of the Assembly, to be there present, though they ought not so to be unless deputed by the Presbyteries.

1638. *That the King declared, his intentions not to innovate any thing in Religion, whereas it depends on the general Assembly, to abolish all such Ecclesiastick constitutions, which appear to them to be hurtful to the Church.*

That seeing all persons Ecclesiastical and Civil are lyable to the Tryal and Censure, as in the Proclamation mentioned and expressed, They protested that the Arch-Bishops and Bishops be not present, as having voice at the Assembly, but as persons guilty to appear, to undergo censure, for the complaints made, and to be made against them, and that the warning by this Protestation, and the Kings Proclamation should be a sufficient citation for their Tryal in Life, Office, and Benefice.

That they cannot subscribe this Confession, and Band by the King appointed: because it will tend to a division of them, in regard that they had already sworn, not directly or indirectly to suffer themselves to be divided from this conjunction, which consisted not in the general confession (which they agree to be the same) but also in the explanation and application thereof; and moreover by this new subscription they should both condemn their former subscription, and preclude the like laudable course in the like necessity to be taken by posterity.

That if they should swear the Confession, they should be obliged to maintain the Articles of Perth and Episcopacy, for an Oath is to be taken according to the intention of the person that commends it, and this being now appointed by the Kings Mandate of the 9 of Septemb. last, It is plain, that the Kings mind and intention is, That this Confession be sworn for the maintenance of Religion, as it is now professed, including the Innovations, and Episcopacy, which under that name were ratified by the Kings first Parliament: And if it be objected, that the Marquess and the Council do by their Act urge the confession as it was professed in the year 1580. It is answered, that no such Act is yet published by Proclamation: By approving the Proclamation concerning the Ministers Oath according to Act of Parliament, (which is to swear simple obedience to the Diocesan Bishop) we should, say they, seem to determine that the Confession of Faith *in 1580 doth consist with Episcopacy, whereas that Question is referred, as other of the like kind, to the Assembly.* And they conclude, with an appeal from the Lords of the Council to the next general Assembly, exhorting all to subscribe the Confession and Covenant, as by them explained and applyed, and hold back their hands from all other Covenants, till the Assembly be convened and determine the present divisions and differences.

The Marquess, and the Lords of the Council perceived by this protestation, that the confederates endeavoured all they could to blast the Kings intentions, and they wondred much at their appeal from the Council to the Assembly, which was by Act of the eighth Parliament of King *James* made High Treason: They saw also, by what the Confederates did, that little good was to be expected from the approaching assembly (which was summoned to appear at the time expressed by the Kings Proclamation) for they had used great Industry, that all that should

1638. should be chosen thereunto, should be of the most rigid and most affectionate to their Covenant; and to exclude the Bishops from having any place there, they published, That any persons, cited as Criminals before the Assembly, could have no voice there; and in pursuance thereof, they drew up a Libel against the Archbishops and Bishops, which they exhibited on the 24th of *October*, to the Presbytery of *Edenburgh*, who proceeded thereon, as if all the Bishops had been subject to their authority; and after some short consideration of the Libel, which was full of scandal and reproaches of the Bishops, they ordered, that it should be referred to the next Assembly, and that the Libel and their Order of Reference should be read in all Churches with a publick warning and citation to the Bishops, to be present at the Assembly, to answer to the complaints against them.

A Libel drawn up against the Arch Bishops and Bishops, who by this means being made criminals, are excluded from having any Place in their Assembly.

Many judged this proceeding, so contrary to all the Legal forms of Justice, was done on no other design, but to render the Bishops odious to the people; For the Assembly when they came to consider of this matter, enter'd not into the examination of the personal Vices, with which the Libel or Bill of Complaint was filled, but upon the abolishing of Episcopacy it self, though it is evident, that if they had had proofs, they would not have spared the Bishops, whom the Confederates had represented so criminous to the people.

The day of the Assembly being come, the Marquess his Commission was Read, and nothing else done considerable that day: The next day a Declinator was presented to the Commissioner in the name of the Arch-bishops and Bishops against the Assembly, and containing a nullity of it, but this was not read without great difficulty: nor was this Declinator of the Bishops the only objection against this Assembly, for the Presbytery of *Glascow*, and many other places protested against the legality thereof, because of the admission of Lay-Elders, a thing scarce before heard of in that Church: But they made very much scrutiny in the debate of their own constitution, for by one means or other they excluded every Commissioner, that was not clearly agreeable to the minds of the Confederates. The Declinator of the Bishops they would by no means allow of, but put it to the question, Whether the Assembly, notwithstanding the Bishops reasons against it, were not Lawful, and a competent Judge of the Complaints against them? and it was agreed in the affirmative. The Marquess admired at their carriage, since the chiefs of the Confederates, who so lately protested against the sitting of the Bishops in Council, as parties to their Complaints, and made a Declinator of the Councils Authority, and invalidated all their Acts, made while they were sitting, could now oppose the like, though with more reason offered in this case; for most or all of the Members of the Assembly having bound themselves by Oaths, Covenants, Combinations and Associations against the Bishops, and Episcopacy, (which being analogical to judicial Acts) had barred themselves from being Judges, either of the persons or calling of these Bishops: But the Marquess had yet a deeper resentment of their behaviour for another cause, for the King having nominated six Lords of the Privy Council, to be Assessors to him his Commissioner in that Assembly, they absolutely refused to entertain them, or allow their suffrage, affirming, That were the King himself present, he should have but one voice, and that no negative one neither.

A Declinator of the Bishops against the Assembly.

Lay-Elders admitted into their Assembly.

The Bishops Declinator rejected.

1638. Six Lords of the Privy Council nominated by the King Assessors to the Marquess, refused and denied their suffrage.

The Marquess concluding from these actions, that no good was like to be done by continuing the Assembly longer, *Novemb.* the 28th consulted with the Council about its dissolution; and it being agreed in the affirmative, he went to the Assembly, and said to them,

You are now about to settle the Lawfulness of this Judicature, and the competency of it against Bishops, neither of which I can allow; I am glad I have seen this Assembly met, a thing which was supposed his Majesty never intended, and for the further clearing the integrity of his intensions, let this Paper, which I deliver to the Clerk to be read, bear Witness.

The Marquess gracious Speech to the Assembly.

The Paper being read by the Clerk, was a Declaration the same in every substantial point with the Declaration, discharging the Service Book, Book of Canons, &c. This Declaration soon after the Reading, was signed by the Commissioner, and required to be entred into the Books of the Assembly; provided that this Act of Registring this Declaration, should be no approbation of the Lawfulness of this Assembly, to the dissolution whereof he was next to proceed, and therefore protested, That whatsoever should be done or said in it, should not be obligatory, or be reputed an Act of a General Assembly: the very night of the intended dissolution of this Assembly, the Marquess assembled the Council to draw up a Proclamation for dissolving it, which being resolved upon, was subscribed by all, but the Earl of *Argyle*, who began now to shew himself for the Confederates.

A Proclamation for the dissolution of the Assembly.

The Proclamation being formed, and published *Novembe* 29th, was encountred with a Protestation of the Confederates, *That it is Lawful for them to Sit still, and continue the Assembly, and that they would still adhere to all their former Protestations*; and accordingly pursuing the Tenor of their Protestations, presently declared six former General Assemblies (which they thought would discern them) to be null, and deprived all the Bishops, and some they excommunicated, and soon after aboliſhed Episcopacy it self, as inconsistent with the Laws of that Church.

Encountred with a Protestation of the Confederates.

Episcopacy aboliſhed by the Assembly.

The Marquess seeing all things tending to a present Rupture, sent to desire leave of the King to return into *England*; which he obtained, but before he went, he saw an end of the Assembly, which made many Acts, not necessary here to be related, and by their own Authority ordained annual Assemblies, the first whereof was assigned to meet at *Edenburgh*, the first of *July* 1639.

Annual Assemblies ordained.

As soon as the Marquess was gone, the Confederates drew up a Declaration, Addressed to all good Christians of *England*, to justifie their intentions and Actions, which had so many undutiful Reflections in it of the Government, that it was suppressed by the King's Authority, and he published a Declaration, to satisfie all his faithful

Their Declaration to justifie their actions suppressed by the King's Authority.

1638. Subjects of the seditious Practices of those in *Scotland*, who had, under Pretext of Religion, designed the subversion of his Royal Authority, which was commanded to be Read in all Churches.

Mary de Medicis the Queen Mother comes into *England.*

On the last of *October* this year, *Marie de Medicis*, the Widow of *Harry* the 4th, King of *France*, and Mother to the Queen, came into *England*, and was very honourably entertained: Whil'st she staied here, she was lodged at the King's Palace at St. *James's*, but she finding the King likely to be involved in troubles, to reduce his Subjects of *Scotland* to obedience, after some Months stay returned into *Holland*.

The Scots prepare for War, invite home their Commanders abroad, seize on divers Castles, and the King's Arms, and Ammunition.

The *Scots* having made all things desperate to accommodation, made vigorous preparations for War, and sent for succours to such of the neighbour Princes and States, from whom they could expect any assistance: They also invited home many Eminent Commanders of their Nation, from *Sweden* and *Holland*, to take Imployment in their Armies, many of which were at the beginning of the year come to them. They seized on the Castles of *Edenburgh* and *Dunbarton*, and all other places of strength in the Kingdom, and took out of *Dalkeyth* all the King's Arms, and Ammunition, laid there the year before by the Marquess of *Hamilton*, next they chose *Alexander Lesly*, an old experienced Officer, to be Captain General of their Armies, to whom all the chiefs of the Confederates (who took Arms) Solemnly swore Obedience in all orders of War, and he swore in like manner, faithfully to exercise his charge.

Alexander Lesly made their Captain General.

The Marquess of *Argile* was sent to take care of those places frontier of *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Montrosse* had the charge of *Aberdeen*, and the more Northern parts, and Colonel *Monroe* was sent towards the borders of *England*, to keep all things quiet till the Levies were perfected.

The King in that mean time was not Idle, but made very great Levies in all places, and having got his Army together, he gave the command thereof in chief to the Earl of *Arundel*, as General, under whom the Earl of *Essex* was Lieutenant General, and the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horse, the rest of the Officers were many of them persons of the best quality. And the Army in General consisted of the flower of the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty of the Nation: With this Army the King sets out on the 27th of *March*, and comes by easie Marches, within two miles of *Berwick*, on the

The Earl of Arundel General of the King's Army.

1639. 28th of *May*, where he Incamped, and General *Lesly* about the same time, marched with the *Scotch* Army to the borders towards *England*, and Incamped at *Dunce*, within four miles of *Berwick*.

The King when he began his March, had sent the Marquess of *Hamilton*, with a Fleet of Ships well furnisht with Souldiers to *Leyth*, to attempt that place, and make what Impression he could in those parts to hinder any new Levies, and reduce *Edenburgh*, *Leyth*, and what other Forts and Strengths he could to Obedience: He arrived in the month of *May* with his Fleet in the Road before the Town called the *Fryth*, where after some stay, he Landed some of his men in a little Island, to give them breath and some refreshments, and there he received a visit from his Mother, a most rigid Covenanter, which made many of the King's Friends suspect his integrity; and the *Scots* upon the shore that saw this, were heard to say, *They knew the Son of such a Mother would not do them hurt.*

The Marquess of Hamilton sent with a Fleet to *Leyth.*

1639.

The Army under *Lesly*, was but ill armed, for they had not three thousand Musquets amongst them, so that though they put a good face on the Business, they were better prepared for a Treaty than a Battel, nevertheless those of that Nation about the King were not wanting on their part, to make the preparations of their Countrymen very terrible, and the Earls of *Trequayr* and *Roxborough*, and other Noblemen of *Scotland*, who had permission to repair to *York* to the King, as he was in his March, for mediating an Atonement, did so practise upon the *English* Lords by their insinuations, that they mitigated much the displeasure of some, and quite took off the edge of others, so that after the King had been a while in his Leaguer near *Berwick*, he was easily disposed to receive Overtures from them, to be received into his grace and favour, which they made with great protestations of their Resolution upon his gracious Assurance of the preservation of their Religion and Laws, to give example to others of all Civil and Temporal Obedience, which could be required or expected from his loving Subjects: This produced a Treaty, for which on the King's part were appointed, The Earls of *Pembrook*, *Salisbury*, *Berkshire*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and secretary *Cook*: And for the *Scots*, the Earls of *Rothes* and *Dumfermling*, the L. *Lowdon*, the L. *Dowglas*, *Alexander Henderson*, and *Archibald Johnston*: These having had several Debates, at length, *June* the 17th concluded upon a Pacification, which on the King's part was expressed by a Declaration of that date: so much whereof as is pertinent for the better understanding of these transactions, is here inserted.

A Pacification made by the King and the *Scots.*

We are pleased to confirm and make good whatsoever the Marquess of Hamilton *our Commissioner hath granted; And that all matters Ecclesiastical shall be determined by the Assemblies of the Kirk, and matters Civil by the Parliament, and other inferiour Judicatories established by Law; which Assembly shall be kept once a year, or as shall be agreed upon by the General Assembly, and our Commissioner for the time being.*

That a free and General Assembly be kept at Edenburgh *the sixth of* August *next, where we intend (God willing) to be personally present, and thereafter a Parliament the 20th of* August, *and there an Act of Oblivion to be passed; And that upon their Disarming and Disbanding of their Forces, dissolving and discharging all their pretended Tables and Conventicles, and restoring to the King all his Castles, Forts and Ammunition, as also his Royal Honours, and to every one of his good Subjects, their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods and Means whatsoever taken and detained since the late pretended General Assembly; The King will presently thereafter recal his Fleet, and retire his Forces, and cause Restitution of their Ships and Goods taken since the aforesaid time.*

The

1639.

The Articles of Pacification were these, the 17th. of *June*, 1639.

Articles of Pacification.

1. *THe Forces of* Scotland *to be disbanded and dissolved within* 24 *hours after the agreement of the Kings Declaration.*

2. *The Kings Castles, Forts and Ammunition to be delivered after the said Publication, so soon as he should send to receive them.*

3. *His Ships to depart presently after the Delivery of the Castles, and in the mean time no interruption of Trade.*

4. *All Persons, Goods and Ships detained by the King since the first of* November, *to be restored.*

5. *No Meetings, Treatings, Consultations or Convocations of any of the* Scots, *but such as are warranted by Act of Parliament.*

6. *All Fortifications to desist and to be remitted to the Kings pleasure.*

7. *To restore to every one their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods and Means whatsoever taken and detained from them by whatsoever means since the first of* November *last.*

The King signed the Declaration on the 18th of *June*, and the same day the Commissioners on each party signed the Articles, and the *Scots* Commissioners subscribed a short Declarative submission in these words:

A Declarative submission subscribed by the Scots Commissioners.

In Obedience to his Majesties Royal Commands, We shall upon Thursday next the 20th. *of* June *dismiss our Forces, and immediately thereafter deliver his Majesties Castles, &c. And shall ever in all things carry our selves like humble and Loyal Subjects,*

Rothes. Dumfermlin. Lowdon. Dowglas. Henderson. Johnston.

The Pacification being thus agreed, the King sent for some of the *Scotch* Lords, and informed them that he had given Orders to the Marquess of *Hamilton* to draw off the Fleet, and did intend to have been at *Edenburgh* at the opening of the Assembly, but that he had received letters from the Queen, which intimated a necessity of his presence at *London* about some pressing affairs, but he would depute the Earl of *Traquayr* with full power and authority as his High Commissioner to hold the Assembly and the Parliament.

The Earl of Traquayr deputed the Kings Commissioner.

Most men thought these graces of the King to his *Scotch* Subjects, would have obliged them to an intire submission to his authority, but the Confederates had some further designs of trouble: For no sooner was the Kings Declaration published, but at that instant they incountred it with a Protestation of several heads. *First, of adhering to the late General Assembly at* Glascow *as a Free and General Assembly of the Church, and to all proceedings there, especially to the sentences of Deprivation and Excommunication of the Bishops: Secondly, of adhering to their Solemn Covenant and declaration of the Assembly, whereby the Office of Bishops is abjured. Thirdly, in regard many of the Gentry and the Ministers, who had long attended at* Edenburgh *during the discussion of the Pacification and the preparatives to it, were to repair to their own homes, whereby such of them as had Suits depending at Law, could not stay at* Edenburgh *to attend them; they Declared, That if any members of the Colledge of Justice should attend the Session or Tearm, all their Acts and Sentences of Judgements should be void and ineffectual.*

The Scots Protestation against the Kings Declaration.

1639.

The King could not but resent this Ingratitude, but was forced to temporize, in hopes that at the meeting of the Parliament, some moderate Counsels might temper the minds of the people: he had been so just to those conditions of peace which he granted them, that he immediately discharged his Army, which if he had kept together, or any considerable part of them, untill he had seen their Souldiers disbanded, their Officers cashiered, their Forts and Castles delivered up to him, and some good issue of the Assembly and Parliament to be held at *Edenburgh*, he had preserved his Honour among Foreign Princes, and crush'd those practises at home which afterward undermined his peace, and destroyed his glories.

The *Scots* did not punctually perform any one Article, the Castle of *Edenburgh* was indeed put under the command of Sir *Patrick Ruthen* by the Kings orders, but they did not slight their Fortifications at *Leyth*, they still kept their Officers in pay, and continued their meetings and consultations, disquieting, molesting and frighting all of different inclinations; and the more to stir up the people, they dispersed a Scandalous Libell, Entituled, *Some Conditions of His Majesties Treaty with the Subjects of* Scotland *before the English Nobility, are set down here for a Remembrance.*

The Scots breach of Articles.

This Paper consisted of eight heads, which were pretended to be drawn out of Notes taken upon the several Discourses with the King about the matter of his Declaration: This was put into the hands of the Earl of *Pembroke* at his coming from *Berwick*, who pretended not to have read it, but seal'd it up till he had presented it to the King; The matter of it was very scandalous, & derogatory to the Kings honour; for all the substance of the Declaration was so qualified thereby, that the whole sense & intention of it was perverted: The King therefore summoned all the *English* Lords that were privy to these transactions, to meet in Council, who disavowed any such consent of his Majesty as in that Paper was expressed, and therefore both they and all the rest of the Council became Petitioners to the King that it might be burnt by the common Hangman, as a false and scandalous paper, which was done accordingly.

Upon the 6th. of *August* (old stile) The General Assembly conven'd at *Edenburgh* according to the Kings Indiction, and sate till the 24th, the chief matters passed were the Confirmation of the Act of the Assembly at *Glascow*, the abolishing Episcopacy, the five Articles of *Perth*, the High Commission, the Liturgie, and the Book of Canons, and ended with rendring thanks to the King for his Indulgence towards them, in the assent of his Commissioner to their Acts, & assigned another to meet at *Aberdeen* the next year in the moneth of *July*.

The General Assembly conven'd at Edenburgh.

The Parliament meet again.

The Assembly now ended, the Parliament which was prorogued till the last of *August*, did again come together: the first four dates produced

1639. duced a high debate about settling their constitution to determine what estate should supply that of the Bishops now abolish't, which being at last agreed, they fell upon other matters concerning Rescissory Acts of former Parliaments, and several consultations tending rather totally to eclipse the Kings Regal Power, and to new model his Government, than to reform abuses: so that he sent an express to the Earl of *Trequayr* to prorogue the Parliament again till the second of *June* following.

To this Prorogation they very unwillingly submitted, declaring that the King had no power to prorogue them without their consent, and they appointed some of every of the three Estates to continue in *Edenburgh* till they had made a remonstrance thereof to the King, which before the separation they perfected, and the Earl of *Dumfermlin* and the Lord *Lowdon* were sent to present it to him: These coming to the Court without warrant from the Kings Commissioner, were sent back again without Audience, and after a while the Commissioner himself comes up to inform the King of the present condition of *Scotland*, which being reported to the Council, it was resolved, That the Disobedience of that Nation was not reducible but by force. And thus matters stood between the King and them about the beginning of *December*, which for the better connexion of the Relations of that affair, we have drawn thus far in time; but we must now look a little back to affairs of *England*.

The Lords *Dumfermline* and *Lowdon* presenting a Remonstrance to the King without Warrant from his Commissioner, are sent back without Audience.

The Prince Elector in *July* this year arrived at the Court of *England* in prosecution of a design he had to get the Command of the Army of Duke *Bernard*, *Saxon Weymar* lately dead, which consisted of a gallant number of *Swedes*, *Germans*, and other Nations: The King did like very well of the business, and proposed it to the French Embassador, offering that the Prince should joyn in perpetual League with *France*, and that he would contribute what he could to his assistance. The Embassador seemed to be very well pleased with the offer, and told the King that he doubted not but his Master would approve of it, and that Cardinal *Richlieu* the chief Minister of that State would be willing to serve the King and the Prince therein: and thereupon he dispatched a Messenger to *Paris*, to acquaint the French King with the matter; but in the mean while, it was suggested to the King, that *Richlieu* under-hand fomented the troubles of *Scotland*, whereby the confederate Covenanters had been encouraged to write a letter to that King for assistance, so that the reality of *Richlieu* was so much suspected, that the Prince was advised to go privately through *France* to Duke *Bernards* Army, of which it was believ'd he might by his appearance easily get the Command. The Prince therefore in *Novemb.* passed over to *Bullen*, and from thence endeavored to pass by disguise through *France*, but at *Lyons* he was discovered, and taken Prisoner: And the King of *France* interpreted this action of the Prince of no fair intentions towards him, because it was done in a time of Treaty, so that he was kept under a strict Guard.

The Prince Elector comes to *England*.

A Sea-fight between the *Spaniards* & *Hollanders*.

The great business of this Summer was a Sea-Fight betwixt the two Navies of *Spain* and *Holland* in the *Downs*, which we shall here insert in the words of Sir *John Pennington*, the King's Vice-Admiral, who made this following Narration thereof. 1639.

The *Spanish* Fleet consisting of near seventy Sail, bound and designed for *Dunkirk* in *Flanders* with a recruit both of men and money, met with the Vice-Admiral of the *Holland* Fleet, having in his company seventeen small Ships, *Sep.* the 7*th.* and entred into a very fierce dispute with them, until the Hollander perceiving himself too weak, got to wind-ward, sailing along towards *Dunkirk*, and continually firing their Ordnance to give warning to their Admiral, who lay before that Town with the residue of the Fleet: in the first Encounter the *Hollanders* had two Ships sunk, and the next morning by two of the clock the Admiral came up, and joying with the Vice-Admiral between *Dover* and *Calais*, they set upon the *Spaniard*, and continued a very sharp fight till past Noon, wherein they had much the better, having taken two Gallions, sunk another, and much shattered the rest, though they were but 25 Sail to the *Spaniards* 60 and upwards, and at length forced them upon the *English* coast near *Dover*, where they left them, and bare off for the Coast of *France*, not willing to attempt any thing against them within the King of *England's* liberties.

The *Spaniards* being now got as they thought under the Lee of *England's* protection, began to plot how to get rid of their bad Neighbours; and the *Spanish* Resident importuned the King, that he would keep the *Hollander* in subjection two Tydes, that in the interim they might have the opportunity of shipping away for *Spain*; but the King being in amity with them both, was resolved to stand neuter, and whereas the *Spaniards* had hired some *English* Ships to transport their Souldiers to *Dunkirk*, the King upon complaint of the Dutch Embassador, strictly commanded, that none should take in any *Spaniards*, nor pass beyond *Gravesend* without Licence, but the *Spaniards* and the *Hollanders* plotting a great while counter the one to the other, the *Spaniard* at length somewhat outwitted his Enemy, and by a Strategem in the night conveyed away 14 *Dunkirk* Ships, and in them four thousand men.

In the beginning of *October* the King sent the Earl of *Arundel* to the Admiral of *Spain*, *Don Antonio D'Oquendo*, desiring him to retreat upon the first fair wind, because he would not they should engage within his Seas, but the wind continued Eastwardly so long (a thing not usual in that Season) as the *Hollanders* got daily fresh supply from *Zealand*, so that at length their Fleet was compleated to an hundred Ships, wherewith they encompassed their Enemies within Pistol-shot for four daies: But that which was so long an enterview of these two Fleets, at last turned to an Engagement.

On the Eleventh of the same Month, *Van Trump* the Dutch Admiral charged the *Spaniards* with Cannon and Fire-ships so furiously, as made them all cut their Cables, and being 53 in number, 23 ran on shore, and stranded in the *Downes*, whereof three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shore. One of these was a great Gallion, the Vice-Admiral of *Gallica* commanded by *Don Antonio de Castro*, which had 52 brass

1639. braſs pieces of Ordnance: the remainder of the 23 ſtranded and deſerted by the Spaniards, were man'd by the Engliſh, to ſave them from the Dutch: The other 30 Spaniſh Ships under the command of the Admirals *Don Antonio D'Oquendo*, and *Lopez* Admiral of *Portugal*, went to Sea and kept in cloſe Order until a great fogg fell upon them, when the Dutch taking the advantage thereof, interpoſed betwixt the Admirals & their Fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the Admiral of *Portugal* began to flame, being fired with two *Holland* Fire-ſhips, which *D'Oquendo* perceiving, he preſently took his courſe towards *Dunkirk*, with the Admiral of that place, and ſome few Ships more, for moſt of the reſt were taken. Of theſe thirty, eleven were ſent into *Holland*, three periſh'd upon the coaſt of *France*, one near *Dover*, five ſunk in the Fight, and only ten eſcaped.

Theſe two potent Enemies being both friends to *England*, the *Britiſh* Seas ought by rule of State to have been an harbour of retreat to ſecure the weaker from the ſtronger, not the ſcene of their hoſtile engagement, and had this preſumptuous attempt of the *Hollander* been made in times of another temper, it would not, it's like, have been ſo ſilently connived at, and their victory might have coſt them the loſs of *England's* correſpondence: But ſelf-denyal is a Chriſtian, not a Martial vertue, and who is able to reſiſt the temptation of an advantage, whereby he may deſtroy his foe, upon the nicety of exceeding his juſt limits? Beſides, The King, the Dutch well knew, was of a Genius as not querulous, ſo if provoked very placable, and the diſpoſition of his affairs as well as of his mind diſſwaded him at this conjuncture from expoſtulating the matter with them.

About the 19*th* of *Novemb.* being the Anniverſary night of the Kings Birth-day, a great part of the walls of the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* fell down, and the King having given order for the repair thereof, the Confederate Covenanters would not permit any materials to be carried in for that uſe, which added much to thoſe reſentments, which the King had conceived againſt them, ſo that preparations of War went on againſt them, but the Kings Treaſure being exhauſted by the laſt Summers expedition, he conſulted with the Lords of the Council of his means of Supply, who conſidering the preſent exigence of Affairs, adviſed the calling of a Parliament, as the beſt expedient to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen him, both with Money, and Counſel; to this the King readily agreed, being ever (till diverted by the practice of intemperate men) a great lover of Parliaments, and in compliance with this advice, a Parliament was intimated to be Aſſembled on the 13. of *April*. This reſolution was taken the 5*th*. of *December*, and the notice given ſo long before, for two reaſons; firſt, that the Lord *Wentworth*, Deputy of *Ireland* (being lately ſent for hither on the occaſion of theſe troubles) might in the mean time hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he did, and managed ſo much to the Kings advantage, that an Army of 8000 horſe and foot, were ſpeedily raiſed, and money granted by the Parliament there, to keep them in pay, and furniſh them with Ammunition and Armes, and all other neceſſaries: Secondly, That by the reputation of a following Parliament he might borrow money, for the carrying on of the War, which could not admit of ſo much delay, as is commonly uſed in thoſe great Councils, in the granting of ſubſidies; which laſt being repreſented to the Lords of the Council, many of them ſubſcribed to a Loan of great ſums of money for the Kings aſſiſtance: The Deputy of *Ireland* being about to return to *Ireland*, on the errand before expreſſed, to give good example here, firſt ſubſcribed 20000 *l.* the Duke of *Richmond* as much, and moſt of the Lords (except the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*) and likewiſe the Biſhops, and the Judges and Officers, and dependants of Courts of Judicature, both of the Common and Civil Law, and generally the greateſt part of the Gentry, even the Recuſants contributed according to their abilities.

1639.

A Loan for the Kings Aſſiſtance againſt the Scots ſubſcribed to by many of the Lords of the Council and Biſhops, &c.

The King thus buſie in providing againſt the *Scots*, they endeavoured to remove the ſtorm hanging over them by an humble Addreſs to him, craving Leave to repreſent to him the State of all their tranſactions; The King ſaid, He was accoſtable by any Subject he had, and would not therefore deny that, which was pretended to be from a whole Kingdom, which he never refuſed from a private man.

This Anſwer being ſent, The Earl of *Dumfermlin*, Lord *Lowdon*, Sir *William Dowglas*, and Mr. *Robert Barkely*, attended the King as Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, who being admitted, and their Commiſſion examined, it was found, that the two laſt were not named in nor impowered by it, but the King hoping to gain upon them by lenity, inſiſted not thereon.

Commiſſioners from *Scotland* to the King

The King appointed a Select Committee of the Council, to hear the Allegations of the Commiſſioners, as alſo what could be ſaid by the Earl of *Trequayr*, touching thoſe matters, where things where handled with ſo much acrimony, that no good underſtanding could be arrived at; And at this very time of their addreſſes to the King by Supplication, the Confederates in *Scotland* acted very different from peaceable men, for they ſecured many of the Nobility, and Gentry of that Nation, who ſtood firm to the King, and now again as they had done the laſt year, invited and procured to their ſervice many Commnaders from *Holland*, and other places; but that which manifeſted moſt their bad intentions to the King, was a Letter written by the Lord *Lowdon*, ſubſcribed by himſelf, and ſeveral others of the chief confederates, to the *French* King, to favour their proceedings, and grant them his aſſiſtance; of the which the Original came to the Kings hands, and being known to be *Lowdons* Character, he was therefore Committed to the Tower.

Lord *Lowdon* committed to the Tower for a Letter to the *French* King.

Cardinal *Richlieu* was no ſmall incendiary in this difference betwixt the King and *Scots*, for the King making it alwaies a great Maſter-piece, to keep the Ballance even betwixt *France* and *Spain*, that neither of them being two ſtrong for the other, the affairs of Chriſtendome might be the evener poiſed, he knew the *French* deſign of driving the *Spaniard* out of *Flanders*, and the reſt of the *Netherlands*, could not be effected, unleſs the King were imbroyled at home; So that he

The Walls of the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* not ſuffered to be repaired by the Covenanters.

The King calls a Parliament in *Scotland*.

1639. he sent his Chaplain and Almoner, Mr. *Thomas Chamberlayn* a *Scotchman*, to assist the Confederates in advancing the business, and to attempt all ways of exasperation, and not to depart from them, till he might return with good News, in this *Project*. *Con* also the Popes Agent to the Queen, a *Scot* by Nation, and one *Reed* of the same Country were very active, & many *Scotch* Jesuites, at this time in *England*, were not idle, and *Hamiltons* Chaplain had often secret communication with *Con*; all which practises were discovered in a great part by one *Andreas Habernisfield*, a Nobleman of *Bohemia*, then become *Physitian* to the Kings Sister, the *Palsgrave*'s Relict, who made it also apparent that many of the Nobility of *England*, and the chief favourites at Court (among whom the Earl and Countess of *Arundell*, Secretary *Windebanke*, and *Endymion Porter*) were named to be acquainted, and consenting with their transactions. To this the King, out of the bounty of his nature, gave not much credit.

The death of Arch-Bishop *Spotswood.*

About the later end of this year, *John Spotswood*, Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, Primate and Chancellour of *Scotland*, dyed at *London*, he was one that by his just desert arrived to those high dignities; in whom there always appeared great prudence in conduct, clearness of Spirit, and solidity of Judgement, he left this world very aged, and it was his happiness, to do it without seeing that desolation, which after happened to his Country, and to be interr'd near his beloved Master King *James*, in the Abbey Church of *Westminster*, than which none perhaps contains more magnificent Trophyes of death: Near the same time also dyed, that Grave and learned Judge, Sir *Thomas Coventry*, Privy Counsellor to the King, and Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England* fifteen years, one that was a truly loyall Subject, and a good Patriot, and in the administration of Justice so incorrupt, that malice it self stands mute in the blemish of his fame: Sr. *John Finch*, the Chief Justice of the Common-pleas, succeeded him in the Office of Keeper of the Great Seal.

The death of the Lord Keeper, *Coventry.*

Sir John *Finch* Lord Keeper.

The Heer of *Somerdick*, Ambassador from the States of the *United Provinces*, in the Month of *January*, had audience of the King, he had with him Count *William* of *Nassaw*, and the *Rhine-Grave*, and a very splendid train, his business was to give him satisfaction concerning the late attaque, made upon the *Spaniards* by the *Dutch* Fleet in the *Downs*, and the Embassy was sweetned by some overture of a marriage betwixt the young Prince of *Orange*, and the Kings eldest Daughter, of which more hereafter.

An Embassador from the States of *Holland.*

The Parliament sits in *England.* 1640.

On the 13 of *April* the Parliament sate, and the Deputy of *Ireland*, being not long before created Earl of *Strafford* and made Lord Lieutenant of that Realm, was led into the Upper house by two Noblemen, where he gave an account of his service in *Ireland*, where he had obtained the grant of four Subsidies for the maintenance of an Army, as before was hinted; Mr. *John Glanvil* was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and generally the choice of members to that house was so good, that great probabilities were given of a happy Union betwixt the King and this Parliament; but in the midst of this expectation some ill instruments at Court by their factious contrivances undermined all, and amongst these the chiefest imputation was laid on Sir *Henry Vane* the principal Secretary of State, who bore a grudge to the Earl of *Strafford*, for that he had caused himself to be made Baron of *Raby*, to which he aspired, it being a Mannor granted to him together with *Barny* Castle from the Crown: & because he saw the Earl very earnest to incline the King to endeavour by all fair means to gain the affections of the Commons, out of a desire to see a good issue of this Parliament, to the calling whereof it was generally believed none had more contributed than he had done; He resolved to endeavour that the Parliament should rather be abruptly dissolved, than any good success be produced by the Earls counsels; to effect which, on the one side insinuations were made to some, of the dangers to be feared by the Army raised in *Ireland* in order to Religion, & to others of the justness of the pretences of the *Scots*, & the good that might be obtained by favouring them in this conjuncture; and on the other side every thing was represented to the King in the worst sense, and that so slily, as no indirect intentions could be perceived; The matter of supply gave a fit occasion to heighten discontents: For the King being intent to vindicate his honour, which he thought to be trampled on by the insolencies of the *Scots*, was very earnest in preparing for the War against them, and to enable him therein, he pressed hard for supplies, and offered to the Commons in recompence of their assistance to him, to quit for ever his claim of Ship-money, which at that time being warranted by a Judgement of all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, had as good an establishment as our Laws could give it: The Commons were somewhat deliberate in this affair of money, and first they desired security from the King for redress of grievances in three particulars. 1640.

The Commons desire redress of grievances.

First, for clearing the Subjects Property.
Secondly, for establishment of Religion.
Thirdly, for the Priviledges of Parliament.

The Lords seemed somewhat more sensible of the King's Proposition for supply, and after many conferences with the Commons, did at last dispose them to a complyance, but the Question being in that house asked, how much would serve to answer the present expectation? Secretary *Vane* demanded twelve Subsidies, which drew them into such high debates, that all things became desperate, so that on the 4*th*. of *May* by an unanimous consent of the Kings Council, he was advised to their dissolution, and the Parliament was the next day dissolved.

The Parliament dissolved.

It is said this fatal action was precipitated upon some intelligence, that the house of Commons meant to vote against the War with *Scotland*, which was suggested, for that the day before in the debates for money, some glances had been made at an inquisition into the causes of the War, which were improved to draw on that fatal counsel, and it was likewise reported, that the Marquess of *Hamilton* was a great Stickler in this matter,

1640. matter; and that he had privately prevailed with the King to dissolve the Parliament before it was proposed in Council, thereby to imbroil his Majesties affairs the more, that he might confirm the *Scots* and distract the *English*, to work his own advantages on both.

The Convocation of the Clergy grant the King a benevolence of 4*s.* per pound for six years together.

The convocation of the Clergy was continued to the 29th of *May*, and they granted the King a benevolence of four shillings in the pound, for all their Ecclesiastical Promotions, to be paid six years together then next ensuing; but this their continuance, and the Acts then made by them, were censured and condemned in the following Parliament.

The dissolution of this Parliament was by some ill disposed people wrongfully ascribed to the advice of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, so that on the 9th of *May* a paper was posted upon the Old Exchange by one *John Lilburne*, exciting the Apprentices to rise, and rifle his House at *Lambeth* on Monday following, of which he having notice, made provision of some quantity of Arms and Ammunition for his Defence, and in the dead of the Night of the Day appointed, five hundred of the Rabble beset his house, and strove to force an entrance, but were repulsed, and made to depart without doing much more mischief, than asserting their anger in Seditious Language against him, and breaking the windows of the house, the next day many of them upon enquiry were Apprehended and Imprisoned in the *White-Lyon* Prison in *Southwark*; but within three dates after some of their Complices got together and came to the Prison and brake it open, and set them free; nevertheless one of the chief Imprisoned Ringleaders was taken, arraigned, condemned, hanged, drawn and quartered on the 21 of *May*.

Arch bishop *Laud* beset by the Rabble in his house at *Lambeth*.

The King being disappointed of Supply by the breaking up of the Parliament, was very industrious to get Money otherwaies, to go on in the War; to which end the City of *London* were sent to for a Loan, and all Knights and Gentlemen, who held Lands in *Capite* of the King, were summoned to send Men, Horses and Arms, according to their abilities: The Citizens pleaded poverty by want of Trade, and refused to lend, though the City was scarce at any time richer, and the Trade greater; They were luxuriant in wealth and ease by a forty years Peace, and that made them wanton, and apt to take any Impressions; but that which was supposed at this time to be the reason of their backwardness, was a Sentence in the *Star-Chamber* against the City of *London-Derry* in *Ireland*, which belonged to the City of *London*, whereby for some Misdemeanours, their Charter for that Plantation was declared forfeited to the King, and many Fines were Imposed upon the Inhabitants planted there. But though the City refused, the Gentry generally afforded their help to supply the King, and by that assistance and other before-mentioned Aids, the King had quickly raised a very good Army, whereof the Earl of *Northumberland* was appointed General, the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant General, and the Lord *Conwey* General of the Horse: *Northumberland* was sick, and could not go, but the King went himself in Person, so soon as the Queen then great with Child was delivered of her Son *Henry* who was born at *Oatlands* on the 20th of *July*,

The City refuse to lend the King money.

The Earl of *Northumberland* appointed General of the King's Army, but falling sick, the King goes himself in Person.

but in the mean time the Army was on their march Northward, and my Lord *Conwey* marched with the Van some dates before the rest could come up, and as he was marching, news was brought that the *Scotch* Army was marched to *Dunce*, which was their old Quarter the last year not far from *Berwick*: Upon this advice he was ordered to hast forwards towards *Newcastle*, but e're he got thither, fresh Intelligence came, That the *Scotch* Army was march'd into *England* on the 20th of *August*: The King met this advice in his way to *York*, and dispatched orders to *Conwey* to do what he could to impede their advance, till the Army could come up; upon this advice *Conwey* calling his Officers together, the result was, that they should keep the pass at *Newborne* upon *Tine* to hinder their possessing of *Newcastle*, where Sir *Jacob Ashley* had newly entred with his Regiment, but had not time to make any Fortifications: The King made all the haste he could, but by that time he reached *North-Allerton*, about two daies march on this side of *Newcastle*, the Lord *Conwey* sent to him an account of a defeat of the Forces under his Command, which they had received at *Newborne*; The substance of which Action was as followeth; 1640.

The Lord *Conwey's* Forces defeated at *Newborne*.

August the 27th the Lord *Conwey* upon Information of the March of the *Scotch* Army, and their design upon *Newcastle*, drew up three thousand Foot, and about twelve hundred Horse to secure the pass at *Newborne*: The Foot he lodged behind a Breast-work newly cast up for that purpose, and placed the Horse in convenient posts to be ready to receive the Enemy if they came on General *Lesly* marched the greatest part of his Army that night to the Rivers side, and before morning planted there nine pieces of Ordnance, which he covered with bushes, that they might not be seen by the *English*; the next morning he sent a Trumpeter with a Letter to the Lord *Conwey*, desiring leave therein to pass towards the King with their Petition; to which he returned answer, he would let a few pass, but not an Army: *Lesly* then commanded three hundred Horse to advance into the River, whom the Musqueteers from behind the Works so galled, as they were enforced to retire; *Lesly* then discharged his Cannon upon the *English* Foot, which so terrified them, that they quickly left their station, and threw down their Arms, and fled: The *Scots* Horse encouraged with this Success, plunged into the River, and passed over, and were gallantly received by some of the *English* Troops commanded by Commissary General *Wilmot*, Sir *John Digby*, Captain *Nevil*, and Captain *Daniel O Neale*; but they were so over-powered with numbers, that they were forced to retreat in disorder three hundred of the *English* being killed and taken in the encounter; *Conwey* then deserted the pass, and lets the *Scotch* Army without any farther interruption possess *Newcastle*, which was a little before quitted by Sir *Jacob Ashley*, as not at that time tenible, but he first sunk his Cannon in the River; *Conwey* retreated with his Troops towards *York*, to which place the King and the Earl of *Strafford* with the rest of the Army were marched before, and there by the Lieutenant General he was Accused of not doing his duty

1640. duty at *Newborne*, which he as well as he could excuſed, but acquitted not himſelf thereby (in the Opinions of many men) though matters proceeded not ſo far as to a publick cenſure Judicially upon him.

Whil'ſt the *Scotch* Army were on their march towards *Newcaſtle*, a party from *Berwick* marched to *Duncr*, and drew off ſome Ordnance which General *Leſly* had left there, but the Earl of *Haddington*, who had ſome Troops near to Guard the Borders, came in ſo ſoon upon them, that they were forced to leave them, and retreat haſtily to *Berwick*: The Earl a while after with two of his Brothers was ſmothered in the Ruines of the Caſtle of *Dunglaſs*, which was blown up by an accident of Fire, that blew up the Magazine, which was done as the *Scotch* Writers ſay, either by accident, or the malice of one of the Earls Pages.

The Earl of Haddington kill'd by the accidental firing of the Caſtle of *Dunglaſs*.

The *Scots* at their being in *England* had ſo formed a way of Intelligence with ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry, that nothing ſucceeded well in the Councils or Actions of the King againſt them, and by this means they took courage to Invade the Kingdom, which otherwiſe they durſt not have done, and this treachery was afterwards in the Uſurpation of *Cromwell*, boaſted to the Writer of theſe Papers by *Archibald Johnſton* then Laird of *Warriſton*, who valued himſelf to have been the chief contriver in it, as that which thereby gave the occaſion of Ruine to the Royal Family of the *STUARTS*. Mr. *Froſt* of *Cambridge*, afterwards Clerk of the Council of State in the year 1648. after the Murther of this King, was often imployed to *Scotland* in that correſpondence, and he carried his Letters in a hollow Staff to prevent diſcovery, and many others that were in thoſe intrigues, who are yet alive, and we have charity to believe, never intended to ſee ſuch ſad effects of their Councils, as afterwards inſued to the ſubverſion of our Government, and the deſolation of one of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms of *Europe*.

The *Scots* find their Friends and Favourers in *England*.

The *Scots* Confederates in purſuance of what their friends in *England* had agreed, declared in a Pamphlet, publiſhed at the head of their Army, (which was diſperſed in *London*, and many other places) not to lay down Arms till the reformed Religion were ſettled in both Nations upon ſure grounds, and the Cauſers and Abettors of their preſent troubles brought to publick Juſtice in Parliament, and theſe Abettors they declared to be the Prelates and their Adherents, but more particularly the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*: They pretended upon their March into *England* to take nothing from any of the *Engliſh*, but for ready money or bonds, but they were no ſooner ſeated in *Newcaſtle*, but they ſeized on four Ships laden with Corn, and impoſed a Tax of 350 *l. per diem* on the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and 300 *l. per diem* upon *Northumberland*, which was more than their whole Kingdom could provide for ſome years after, when an *Engliſh* Army had the power of *Scotland*, though their Trade was free and greater than it had been many years before, and when much money was monthly brought in by the *Engliſh* in *Specie*, yet could not more than 6000 *l.* a month be raiſed in the whole Kingdom, and that not without extremeſt rigour.

The *Scots* publiſh a Pamphlet not to lay down their Arms till the Reformed Religion were ſettled in both Nations, and the oppoſers of it brought to puniſhment.

1640.

The King having loſt the occaſion of getting a reputation in arms, by being perſwaded to the laſt years treaty at *Berwick*, and being now in great perplexity by the unfaithfulneſs of many of thoſe about him, could think of no expedient ſo good as to call together the great Council of his Peers to adviſe with them, and therefore Writs were Iſſued to them to Aſſemble at *York* on the 24th of *September*, but this was not very well liked by thoſe who favoured the *Scots*, whoſe chief deſign aim'd at the calling of a Parliament, which they feared the meeting of the Peers might prevent; Wherefore the Earls of *Bedford*, *Hertford*, *Eſſex*, *Warwick*, *Mouldgrave*, *Bullingbrook* and *Briſtol*, and the Lords *Say*, *Brook*, *Paget*, *Mandevile*, and the Lord *Edward Howard* preſented a Petition to the King, repreſenting many great diſtempers and dangers, threatning the Church and State, and his Royal Perſon, under ſeven heads.

The Favourers of the Scottiſh Action put up a Petition to the King to hinder the meeting of the Peers, and to cauſe the calling of a Parliament.

1. *The danger and hazard to which he is expoſed in the War, the waſte of his Revenue thereby, and the diſcontents occaſioned by the diſorders of the Souldiers.*

2. *Sundry Innovations in matters of Religion.*

3. *Increaſe of Poetry by imploying thoſe of that Religion in places of truſt, in commanding men and Arms in the Field, they being not permitted by Law to have any Arms in their Houſes.*

4. *The great Miſchiefs that may enſue, if the Forces raiſed in* Ireland *ſhould be brought into* England.

5. *The urging of Ship-money.*

6. *The heavy charge upon Merchandiſe, to the diſcouragement of Trade, and the multitude of Monopolies, whereby the Manufactors of the Kingdom are burthened.*

7. *The grief of the Subjects by long intermiſſion of Parliaments, and the diſſolution of ſuch as have been called without effect.*

For Remedy whereof, *They pray that a Parliament may be ſummoned, whereby the cauſes of the Grievances that the People lie under may be taken away, and the Authors and Counſellours of them be brought to Tryal and Puniſhment as their offences ſhall require. And that the War may be Compoſed without Blood, to the Honour and Safety of the King's Perſon, the comfort of the people, and the uniting both Realms againſt the common Enemy of the reformed Religion.*

Many of the Citizens of *London* who were in combination with ſome of theſe Lords and the *Scots*, did ſo influence the Common Council, that a Petition was framed in the name of all the Citizens of *London*, alſo to the ſame purpoſe as this of the Lords.

A Petition fram'd in the Name of the Citizens of London tending to the ſame end.

The King ſaw by theſe applications, what endeavours were uſed to weaken him in the opinions of his people, and was forced to comply to the neceſſity of the time; wherefore he acquainted the Lords, that before the receipt of their Petition, fore-ſeeing the danger that threatned himſelf and the Crown, he had ſummoned the Peers to conſult with them what was fit to be done for his own Honour and Safety of the Kingdom, where they with the reſt might offer any thing conduceable to thoſe ends.

The

1640. The *Scots* joyn alſo in a Petition for calling a Parliament.

The *Scots* proceeded hand in hand with their friends in *England* in the ſubſtance of a Petition to the King about this time preſented, requeſting that a Parliament might be called in *England* for ſetling a Peace between the two Nations: they ſent the Petition to the Lord *Lenerick* Secretary of State for *Scotland*, who delivered it to the King, but an anſwer thereunto was reſpited to the meeting of the Peers.

The Peers Aſſemble at *York*.

On the 24*th* of *September*, the Peers Aſſembled at *York*, and the King at the opening of the Aſſembly ſpake to them to this effect, *That an Army of Rebells being within the Kingdom, he thought it adviſeable according to the Practice of his Predeceſſors in like Caſes, to call them together, that with their advice and aſſiſtance, he and they might proceed joyntly to the chaſtiſement of their inſolencies, and ſecure him and his good Subjects from their Malice: He ſaid, He had of himſelf reſolved to call a Parliament to meet on the third of* November *next, and in the mean time he deſired their Advice on two points. Firſt, what Anſwer to give to the Petition of the Rebells* (for ſo he now on all occaſions termed the Scots) *and in what manner to Treat with them: Secondly, how the Engliſh Army ſhould be maintained till Supplies from the Parliament might be had.*

The ſubſtance of the King's Speech.

The Lords entered into Conſultations of theſe matters, and for their better information, the King cauſed a true Relation to be given to them of the ſtate of the whole buſineſs, and upon what reaſon and advices, the unanimous conſent of the Privy Council for this War was guided: After many debates, To the firſt point, they adviſed the King to a Treaty with the *Scots*; and to the ſecond, they uſed their Mediation with the City of *London* for a Loan to the King for the preſent ſupport of his Army: A Meſſage was hereupon ſent to the *Scots* to intimate his Majeſties conſent that a Treaty ſhould be had at *York* betwixt him and them; The *Scots* replied, They held that no place of ſecurity for their Commiſſioners, conſidering that the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who had his reſidence there, commanded his Majeſties Army, and who proclaimed them Traytors in *Ireland* before the King had done it in *England*, and againſt whom as a chief Incendiary they intended to complain; hereupon it was concluded that the Treaty ſhould be at *Rippon*, and the King appointed ſix Earls, and as many Barons to be Commiſſioners on his part, and the *Scots* nominated as many Noblemen on theirs, and for the better underſtanding of the ſtate of the Affair, the Earl of *Trequayr*, the Kings late Commiſſioner in *Scotland*, was ordered to be preſent, to give account as occaſion offered of what had paſſed in *Scotland* from the beginning of the troubles; the Earl of *Briſtol* managed the Treaty for the *Engliſh*, and the Lord *Lowdon* for the *Scots*, the greateſt part of the demands of each ſide were accorded without great difficulty: That which ſeemed hardeſt to the *Engliſh*, was to conſent to the raiſing of monyes in *England* for the *Scots*, having an Army of their own at the ſame time in being: For the *Scots* notwithſtanding their pretences of coming into *England* without a charge to the Nation, had by this time increaſed their levies to the ſum of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day: Nevertheleſs, the *Engliſh* Lords willing on any condition to make Peace, agreed with the *Scots* in the enſuing Articles; Which on the 26*th*. of *October* were ſigned by the Commiſſioners, and afterwards by the King, but there were many other demands of the *Scots* referred to a further Treaty, which the King conſented to be afterwards holden at *London*. The Articles agreed at *Rippon*, were theſe following.

A Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*.

1640.

The Articles of Agreement ſigned by the Commiſſioners at *Rippon*.

1. *That there be a Ceſſation of Arms both by Sea and land from this preſent.*

2. *That all acts of Hoſtility do henceforth ceaſe.*

3. *That both Parties ſhall peaceably retain during the Treaty, whatſoever they poſſeſs at the time of the Ceſſation.*

4. *That all ſuch perſons who lived in any of his Majeſties Forts beyond the River* Tees *ſhall not exempt their Lands which lye within the Counties of* Northumberland *and the* Biſhoprick *of* Durham, *from ſuch Contributions as ſhall be laid upon them for the payment of eight hundred and fifty pounds* per diem.

5. *That none of the Kings Forces upon the other ſide of* Tees *ſhall give any Impediment to ſuch Contributions as are already allowed for the maintenance of the* Scottiſh *Army, and ſhall fetch no Victuals nor Forrage out of their bounds, except that which the inhabitants and Owners thereof ſhall bring voluntarily unto them, and that any reſtraints or detention of Victuals, Chattel or Forrage which ſhall be made by the* Scots *within thoſe bounds for their maintenance, ſhall be no breach.*

6. *That no recruit ſhall be brought into either Armies from the time of the Ceſſation, and during the Treaty.*

7. *That the Contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds* per diem, *ſhall be only raiſed out of the Counties of* Northumberland, Biſhoprick, *Town of* Newcaſtle, Cumberland *and* Weſtmerland: *and that the not payment thereof ſhall be no breach of the Treaty, but the Counties and Towns ſhall be left to the* Scots *power to raiſe the ſame, but not to exceed the ſum agreed upon, unleſs it be for Charges of driving, to be ſet by a Priſer of the Forrage.*

8. *That the River of* Tees *ſhall be the bounds of both Armies* (*excepting alwaies the Town and Caſtle of* Stockton, *and the Village of* Egliſtiff) *and the Counties of* Northumberland *and* Biſhoprick, *be the limits within which the* Scotiſh *Army is to reſide, having liberty for them to ſend ſuch Convoys as ſhall be neceſſary for the gathering up only of the Contribution, which ſhall be unpaid by the Counties of* Northumberland *and* Cumberland.

9. *That if any Perſon commit any private inſolence, it ſhall be no breach of the Treaty, if upon complaint made by either Parties, reparation and puniſhment be granted.*

10. *If no Victuals be delivered upon the prices which ſhall be agreed upon, and ready money offered for the ſame and refuſed, it ſhall be no breach of the Ceſſation to take ſuch Victuals, paying ſuch prices.*

11. *No New Fortifications to be made during the Treaty againſt either Parties.*

12. *That the Subjects of both Kingdoms may in their Trade of Commerce freely paſs to and fro, without any ſtay at all, but it is particularly provided that no Member of either Army, paſs without a formal Paſs, under the hands of the General, or of him that commands in chief.*

The Earl of *Montroſs* having been a while miſled

1640. by the Confederates after some time discovered, that notwithstanding their fair pretences, they had no good intentions to the King, and was therefore willing to leave their party; he had in the Army two Regiments of Foot, and one of Horse, and there were five or six Regiments amongst his Friends: the first distaste he took, was a little time after the Pacification, when he perceived the Confederates to make no further use of it, than to gain time of greater strength, to set up thereby a kind of arbitrary Despotical Government, but finding the people so infatuated by the speciousness of their pretences, he was forced to continue his former vigor in acting with them, that they might have no jealousie of him, and upon the advance of the *Scotch* Army to invade *England*, he was the first that march'd out of the Kingdom at the head of his own Regiment; but during the Treaty at *Rippon*, he found means to write a Letter to the King wherein he assured him of his fidelity, and a most ready Obedience to him: this Letter was by some of the *Scotch* of the Kings Bed-chamber secretly taken out of his pocket, and a Copy thereof sent to General *Lesly*: he presently sends for the Earl to him, and told him he had managed a Correspondence with their Enemies, and that he had known the heads of Princes toss off for lesser matters: The Earl required an instance, and thereupon *Lesly* produced a Copy of his Letter to the King; to which he boldly answered, *That he understood not that writing to the King was to hold Intelligence with an Enemie, but rather what became the duty of a Loyal Subject to his Soveraign*; this answer did so amuse the General, that he thought it not at that time convenient to pursue the business farther, for fear of a revolt in the Army, wherein *Montross* had a great party.

The Earl of *Montross* being dissatisfied at the proceedings of the Confederates, sends a Letter to the King to assure him of his Fidelity.

The time now approach'd for the meeting of the Parliament, and great endeavours were used in many parts of the Kingdom, to have such persons chosen as shewed their dislike of the Government of the Church, or had been earnest pretenders for reformation in former Parliaments.

The Parliament assembled. The Kings Speech.

On the third of *November*, being the day prefixt, the Parliament Assembled, and the King express'd himself to this purpose, *He declared his earnest desire for the happiness and prosperity of the Kingd. desiring them, as he promised he would, to lay aside all prejudice, and he would now clearly and freely put himself upon the Love and Affection of his English Subjects; willing them to consider the best way for the safety and security of the Kingdom of* England, *and in order to it, first to think of the chasing out of the Rebells (for so he termed the* Scots*) and next for satisfaction of their just Grievances, wherein he would heartily concur, that the World might see his Intentions were to make this a glorious and flourishing Kingdom; freely leaving it to them where to begin; and adding, that it should not be his fault if this were not a good and a happy Parliament; and in the conclusion he told them, for their better understanding the state of all affairs, he had commanded my Lord Keeper to give them a short and free account of all Matters.*

The King having ended, the Lord Keeper gave them a summary Relation of all things relating to the *Scotch* Invasion, we will not say Rebellion, for it was ill resented by some considerable persons, that the King in his Speech had represented them under that character, whereof he having notice, told them two days after, he must needs call them Rebells who had invaded *England* with an Army. 1640.

Great was the expectation of all people concerning the success of this Parliament, which was much raised, upon the Kings declared resolution at the opening of it, to concur with them in satisfying all their just Grievances.

The long intermission of Parliaments had produced many mischiefs and inconveniencies in the Government, by the remissness of some, and the rigor of others in Church and State, which inflamed the zeal of many good men of both Houses, at this their meeting, to be very earnest in their endeavours for the redress of Grievances, wherein they were very much heightened by some others of the Lords and Commons House, who were in confederacy with the *Scots*; and in a kind of Combination to alter the Government of the Church, and therewith to have so much influence on that of the State also, as to gain to themselves honours and advancement into places of power and trust: The pursuit of these things, made them exceed the method and paths of their predecessors, and by fomenting Jealousies, countenancing and procuring tumultuous Petitions and Assemblies by menaces and force, they often obtained the accomplishment of their purposes contriving without doors in private meetings, what they designed to prosecute in their Assemblies. Raising of money by extraordinary means, when necessity was the best argument for so doing, Billeting of Souldiers, Innovations in matters of Religion and illegal Imprisonments, were the great Grievances of the Subject now to be redress'd: but the means used to remove these, engaged the reformers in process of time in a bloody War, to act over all the same things with greater excess, demonstrating thereby the extreme hazard of intemperate Counsels.

Success in this war enlarged their desires, and extended their ambition, it bred thoughts in them they never thought before, & this was that which drew on the ruine of the King, and with him for some time the subversion of our Monarchy; for many of those that were in the beginning most active for reformation, had not in their prospect the calamity that ensued, and too late repented the errors of their former actings, when they could not stem the violence of that tyde, their impetuosity had swell'd to too great a height. These matters will appear more plainly by what follows in the course of the History, whereof the greatest part as to this Kings Reign will be taken up in the proceedings of this Parliament.

The first weeks business was in setling the five standing Committees, For Grievances, Religion, Courts of Justice, Trade and Priviledges in Elections, and in several declamatory speeches against the exhorbitances of Government both in Church and State. A great part whereof were ascribed to the Counsels of the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

Five standing Committees setled.

The *Scottish* Commissioners were now come to *London* in order to the conclusion of some things undetermined at *Rippon*: These had many private Conferences with their friends of the house of Commons; And it was agreed by them, That the Earl should be immediately impeached

at

1640. The Scottish Commissioners agree with their friends of the house of Commons to impeach the Earl of *Strafford* of High Treason.

at his first coming to the House of Peers, for he was not yet come from *York*, and this they resolved on to prevent, and be before-hand with him in an Impeachment he had ready against Mr. *Pym*, and some of the Leading Members of both Houses for holding Intelligence with the Scots, which he intended to have offered in the House of Peers as soon as he had taken his place amongst them: Wherefore those in the Commons House that were concerned, were very industrious in their designs, and the House had not sate many dayes before he was therein declared to be guilty of High Treason, and a secret Committee of five more nominated to collect matter for an Impeachment against him: This was like to take up more time than the Prosecutors could with convenience to themselves allow of, so that the House were prevailed with, upon assertions of particular persons, to Vote, that a General Impeachment of High Treason should be made against him to the Lords, to endeavour thereby to have him sequestred from that House. And on the 11 of *November* Mr. *Pym* was sent from the Commons to the Lords with a Message, which he delivered in these words;

Mr. Pym's Message from the Commons to the Lords.

My Lords,

The Knights, Citizens and Burgesses now assembled for the Commons in Parliament, have received information of divers trayterous designs and practises of a great Peer of this House: And by vertue of a Command from them, I do here in the name of the Commons now Assembled in Parliament, and in the name of all the Commons of England, *accuse* Thomas *Earl of* Strafford, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland *of High Treason; and they have commanded me further to desire your Lordships, that he may be sequestred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to Prison; They have further commanded me to let you know, that they will within a very few dayes resort to your Lordships with the particular Articles and Grounds of this accusation.*

The Earl being required to withdraw, it was much debated by the Peers, whether he should be Imprisoned on a General Accusation without any particular Act of Treason charged against him; but upon the Question it was carried in the affirmative: and he being called in, kneel'd at the Bar, And after standing up, the Lord Keeper spake to him as followeth;

The Lord Keepers Speech to the Earl of *Strafford* upon his Impeachment.

My Lord of *Strafford*,

The House of Commons in their own Name, and in the name of the whole Commons of England, *have this day accused your Lordship to the Lords of the higher House of Parliament, of High Treason, The Articles they will in a very few dayes produce, in the mean time they have desired of my Lords, and my Lords have accordingly Resolved That your Lordship shall be committed to safe Custody to the Gentleman Usher, and be sequestred from the House till your Lordship shall clear your self of the accusations that shall be laid against you:* And hereupon he was immediately taken into Custody.

The next day the Commons considering the great Pressures of the Northern Counties by the two Armies that lay upon them, resolved that a hundred thousand pound should be forthwith raised for their maintenance, and till it could be regularly levied, a hundred thousand pound was borrowed in the City upon the Credit of some of the Members of the House of Commons: many Petitions from all parts were brought to them for redress of Grievances, and to be relieved against Orders and Decrees of the Council Table, Star-Chamber, and High Commission Court, which were referred to several Committees, and divers were ordered to be inlarged out of Prison upon these Petitions, especially *Pryn*, *Burton*, and *Bastwick*, who seemed more eminent than the rest of the Sufferers, and a while after by the intercession of the Lords with the King, the Bishop of *Lincoln* also was freed from his Imprisonment in the Tower.

1640. A hundred thousand Pounds borrowed of the City to maintain the Army in the North.

Pryn, *Burton*, *Bastwick*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln* enlarged.

The King willing to be rid of the Scotch Army, hastened the Commission to the Lords who were imployed in the Treaty at *Rippon*, or any ten of them, to treat with the Scottish Commissioners, or any seven of them, being the Earls of *Rothess* and *Dumfermlin*, *John* Lord *Lowdon*, Sir *Patrick Hepburn*, Sir *William Douglas*, *William Drummond*, *John Smyth* Bayliff of *Edenburgh*, *Alexander Wedderburn*, *Hugh Kennedy*, *Alexander Henderson*, and *Archibald Johnston*, to take into consideration their demands, and compose all differences arising thereupon, which Commission was passed under the Great Seal of *England* on the 23 of *November*, and in a while after the Scots presented their demands, which were eight in number, and afterwards they put in seventeen heads, wherein One, (and that not the least considerable) was, That some Scottish men of respect might be in places of trust about the King, Queen, and Prince: This was that which all their Pretences aimed at notwithstanding their Zeal to Reformation of Religion, and though all they desired else was granted, they never attained their ends in this, for the troubles which they raised, did not only bring after them a Misery to this Nation, but theirs also, and the ring-leaders of them wanted not their part thereof.

Lords appointed to treat with the Scots Commissioners in order to a full pacification.

The Scots present eight Demands.

Sir *Francis Windebanke* Secretary of State was aimed at as one of the great Delinquents in the Opinion of the Parliament, being one suspected in his Religion, a great favourer of Priests of the Romish Church; for whom he had obtained many Reprieves, and was thought to be guilty of misdemeanors of a higher nature: But he thinking himself not sufficiently provided to ride out the approaching storm, made his escape into *France*, where he dyed a Roman Catholick.

Secretary *Windebanke* foreseeing a storm, makes his escape into *France*.

In the consideration of Grievances the charge imposed upon the Subject for providing and furnishing of Ships, and the Assessments for raising Money for that purpose, commonly called Ship-money, are Voted by both Houses to be against the Laws of the Realm, and all proceedings in the Case both at the Council Table, Star-Chamber, and Courts of Justice, declared null and void. This was thought a strange way of proceeding; First, because all the Judges had subscribed unanimously to the Lawfulness of it in time of danger, of which danger the King was declared

Ship-money voted unlawful.

1640. to be judge: Secondly, because being brought to a publick test, after it had been argued by Council on both sides in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, They passed a definitive Sentence for it on the behalf of the King: Thirdly, because the Votes of the Houses of Parliament were passed without hearing the Kings Council, or calling the Judges to shew the reasons of their Opinions; And fourthly, because the arguments of Justice *Crook* and Justice *Hutton* for the illegality thereof, were ordered to be put in Print, and those of the other Judges for the Legality of it suppressed: But those Votes were not by the makers of them deemed a sufficient security against imposing the like charge for the future, but they took in the King's Aid to an Act of Parliament for the confirmation of them. And they now began to consider of a charge of High Treason against the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and the Judges: In the first whereof they made some expedition, but more deliberate in that of the Judges, being willing to keep a rod over them, that nothing should be declared for Law against their intentions: This Debate of the Ship-money led them to consider of the first occasion of the raising of it, which was because the Parliament immediately preceding the last was dissolved without those supplies the King expected from them; and from hence they were led into an Enquiry of several violations of the Priviledges of Parliament by the commitment of divers Members, and a Judgement against them in the Kings Bench: And then all the Inconveniencies were summ'd up that hapned by the long Intermission of Parliaments, to provide against which, they resolved of a Bill for a Triennial Parliament. These Debates took up many dayes: but in the mean time, whilest these consultations were had for a reformation of the civil State, the Scottish Commissioners and their friends were not idle in their endeavours, to reform or alter the Ecclesiastical State: In Order whereunto many Petitions from all places were delivered to the House of Commons against Ecclesiastical Discipline, the Ceremonies of the Church, and the Government of it by Bishops, amongst which one was presented by Alderman *Pennington*, subscribed by fifteen hundred Citizens of *London*.

The Citizens present a Petition against Church-Ceremonies.

This Petition was very surprising to many sober men in the House of Commons, who were not unwilling to have the abuses in the Government of the Church reformed, but could not approve of the alteration of the Government it self, so that after some debate, the Petition was transmitted to another time, but those that favoured the business, though they were not successful in it, fell a while after upon another Argument more plausible, which was an inspection into the legality of the late Convocation, which produced this Resolution of the Commons.

The illegality of the late Convocation resolved upon, and their Canons and Constitutions Voted down.

That the Clergy in a Synod or Convocation, hath no power to make Canons, Constitutions or Laws Ecclesiastical, to bind either Laity or Clergy without a Parliament: And that the Canons are against the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, against the Kings Prerogative, Property of the Subjects, the Right of Parliaments, and do tend to Faction and Sedition.

The Clergy of this Convocation thought themselves hardly used in these Votes, who thought to have been called by themselves or their Counsel to have justified their proceedings, alledging that it was never known before, that the Convocation had dependance upon the Parliament, either in the calling or dissolving of it, nor in the confirmation and authorising of the Acts thereof, but only on the King himself, as appears by the Statute made in the 26th of *Henry* the Eighth, and the constant Practice ever since; and it is certain, that before the Canons were subscribed, they were imparted to the King, and by him Communicated to the Lords of the Privy Council, the Judges and the Kings Counsel learned in the Laws of this Realm, being then attending; In the hearing of all which they were read, and by all approved, which had been strange if any thing tending to faction and sedition, or to the diminution of the Subjects Property and the Kings Prerogative, or otherwise against the known Laws of the Land, had been found in them: but the Reputation of the Commons was at this time so great, it was not safe for any to dispute their Actions: The very same day that the Canons were thus Voted down, the Scots Commissioners had presented a Paper to the Parliament, wherein they named the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, an Incendiary, and promised to bring in a complaint against him the Morrow after, this produced an Order in the House of Commons for a Committee to draw up a Charge against him, but the Scots failing to bring in their Complaint the next day, Mr. *Hollis* the day after, was sent up to the Lords from the Commons with a General Impeachment of High Treason against him, praying that he might be sequestred from Parliament, and in a few days they would resort to them, with the particular ground of their Accusation; immediately upon this the Scots Commissioners sent in their charge, upon the reading whereof he was committed to the Custody of the Usher of the *Black Rod*, where he continued ten weeks before any particular charge was brought against him: The Lord Keeper *Finch* was the next great Delinquent against whom the Commons designed to proceed, whereof he having gained intelligence, he moved by his Friends in that House, that he might be permitted to clear himself before them of several imputations that lay upon him; which the Commons agreed to, and on the 21. of *December* he made an Elegant and Quaint Oration, tending to the Vindication of himself in every particular, but notwithstanding all that he could say, they Voted him that very day a Traytor, upon these considerations.

The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* being Impeached of High Treason is committed to the *Black Rod*.

Lord Keeper *Finch* Voted a Traytor.

1. *For refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord Treasurer* Weston, 4. Caroli *when the Parliament desired it.*

2. *For soliciting, perswading, and threatning the Judges to deliver their Opinion for the levying of Ship-money.*

3. *For several illegal actions in Forest matters.*

4. *For ill Offices done in moving the King to dissolve the last Parliament, and causing his Majesties Declaration thereupon to be put forth.*

The next day he was accus'd before the Lords, but he wisely withdrew himself into *Holland*, and thereby escaped the danger that threatned him, and

He flies over into *Holland*.

1640.

Sir *Edward Littleton* succeeds in his place.

and a while after Sir *Edward Littleton* was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* in his place.

The King having been some time in treaty with the Dutch Embassador for a match betwixt the young Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary* his daughter, before he would make any conclusion therein, thought fit to communicate the same to the Lords in Parliament, which he did on the 10 of *February*; the consideration that induced to this treaty, he said were three; First, the matter of Religion, wherein there needed no dispensation, nor fear that his daughters conscience should be any way perverted.

A Match proposed between the Prince of Orange and the Lady *Mary*, approved by the Parliament.

Secondly, he esteemed a strict allyance and confederacy with the States, as useful to the Kingdom as that of any of his neighbours, especially considering their affinity, neighbourhood, and way of strength; And lastly, the use he might make of this Alliance towards the establishing of his Sister and Nephews. He told them, the Articles of Marriage were in a manner concluded, but not to be ratified till that Alliance should be ended and agreed, which he said he thought not fit to enter upon without their assistance; he then delivered to them, the Propositions offered by him to the States Embassadour, which he left to their consideration and free debate, desiring them to make as much expedition in their Counsels as so great a business should require: The Lords communicated this favourable Proposition of the King to the Commons, who resented it very well, and indeed nothing from the King since the first sitting of this Parliament was so acceptable to both Houses, which was a wonder, considering the jealousies of the times. About this time, or a few dayes before, the particular charge against the Earl of *Strafford* was brought up to the Lords by Mr. *Pym* under 28 Articles. They had a little while before exhibited some General Articles, to which he could not be forced to answer, but upon this further Impeachment, the Lords required him to answer to the whole, and though the Charge was very long, yet were the Commons so pressing for his answer, that by the 24 of *February* he delivered it to the Lords, and it was Read in the House, the King being present.

A particular charge brought by Mr. *Pym* against the Earl of *Strafford*, whereupon he is committed to the *Tower*.

Upon the carrying up of this Impeachment, he was taken out of the Custody of the Usher of the *Black Rod*, and committed to the Tower, he moved the Lords to have Counsel allowed him, which was much opposed by the Commons, but his Accusation having much in it of matter of Law, he had permission to have Counsel: The Articles as they consisted first of Generals, and as they were after distributed into particulars, we shall insert when we come to the Relation of his Tryal.

The Bill for Triennial Parliaments having passed both Houses, was on the 16 of *February* offered to the King, it was Entituled, An Act for the preventing inconveniencies happening by the Long intermission of Parliaments: and at the same time the Commons presented an Act for the relief of his Majesties Army, and the Northern parts of the Kingdom, which was a Grant of four intire Subsides: to both which the King gave his Royal assent.

The King gives his assent to the Bill for a Triennial Parliament.

The Bill for Triennial Parliaments was an Act of as great Favour to the Subject as ever pass'd in Parliament, for if the King should refuse to summon a Parliament at the time therein limited, the Chancellor or Keeper might issue out Writs to summon the Peers, and for election of the Commons: and if the Chancellor or Keeper would not do it, any twelve of the Peers might summon the Parliament; and if the Peers should omit the issuing out of summons, the Sheriffs in Counties, and other Magistrates respectively might cause Elections to be made; and if the Sheriffs should refuse, the Freeholders in Counties, and all other persons that have right of chooſing, might make Election of Members: And the Members so chosen, were under great penalties obliged to attend: with many other clauses to accomplish the end designed by the Act, which also had in it several expressions too reflecting on the Prerogative: but the King really believing most of the mischiefs then complained of, proceeded from the too long intermission of Parliaments, and being resolved for the future to communicate freely and frequently that way with his Subjects, he consented to it: And this Act of his Grace and Favour, was so pleasing to the Parliament, that upon a conference with both Houses it was unanimously agreed to wait upon the King at *Whitehall*, and return him their humble thanks, and that night Bone-fires and other tokens of joy were made in the City by Order of Parliament.

1640.

On the same day the charge against the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was carried from the Commons to the Lords by Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, whereupon he was ordered to the *Tower*; but upon his humble Suit to the Lords, his commitment was respited till the first of *March*.

The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* ordered to the *Tower*.

The Scots Commissioners laboured very much under-hand to introduce their Presbyterian discipline into the Church of *England*, and by their Confederates had made an active party in the House of Commons, who took frequent occasion of aspersing the Bishops, and in these debates they spared not Episcopacy: also the debate of the forementioned City Petition was now resumed, and many Members spake for the eradication of the Episcopal Hierarchy, amongst which *Nathaniel Fiennes*, the younger Son of the Lord *Say* was most vehement, but the Lord *Faulkland*, the Lord *Digby*, and many others of great Learning and Integrity, did by the weight of reason so far prevail, that the Order of Episcopacy was yet preserved, though their power was much lessened by a Vote passed in the House of Commons preparatory to a Bill, *viz.* That no Bishop shall have any Vote in Parliament, nor any Judicial power in the Star-Chamber, nor bear any sway in temporal affairs, and that no Clergy-man shall be in Commission of the Peace: The next thing of Note, was the Tryal of the Earl of *Strafford*, which began on the 22 of *March*, and was so remarkable in the circumstances of it, that we shall be very particular in the Relation thereof.

The Bishops Votes in Parliament voted down.

The Earl of *Strafford* brought to his Tryal.

He came from the Tower about seven of the clock in the morning accompanied with six Barges, wherein were 100 Souldiers of the Tower, all with Partisans for his Guard, and 50 pair of Oars: at his landing at *Westminster* he was attended with 200 of the Trained Bands, and was Guarded

1640. Guarded by them into the Hall: The King, Queen and Prince came about 9 a clock, but kept themselves private within their Closets, so that the King saw and heard all that passed, but was seen of none: When the Earl entred the Hall, the Porter asked the Usher of the *Black-Rod*, whether the Axe should be carried before him or no, who answered, that the King had expressly forbidden it; nor was it the Custome of *England* to use that Ceremony, but only when the party accused was to be put upon his Jury. Those of the Upper House sate with their Heads covered, those of the Lower House that were present (for they sate not there as a House) were all uncovered.

The Bishops decline the giving of their Suffrages in the matter.

The Bishops upon the Saturday before did voluntarily decline the giving of their Suffrages in matters criminal, and of that nature, according to the provision of the Canon Law, and Practice of the Kingdom to this day, and therefore would not be present, yet withal they gave in a Protestation, that their absence should not prejudice them of that or any other Priviledge competent to them, as the Lords Spiritual in Parliament, which was accepted.

The Earl of *Arundel* sate as Lord high Steward of *England*, and at the Earls appearing commanded the Prosecutors to proceed. Mr. *Pym* being Speaker of the Committee of the Commons that were appointed to prosecute, gave in the Articles of Impeachment, which we shall here insert as they were read in Court.

The Articles of Impeachment.

1. That he the said *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* hath trayterously endeavoured to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government by Law, which he hath declared by trayterous Words, Counsels and Actions, and by giving his Majesty advice by force of Arms, to compel his Loyal Subjects to submit thereunto.

2. That he hath trayterously assumed to himself Regal Power over the Lives, Liberties, Persons, Lands and Goods of his Majesties Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*, and hath exercised the same tyrannically, to the Subversion of many both of Peers, and others of his Majesties Liege People.

3. That the better to enrich and enable himself to go through with his trayterous designs, he hath detained a great part of his Majesties Revenue, without giving Legal Account, and hath taken great sums out of the *Exchequer*, converting them to his own use, when his Majesty was necessitated for his own urgent Occasions, and his Army had been a long time unpaid.

4. That he hath trayterously abused the Power and Authority of his Government, to the increasing, countenancing, and incouraging of Papists, that so he might settle a mutual dependance and confidence betwixt himself and that party, and by their help, prosecute and accomplish his malitious and tyrannical Designs.

5. That he hath maliciously endeavoured to stir up enmity and hostility between his Majesties Subjects of *England*, and those of *Scotland*.

6. That he hath trayterously broken the great trust reposed in him by his Majesty of Lieutenant General of his Army, by wilfully betraying divers of his Majesties Subjects to death, his Army to a dishonourable Retreat by the Scots at *Newborn*, and the Town of *Newcastle* into their hands, to the end that by the effusion of Blood, by dishonour, and so great a loss of *Newcastle*, His Majesties Realm of *England* might be engaged in a National and Irreconcilable Quarrel with the Scots. 1640.

7. That to preserve himself from being questioned for these and other his trayterous Courses, he laboured to subvert the Rights of Parliaments, and the ancient course of Parliamentary proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments. By which words, Counsels and Actions, he hath trayterously, and contrary to his allegiance laboured to alienate the hearts of the Kings liege people from his Majesty, to set a division between them, and to ruine and destroy his Majesties Kingdoms, for which they Impeach him of High Treason against our Soveraign Lord the King his Crown and Dignity.

8. And he the said Earl of *Strafford* was Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and Lieutenant General of the Army there, (*viz.*) of his most Excellent Majesty for his Kingdoms both of *England* and *Ireland*, and Lord President of the North, during the time that all and every of the crimes and offences before set forth were done and committed: And he the said Earl was Lieutenant General of all his Majesties Army in the North parts of *England* during the time that the crimes and offences in the 5 and 6 Articles set forth were done and committed.

The further Impeachment which was more particular, was thus expressed.

1. That he the said Earl of *Strafford* the 21 day of *March* in the eighth year of his now Majesties Reign, was President of the Kings Council in the Northern parts of *England*.

That he the said Earl being President of the said Council, on the 21 day of *March*, a Commission under the Great Seal of *England* with schedules of instruction thereto annexed, was directed to the said Earl and others the Commissioners therein Named, whereby amongst other things, power and authority is limited to the said Earl and others the Commissioners therein named, to hear and determine all offences and misdemeanors, suits, debates, controversies and demands, causes, things and matters whatsoever therein contained, and within certain precincts in the said Northern parts therein specified, and in such manner as by the said schedule is limited and appointed.

That amongst other things in the said Instructions, it is directed, that the said President and others therein appointed, shall hear and determine according to the course of proceedings in the Court of Star-Chamber, divers offences, deceits and falsities therein mentioned, whether the same be provided for by the Acts of Parliament or not, so that the fines imposed be not less than by Act or Acts of Parliament provided for by those offences is appointed.

That also amongst other things in the said Instructions, it is directed, that the said President and others therein appointed, have power to examine,

1640. amine, hear, and determine, according to the course of proceedings in the Court of *Chancery*, all manner of complaints for any matter within the said precincts, as well concerning Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, either Free-hold, Customary or Copy-hold, as Leases and other things therein mentioned, and to stay proceedings in the Court of Common Law, by injunction or otherwise, by all ways and means as is used in the Court of *Chancery*.

And although the former Presidents of the said Council had never put in practice such instructions, nor had they any such instructions, yet the said Earl in the Month of *May* in the said 8*th.* year, and divers years following did put in practice, exercise and use, and caused to be used and put in practice, the said Commission and instructions, and did direct and exercise an exorbitant and unlawful power and jurisdiction, on the persons and estates of his Majesties Subjects in those parts, and did disinherit divers of his Majesties Subjects in those parts of their inheritances, sequestred their possession, and did fine, ransome, punish and imprison them, and caused them to be fined, ransomed, punished and imprisoned, to their ruine and destruction, and namely Sir *Conyers Darcy*, Sir *John Bourcher*, and divers others against the Laws, and in subversion of the same: And the said Commission and Instructions were procured and issued by advice of the said Earl.

And he the said Earl to the intent that such illegal and unjust power might be exercised with the greater licence and will, did advise, counsel and procure further directions, in and by the said instructions to be given, that no Prohibition be granted at all, but in cases where the said Council shall exceed the limits of the said Instructions: And that if any Writ of *Habeas Corpus* be granted, the party be not discharged till the party perform the Decree and Order of the said Council.

And the said Earl in the 13*th.* year of his now Majesties Reign, did procure a new Commission to himself and others therein appointed with the said instructions and other unlawful additions.

That the said Commission and Instructions were procured by the sollicitation and advice of the said Earl of *Strafford*.

2. That shortly after the obtaining of the said Commission dated the 21*th.* of *March* in the 8*th.* year of his now Majesties Reign, (to wit) the last day of *August* then next following, he the said Earl, (to bring his Majesties Liege people into a dislike of his Majesty and of his Government, and to terrifie the Justices of the Peace from executing of the Laws, he the said Earl being then President as aforesaid, and a Justice of the Peace) did publickly at the Assizes held for the County of *York* in the City of *York*, in and upon the said last day of *August*, declare and publish before the people there attending for the administration of Justice according to the Law, and in the presence of the Justices sitting, that some of the Justices were all for Law, but they should find that the Kings little finger should be heavier than the Loyns of the Law.

3. That the Realm of *Ireland* having been time out of mind annexed to the Imperial Crown of this his Majesties Realm of *England*, and governed by the same Laws: the said Earl being Lord Deputy of that Realm, to bring his Majesties Liege people of that Kingdom likewise into dislike of his Majesties Government, and intending the subversion of the fundamental Laws and setled government of that Realm, and the destruction of his Majesties liege people there, did upon the 30*th.* day of *September* in the ninth year of his now Majesties Reign, in the City of *Dublin* (the chief City of that Kingdom, where his Majesties Privy Council and Courts of Justice do ordainarily reside, and whither the Nobility and Gentry of that Realm do usually resort for Justice) in publick Speech before divers of the Nobility and Gentry, and before the Mayor, Aldermen and Recorder, and many Citizens of *Dublin*, & other his Majesties liege people, declare and publish, That *Ireland* was a Conquered Nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleased; and speaking of the Charters of the former Kings of *England* made to that City, he further said, that their Charters were nothing worth, and did bind the King no further than he pleased. 1640.

4. That *Richard* Earl of *Cork* having sued out Process in course of Law for recovery of his possession, from which he was put by colour of an Order, made by the said Earl of *Strafford* and the Council Table of the said Realm of *Ireland*; The said Earl of *Strafford* upon a paper Petition, without legal proceedings, did the 20*th.* day of *February* in the 11*th.* year of his now Majesties Reign, threaten the said Earl of *Cork* (being then a Peer of the said Realm) to Imprison him, unless he would surcease his Suit, and said, he would neither have Law nor Lawyers dispute or question any of his Orders: And the 20*th.* day of *March* in the said 11*th.* year, the said Earl of *Strafford* speaking of an Order of the said Council Table of that Realm made in the time of King *James*, which concerned a Lease, which the said Earl of *Cork* claimed in certain Rectories or Tythes, which the said Earl of *Cork* alledged to be of no force, said, that he would make the said Earl and all *Ireland* know, so long as he had the Government there, any Act of State there made or to be made, should be as binding to the Subjects of that Kingdom as an Act of Parliament. And did question the said Earl of *Cork* in the *Castle-Chamber*, upon pretence of breach of the said Order of the Council Table, and did sundry other times, and upon sundry other occasions by his word and speeches arrogate to himself, a power above the fundamental Laws and established Government of that Kingdom, and scorned the said Laws and established Government.

5. That according to such his Declarations and Speeches, the said Earl of *Strafford* did use and exercise a power above and against, and to the subversion of the said fundamental Laws and established Government of the said Realm of *Ireland*, extending such his power to the Goods, Free-holds, Inheritances, Liberties and Lives of his Majesties Subjects of the said Realm, *viz.* The said Earl of *Strafford*, the 12*th.* day of *December*, *Anno Dom.* 1635. in the time of full Peace, did in the said Realm of *Ireland* give and procure

The Castle-Chamber is the same with the Star-Chamber in England.

to

1640. to be given against the Lord *Mount-Norris*, (then and yet a Peer of *Ireland*, and then Vice-Treasurer and Receiver General of the Realm of *Ireland*, and one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and Keeper of the Privy Signet of the said Kingdom) a Sentence of Death by a Council of War called together by the said Earl of *Strafford* without any warrant or Authority of Law or offence deserving any such punishment: And he the said Earl did also at *Dublin* within the said Realm of *Ireland* in the Month of *March* in the 14*th.* year of his Majesties Reign without any legal or due proceedings or Tryal, give or cause to be given a Sentence of Death against one other of his Majesties Subjects, whose name is yet unknown, and caused him to be put to Death in Execution of the said Sentence.

6. That the said Earl of *Strafford* without any legal proceedings, and upon a paper Petition of *Richard Ralstone*, did cause the said Lord *Mount-Norris* to be disseised and put out of his Free-hold and Inheritance of his Mannor of *Tymore* in the County of *Armagh*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the said Lord *Mount-Norris* having been two years before in quiet possession thereof.

7. That the said Earl of *Strafford* in the Holy Trinity in the 13*th.* year of his now Majesties Reign, did cause a Case commonly called *The Case of* Tenures *upon defective Titles*, to be made or drawn up without any Jury or Tryal, or other legal Process, and without the consent of Parties, and did then procure the Judges of the said Realm of *England* to deliver their Opinions and Resolutions to that Case, and by colour of such Opinions and Resolutions, did without any legal proceeding cause *Thomas* Lord *Dillon* a Peer of the said Realm of *Ireland*, to be put out of possession of divers Lands and Tenements being his Free-hold in the County of *Mayo* and *Roscommon*, in the said Kingdom, and divers other of his Majesties Subjects to be also put out of possession, and disseised of their Free-hold by colour of the same Resolutions, without legal Proceedings, whereby many hundreds of his Majesties Subjects were undone, and their Families utterly ruined.

8. That the said Earl of *Strafford* upon a Petition of Sir *John Gifford* Knight, the first day of *February* in the said 13*th* year of his Majesties Reign, without any legal Process made a Decree or order against *Adam* Viscount *Loftus* of *Elye* a Peer of the said Realm of *Ireland*, and Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and did cause the said Viscount to be imprisoned, and to be kept close Prisoner on pretence of disobedience to the said Decree or Order.

And the said Earl without any Authority, and contrary to his Commission, required and commanded the said Lord Viscount to yield unto him the Great Seal of the Realm of *Ireland*, which was then in his Custody, by his Majesties command, and imprisoned the said Chancellor for not obeying such his command.

And without any legal proceedings did in the same 13*th.* year imprison *George* Earl of *Kildare* a Peer of *Ireland* against Law, thereby to enforce him to submit his Title to the Mannor and Lordship of *Castle-Leigh* in the Queens County (being of great yearly value) to the said Earl of *Strafford's* will and pleasure, and kept him a year Prisoner for the said cause, two Months whereof he kept him close Prisoner, and refused to enlarge him, notwithstanding his Majesties Letters for his Enlargement to the said Earl of *Strafford* directed. 1640.

And upon a Petition exhibited in *October* 1635. by *Thomas Hibbots* against Dame *Mary Hibbots* Widow, to him the said Earl of *Strafford*, the said Earl of *Strafford* recommended the said Petition to the Council Table of *Ireland*, where the most part of the Council gave their Vote and Opinion for the said Lady, but the said Earl finding fault herewith, caused an Order to be entred against the said Lady, and threatned her, that if she refused to submit thereunto, he would Imprison her and Fine her 500 *l.* that if she continued obstinate, he would continue her Imprisonment, and double her Fine every month by month: Wherefore she was enforced to relinquish her Estate in the Land questioned in the said Petition, which shortly after was conveyed to Sir *Robert Meredith* to the use of the said Earl of *Strafford*.

And the said Earl in like manner did Imprison divers other of his Majesties Subjects upon pretence of Disobedience to his Orders and Decrees, and other illegal commands by him made for pretended Debates, Titles of Lands, and other causes in an arbitrary and extrajudicial course, upon Paper Petitions to him preferred, and no other cause legally depending.

9. That the said Earl of *Strafford* the 16*th.* day of *February* in the 12*th.* year of his now Majesties Reign, assuming to himself a power above and against Law, took upon him by a General Warrant under his hand, to give Power to the Lord Bishop of *Downe* and *Connor*, his Chancellor or Chancellors, and their several Officers thereto, to be appointed to attach and arrest the Bodies of all such of the meaner and poorer sort who, after citation, should either refuse to appear before them, or appearing, should omit or deny to perform or undergo all lawful decrees, sentences and orders issued out against them, and them to commit and keep in the next Gaol, until they should either perform such sentences, or put in sufficient Bail to shew some reason before the Council Table, of such their contempt and neglect; and the said Earl the day and year last mentioned, signed and issued a Warrant to that effect, and made the like Warrant to all other Bishops and their Chancellors, in the said Realm of *Ireland* to the same effect.

10. That the said Earl of *Strafford* being Lord Lieutenant, or Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, procured the Customs of the Merchandise exported out and Imported into that Realm to be farmed to his own use.

And in the ninth year of his now Majesties Reign, he having then Interest in the said Customs (to advance his own gain and lucre) did cause and procure the native Commodities of *Ireland* to be rated in the Book of Rates for the Customs (according to which the Customs were usually gathered) at far greater values and prices than in truth they were worth: That is to say, Every Hide at 20*s.* which in truth is worth but five shillings, Every Stone of Wool at thirteen shillings

1640. shillings four pence, though the same ordinarily were worth but five shillings at the utmost, by which means the Custom which was before but a twentieth part of the true value of the Commodities, was inhanced sometimes to a 5*th*. part, and sometimes to a 4*th*. and sometimes to a 3 *d*. part of the true value, to the great oppression of the Subjects, and decay of Merchandise.

11. That the said Earl in the 9*th*. year of his now Majesties Reign, did by his own will and pleasure, and for his own lucre, restrain the exportation of the Commodities of that Kingdom without his Licence, as namely Pipe-staves and other Commodities, and then raised great sums of money for licencing of exportation of those Commodities, and dispensation of the said restraint imposed on them, by which means the Pipe-staves were raised from 4 *l*. 10 *s*. or 5 *l*. *per* thousand to 10 *l*. and sometimes 11 *l*. *per* thousand, and other Commodities were inhanced in the like proportion, and by the same means by him the said Earl.

12. That the said Earl being Lord Deputy of *Ireland* on the 9*th*. of *January* in the 13*th*. year of his Majesties Reign, did then under colour to regulate the Importation of Tobacco into the said Realm of *Ireland*, issue a Proclamation in his Majesties name, prohibiting the Importation of Tobacco without Licence of him and the Council there, from and after the first day of *May*, 1638. after which restraint, the said E. notwithstanding the said restraint, caused divers great quantities of Tobacco to be Imported to his own use, and fraighted divers ships with Tobacco, which he Imported to his own use; And that if any Ship brought Tobacco into any Port there, the said Earl and his Agents used to buy the same to his own use at their own price: And if that the owner refused to let him have the same at under-values, then they were not permitted to vent the same; by which undue means, the said Earl having gotten the whole Trade of Tobacco into his own hands, he sold it at great and excessive prices (such as he list to Impose) for his own profit.

And the more to assure the said Monopoly of Tobacco, he the said Earl on the 23*th*. day of *February* in the 13*th*. year aforesaid, did issue another Proclamation, commanding that none should put to sale any Tobacco by whole-sale from and after the last day of *May* then next following; but what should be made up into Rolls, and the same sealed with two Seals by himself appointed, one at each end of the Roll: And such as was not so sealed to be seized, appointing 6 *d*. the pound for a reward to such persons as should seize the same; And the persons in whose custody the unsealed Tobacco should be found, to be committed to Gaol; which last proclamation was covered by a pretence of the restraining the sale of unwholsome Tobacco, but it was truly to advance the said Monopoly.

Which Proclamation the said Earl did rigorously put in Execution by seizing the Goods, Fining, Imprisoning, Whipping, and putting the Offenders against the same Proclamation on the Pillory, as namely, *Barnaby Hubbard*, *Edward Cavenah*, and *John Tumen*, and divers others; and made the Officers of State, and Justices of Peace and other Officers, to serve him in compassing and Executing these unjust and undue Courses, by which Cruelties and unjust Monopolies, the said Earl raised an hundred thousand pounds *per ann*. gain to himself: And yet the said Earl though he inhanced the Customs where it concerned the Merchants in General, yet drew down the impost formerly taken on Tobacco from 6 *d*. the pound to 3 *d*. the pound, it being for his own profit so to do. And the said Earl by the same and other rigorous and undue means, raised several other Monopolies and unlawful exactions for his own gain, *viz*. on Starch, Iron-pots, Glasses, Tobacco-pipes, and several other Commodities. 1640.

13. That Flax being one of the principal and Native Commodities of that Kingdom of *Ireland*, the said Earl having got great quantities thereof into his hands, and growing on his own Lands, did issue out several Proclamations, *viz*. One dated the 21*th*. day of *May* in the 11*th*. year of his Majesties Reign, and the other dated the one and thirtieth of *January* in the same year, thereby prescribing and injoyning the working of Flax into yarn and threed, and the ordering of the same in such ways, wherein the Natives of that Kingdom were unpractised and unskilful: which Proclamations so issued, were by his commands & Warrants to his Majesties Justices of Peace and other Officers, and by other rigorous means put in execution; and the flax wrought or ordered in other manner than as the Proclamation prescribed, was seized and imployed to the use of him and his Agents, and thereby the said Earl endeavoured to gain, and did gain in effect the sole sale of that native Commodity.

14. That the said Earl of *Strafford* by Proclamation dated the 16*th*. day of *October* in the 14*th*. year of his Majesties Reign, did Impose upon the Owners, Masters, Purfers and Boatswains of every Ship, a new and unlawful Oath, *viz*. That they (two or more of them) immediately after the arrival of any Ship within any Port or Creek in the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, should give in a true Invoyce of the outward bulk of Wares and Merchandises, and number of Goods, and the qualities and conditions of the said Goods, as far as to them should be known, and the names of the several Merchants Proprietors of the said Goods, and the places from whence they were fraighted, and whither they were bound to discharge, which Proclamation was accordingly put in Execution, and sundry persons enforced to take the said unlawful Oath.

15. That the said Earl of *Strafford* trayterously and wickedly devised and contrived by force of Arms in a war-like manner to subdue the Subjects of the said Realm of *Ireland*, to bring them under his tyrannical power and will, and in pursuance of his wicked and trayterous purposes aforesaid, the said Earl of *Strafford* in the 8*th*. year of his Majesties Reign, did by his own Authority without any warrant or colour of Law, tax and Impose great sums of Money upon the Towns of *Baltemore*, *Baudenbridge*, *Talowe*, and divers other Towns and places in the said Realm of *Ireland*, and did cause the same to be levied upon the Inhabitants of those Towns by Troops of Souldiers with force and arms in a warlike manner: And on the 9*th*. day of *March* in the 12*th*.

1640. year of his now Majesties Reign, trayterously did give Authority unto *Robert Savile* a Sergeant at Arms, and to the Captains of Companies of Souldiers in several Parts of the Realm, to send such numbers of Souldiers to lye on the lands and houses of such as would not conform to his orders, until they should render obedience to his said orders and warrants, and after such submission (and not before) the said Souldiers to return to their Garrisons: And did also issue the like Warrants unto divers others, which Warrants were in war-like manner with force and Arms put in execution accordingly, and by such war-like means he did force divers of his Majesties Sujbects of that Realm to submit themselves to his unlawful commands.

And in the said 12*th.* year of his Majesties Reign, the said Earl of *Strafford* did trayterously cause certain Troops of Horse and Foot armed in war-like manner, and in war-like array with force and Arms to expel *Richard Butler* from the Possession of *Castle Cumber* in the territory of *Idough* in the said Realm of *Ireland*, and did likewise, and in the like war-like manner expel divers of his Majesties Subjects from their Houses, Families and Possessions, as namely, *Edward Brewman*, *Owen Oberman*, *Patrick Oberman* and Sir *Cyprian Horsefeilde*, and divers others, to the number of about a hundred Families, and took and imprisoned them and their wives, and carried them Prisoners to *Dublin*, and there detained them till they did yield up, surrender or release their respective Estates and Rights.

And the said Earl in like war-like manner hath during his Government of the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, subdued divers others of his Majesties Subjects to his will, and thereby, and by the means aforesaid, hath levied War within the said Realm against his Majesty and his liege people of that Kingdom.

16. That the said Earl of *Strafford* the 22*th* of *February* in the 7*th.* year of his now Majesties Reign, intending to oppress the said Subjects of *Ireland*, did make a Proposition, and obtained from his Majesty an Allowance, that no complaint of injustice or oppression done in *Ireland*, should be received in *England* against any, unless it first appeared that the party made first his address to him in *Ireland*: And he restored divers Fryeries and Mass-houses (which had been formerly suppressed by the precedent Deputies of that Kingdom, two of which Houses were in the City of *Dublin*, and had been assigned to the use of the University there) to the pretended owners thereof, who have since imployed the same to the exercise of the Popish Religion.

17. And in the month of *May* and *June* last, the said Earl did raise an Army in the said Realm of *Ireland*, consisting of eight thousand Foot, all of which except 1000 or thereabouts, were Papists, and the said 1000 were drawn out of the old Army there consisting of 2000 Foot, and in their places there were 1000 Papists put into the Army by the said Earl. And the more to engage and tye the new Army of Papists to himself, and to encourage them, and to discourage and wear out the old Army, the said Earl did so provide, that the said New Army of Papists were duly paid, and had all necessaries provided for them, and permitted the exercise of their Religion, but the said old Army were for the space of one whole year and upwards unpaid. 1640.

18. And the said Earl being appointed Commissioner within eleven several Counties of the Northern parts of *England*, for compounding with Recusants for their Forfeitures due to his Majesty, which Commission beareth date the 8*th* day of *July* in the 5*th.* year of his Majesties Reign that now is, and being also Receiver of the composition mony thereby arising, and other debts, duties and penalties for his Majesties use, by Letters Patents dated the ninth day of the said *July*: He to ingage the said Recusants to him, did compound with them at low and under-rates, and provided that they should be discharged of all proceedings against them, in all his Majesties Courts both Temporal and Ecclesiastical, in manifest breach of, and contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm in that behalf established.

19. That the said Earl having taxed and levied the said Impositions, and raised the said Monopolies, and commited the said oppressions in his Majesties name, and as by his Majesties Royal command, he the said Earl in *May* in the 15*th.* year of his Majesties Reign, did of his own Authority continue and frame a new and unusual Oath, by the purport whereof among many other things the party taking the said Oath, was to swear that he should not protest against any of his Majesties Royal Commands, but submit himself in all obedience thereunto; which Oath he so contrived to enforce the same on the Subjects of the *Scottish* Nation inhabiting in *Ireland*, and out of a hatred to the said Nation, and to put them to a discontent of his Majesty and his Government there, and compelled divers of his Majesties said Subjects there to take the said Oath, some whereof he grievously fined and imprisoned, and others he destroyed and exiled, and namely the tenth of *October*, *An. Dom.* 1639. he fined *Henry Steward* and his Wife who refused to take the said Oath, five thousand pounds a-piece, and their two Daughters and *James Grey* 3000 *l.* a-piece, and Imprisoned them for not paying the said Fines; The said *Henry Stewards* Wife and Daughters, and *James Grey*, being the Kings liege people of the *Scottish* Nation, and divers others he used in the like manner. And the said Earl upon that occasion did declare, That the said Oath did not only oblige them in point of Allegiance to his Majesty, and acknowledgement of his supremacy only, but to the Ceremonies and Government of the Church established or not established by his Majesties Royal Authority, and said, that the refusers to obey he would prosecute to the blood.

20. That the said Earl in the 15 and 16 years of his Majesties Reign, and divers years past, laboured and endeavoured to beget in his Majesty an ill Opinion of his Subjects, namely those of the *Scottish* Nation, and divers and sundry times, and especially since the pacification made by his Majesty with his said Subjects of *Scotland* in Summer in the 15*th.* year of his Majesties Reign; he the said Earl did endeavour to perswade, incite and provoke his Majesty to an offensive War against his said Subjects of the *Scottish* Nation: and

1640. and the said Earl by his Counsel, actions and endeavours, hath been, and is a principal and chief incendiary of the War and discord between his Majesty and his Subjects of *England*, and the said Subjects of *Scotland*, and hath declared and advised his Majesty that the demands made by the Scots in their Parliament, were a sufficient cause of War against them; The said Earl having formerly expressed the heat and rancor of his mind, towards his Subjects of the Scottish Nation, *viz.* The tenth day of *October*, in the 15th year of his Majesties Reign, he said, that the Nation of the Scots were Rebels and Traytors; and he being then about to come to *England*, he then further said, that if it pleased his Master (meaning his Majesty) to send him back again, he would root out of the said Kingdom, (meaning the Kingdom of *Ireland*) the Scottish Nation both root and branch. (Some Lords and others who had taken the said Oath in the precedent Article only excepted.) And the said Earl hath caused divers of the Ships and Goods of the Scots to be stayed, seized and molested, to the intent to set on the said War.

21. That the said Earl of *Strafford* shortly after his Speeches mentioned in the last precedent Article, to wit, in the 15th year of his Majesties Reign, came into this Realm of *England*, and was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and continued his Government of that Kingdom by a Deputy: At his arrival here, finding that his Majesty had with much wisdom and goodness composed the troubles in the North, and had made a pacification with his Subjects of *Scotland*: He laboured by all means to procure his Majesty to break that Pacification, incensing his Majesty against his Subjects of that Kingdom, and the proceedings of the Parliament there: And having incensed his Majesty to an offensive War against his said Subjects of *Scotland* by Sea and by Land, and by pretext thereof to raise money and Forces for the maintenance of that War, he counselled his Majesty to call a Parliament in *England*, yet the said Earl intended, if the said Proceedings of that Parliament should not be such as should stand with the said Earl of *Straffords* mischievous designs, he would then procure his Majesty to break off the same, and by wayes of force and power to raise monies upon the said Subjects of this Kingdom.

And for the incouragement of his Majesty to hearken to his advice, he did before his Majesty and his Privy-Council then sitting in Council, make a large Declaration, that he would serve his Majesty in any other way, in case the Parliament should not supply him.

22. That in the moneth of *March* before the beginning of the last Parliament, the said Earl of *Strafford* went into *Ireland*, and procured the Parliament of that Kingdom to declare their assistance in a War against the Scots; and gave directions for the raising of an Army consisting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, being for the most part Papists as aforesaid, and confederating with one Sir *George Ratcliff*, did together with him the said Sir *George*, trayterously conspire to imploy the said Army for the ruine and destruction of the Kingdom of *England*, and of his Majesties Subjects, and of altering and subverting the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom. And shortly after the said Earl of *Strafford* returned into *England*, and to sundry persons declared his opinion to be, That his Majesty should first try this Parliament here, and if that did not supply him according to his occasions, he might then use his Prerogative as he pleased, to levy what he needed, and that he should be acquitted both of God and man, if he took some other courses to supply himself, though it were against the will of his Subjects. 1640.

23. That upon the thirteenth day of *April* last, the Parliament of *England* met, and the Commons House (then being the representative body of all the Commons in the Kingdom) did according to the trust reposed in them, enter into debate and consideration of the great Grievances of this Kingdom, both in respect of Religion, and the publick liberty of this Kingdom, and his Majesty referring chiefly to the said Earl of *Strafford* and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the ordering and disposing of all matters concerning the Parliament: He the said Earl of *Strafford* with the assistance of the said Arch-Bishop, did procure his Majesty by sundry Speeches and Messages, to urge the said Commons House, to enter into some resolution for his Majesties supply, for maintenance of his War against his Subjects of *Scotland*, before any course were taken for relief of the great and pressing Grievances, wherewith the Kingdom was then afflicted: whereupon a demand was then made from his Majesty of twelve Subsidies for the release of Ship-money only; and while the said Commons then Assembled (with expressions of great affection to his Majesties Service) were in debate and consideration of some Supply, before resolution by them made; He the said Earl of *Strafford* with the help and assistance of the said Arch-Bishop, did procure his Majesty to dissolve the last Parliament upon the fifth day of *May* last: And upon the same day, the said Earl of *Strafford* did treacherously, falsely and maliciously endeavour to incense his Majesty against his loving and faithful Subjects, who had been Members of the said House of Commons, by telling his Majesty they had denyed to supply him: and afterwards in the same Moneth, did treacherously and wickedly counsel and advise his Majesty to this effect, *viz.* That having tryed the affection of his people, he was loose and absolved from all rules of Government, and was to do every thing that power would admit, and that his Majesty had tryed all wayes, and was refused, and should be acquitted both of God and Man; And that he had an Army in *Ireland* (meaning the Army above-mentioned consisting of Papists his Dependants as is aforesaid) which he might imploy to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience.

24. That in the same moneth of *May*, he the said Earl of *Strafford*, falsely, treacherously and maliciously published and declared before others of his Majesties Privy Council, That the Parliament of *England* had forsaken the King, and that in denying to supply the King, they had given him the advantage to supply himself by other wayes; and divers times he did maliciously, falsely and wickedly publish and declare, That seeing the Parliament had refused to supply his Majesty

1640. in the ordinary and usual way, the King might provide for the Kingdom in such wayes as he should hold fit, and that he was not to suffer himself to be mastered by the frowardness of the people. 1640.

And having so maliciously slandered the said House of Commons, he did with the help and advice of the said Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord *Finch* late Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, cause to be printed and published in his Majesties name a false and scandalous Book, Entituled, *His Majesties Declaration of the Causes that moved him to dissolve the last Parliament*, full of bitter and malicious invectives, and false and scandalous aspersions against the said House of Commons.

25. That not long after the dissolution of the said last Parliament, (*viz.* in the Month of *May* and *June*) he the said Earl of *Strafford* did advise the King to go on rigorously in levying of the Ship-money, and did procure the Sheriffs of several Counties to be sent for, for not levying thereof, divers of which were threatned by him to be sued in the *Star-Chamber*, and afterwards by his advice were sued in the *Star-Chamber* for not levying the same, and divers of his Majesties Loving Subjects were sent for, and Imprisoned by his Advice, about that and other illegal payments.

And a great Loane of 100000 *l.* was demanded of the City of *London*, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and the Sheriffs of the said City were often sent for to the Council-Table, to give an account of their proceedings in raising of Ship-Money, and furthering of that Loane, and were required to certifie the names of such Inhabitants of the said City as were fit to lend, which they with much humility refusing to do, he the said Earl of *Strafford* did use these or the like speeches, *viz.* That they deserved to be put to fine and ransome, and that no good would be done with them, till an example were made of them, they were laid by the heels, and some of the Aldermen hanged up.

26. That the said Earl of *Strafford* by wicked Council having brought his Majesty into excessive charges without any just cause he did in the Month of *July* last (for the support of the said great charges) counsel and approve two dangerous projects.

1. To seize upon the Bullion, and the Money in the Mint.

2. And to embase his Majesties coyn with the mixtures of brass.

And accordingly he procured one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, which was then in the Mint, and belonging to divers Merchant-strangers and others, to be seized on and stayed to his Majesties use: And when divers Merchants of *London* owners of the said Bullion, came to his house to let him understand what great mischief that course would produce here and in other parts, and what prejudice it would be to the Kingdom by discrediting the Mint, and hindering the Importation of Bullion: He the said Earl told them, that the City of *London* dealt undutifully and unthankfully with his Majesty, and that if any hurt came to them, they might thank themselves; and that it was the course of other Princes to make use of such Moneys to serve their occasions.

And when in the same Month of *July*, the Officers of his Majesties Mint came to him, and gave him divers reasons against the embasing of the said Money, he told them, that the French King did use to send Commissaries of Horse with Commissions to search into mens Estates, and to peruse their Accounts, that so they might know what to Levy of them by force, which they did accordingly Levy: and turning to the Lord *Cottington*, said, That this was a point worthy his Lordships consideration.

27. That in or about the Month of *August* last, he was made Lieutenant General of all his Majesties Forces in the Northern parts against the Scots, and being at *York*, did in the Month of *September* by his own Authority, and without any lawful Warrant, Impose a Tax on his Majesties Subjects in the County of *York* of 8 *d. per diem* for maintenance of every Souldier of the Trained Bands of that County, which sums of Money he caused to be levied by force: And to the end to compel his Majesties Subjects out of fear and terrour to yield to the payment of the same, he did declare that he would commit them that refused the payment thereof, and the Souldiers should be satisfied out of their Estates, and they that refused it, were in very little better condition than guilty of High Treason.

28. That in the Month of *September* and *October* last, he the said Earl of *Strafford* being certified of the Scots Armies coming into the Kingdom, being then Lieutenant General of his Majesties Army, did not provide for the Town of *Newcastle* as he ought to have done, but suffered the same to be lost, that so he might the more incense the English against the Scots: And for the same wicked purpose, and out of a malicious desire to engage the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* in a National and bloody War, he did write to the Lord *Conwey* the General of the Horse, and under the said Earls command, that he should fight with the Scottish Army at the passage over the *Tyne*, whatsoever should follow, notwithstanding, that the said Lord *Conwey* had formerly by Letters informed him the said Earl, that his Majesties Army then under his command, was not of force sufficient to encounter the Scots, by which advice of his, he did contrary to the duty of his place betray his Majesties Army then under his Command, to apparent danger and loss.

After these Articles were read, the Earls answer thereunto which he had delivered in writing into the Lords House was also read, and this took up the time till two in the afternoon: at which hour the Court rose, and the Earl was remanded to the Tower, with orders to be there again the next day at eight in the morning.

On Tuesday He came accompanied as before, and staid in the *Exchequer-Chamber* till nine in the morning, at which time the Court being sat, and the King, Queen and Prince within their Closets, the Earl was brought in.

Mr. *Pym* one of the Prosecutors began first, and aggravated the charge which was the day before read with many superlative expressions. The main points whereof were, *That it was a Treason* Mr. *Pym* one of the Prosecutors first aggravates the Charge against the Earl.

1640. *Treason far beyond the reach of words, that a Native Subject and a Peer of* England, *the prime Governour of* Ireland, *the Commander of his Majesties Forces, and a Protestant in Religion, should have in such an impious and gross manner recompenced his Majesties favours, abused his goodness, and drawn all his Dominions into hazard and peril of their Religion, Lives, Goods and Priviledges: That one of these faults alone had been enough and too much for the fulfilling of the exorbitancy and wickedness of any one man, and what punishment could be thought upon sufficient to expiate crimes of such a transcendent nature?*

The Earl begins to make his defence.

The Earl with great moderation spake in his own defence to this purpose: *He modestly recounted his Services done to the King and Crown of* England, *and his endeavours for advancement as well of the Honour as Commodity both of* England *and* Ireland; *and as to* Ireland *he said, That there had been more Parliaments there since his Government than in fifty years before; that he had opposed divers Projects and Monopolies, and Improved the Kings Revenue from* 50000 lib. per Annum, *to* 120000 lib. per Annum: *That he had restored the Churches maintenance, suppressed the Out-Laws, established Obedience to Royal Authority, and restrained the tyranny and usurpation of Great ones over the Commons, yet for the effecting of all these Actions, he reputed himself the most weak and meanest Instrument.*

Pym offers three new Articles against him.

Mr. *Pym* after the close of his Speech, told the Lords, there were three new Articles that the Commons had adjoyned to his Charge by an after-search, and moved that he might presently reply to the same: Whereunto the Earl answered, *It was very strange that after the close of the Process, and where matters were come to be scann'd and examined by proofs, that any new Charge should be given in; yet lest he should seem to decline the maintenance of his own innocency and the just defence of his honour, he said he was willing to hear them, and have them alledged, provided that a convenient time might be allowed to make his replyes to them.* But Mr. *Pym* excepted against this, and told them, That the House of Commons did conceive it to be dangerous to grant any further time on this occasion: Upon this importunity, the Lords did retire themselves, and after a little time of stay returned, and declared, that they had found the Earls suit to be equitable in desiring further time for answering; yet seeing the Articles themselves neither for number nor weight seemed to be of that importance, but that he might furnish out a present answer, they though it fitting to grant no delay. The Earl then intreating them to pardon the weakness of his extemporary answers, desired to hear the Articles read, which were these;

To which the Earl answers.

Pym excepts against the Earls answer.

The Lords retire a while and return, and grant him no further time.

The Articles are then read.

1. That he had within these two years withdrawn 30000*l.* sterling from the Exchequer in *Ireland*, and imployed it to his own private uses.

2. That in the beginning of his Government, the Garrisons in *Ireland* had been maintained by the English Treasury.

3. That he had advanced Popish and infamous persons, as the Bishop of *Waterford* and others to the prime Dignities of the Church of *Ireland*.

1640.

1. To the First, he answered, *That thirty thousand pounds were set apart for the King's late Service at his most special and most peremptory Command, for which he produced the Kings own Letter already approved, as his Acquittance at the Exchequer-board in* Ireland.

The Earl answers to the three Articles newly charged.

2. To the second, *That at the beginning of his Government, as ever before his time, the Garrisons had been burthensome to the Kingdom of* England, *but that he had so improved the Revenue, that they were now paid by that Crown without any charge to this; for which if the best endeavours of a Subject may justly expect any reward from his King and Country, he craved leave to think that he rather deserved many thanks than the least punishment.*

3. To the third, *He attests all the Clergy of* Ireland, *if ever he had taken upon him any particular medling in advancing their Churchmen, or whether he had done any thing concerning such affairs, but upon the special advice of the best and wisest of their number: adding, that when he befriended the Bishop of* Waterford *he conceived of him as a man of integrity and learning fit for such an Imployment, nor was there then the least suspicion of those monstrous Impieties, wherewith he was afterwards charged. That he had now justly suffered for the same, and that he hoped they would not lay a necessity upon him to prophesie and divine of the future conditions and deportments of men: For others of the Church, suspected of Popery, he knew none such, but should answer to the particulars so far as they concerned him, when they should happen to be alledged.*

This was all the business of this day; the Lords rose, and the Earl was appointed to come again the next morning, at which time they intended to proceed upon the particular Articles, and give Oath to the Witnesses, for hitherto they had only been upon the general heads.

On the first of the special Articles they insisted not.

The Names of the Committee of the House of Commons prosecutors of the Earl.

The Committee of Prosecutors were, Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*, Mr. *John Maynard*, Mr. *Bulstrod Whitlock*, Mr. *John Glyn*, the Lord *George Digby*, Mr. *Oliver St. John*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Mr. *John Selden*, Mr. *John Hampden*, and Mr. *Stroud*.

The Lords being sate, and the Earl present on *Wednesday* in the morning, Mr. *Glyn* first spake: He said,

Mr. Glyn's Speech to the Charge in the second Article.

The Earl of Strafford *was Impeached not with simple but accumulative Treason, for though in each particular such a Monstrous Crime could not be deprehended, yet when all conceived in the Mass, and under one view, he should be undoubtedly found the most wicked and exorbitant Traytor that ever was Arraigned at the Bar: he added, That his charge was intending to subvert and change the fundamental Laws, Liberties, and Priviledges of both the Kingdoms, and to introduce an arbitrary and Tyrannical Government: This, he said, could not appear but by the fruits, which were*

1640. were either in expression or action. The expressions were;

1. That in the presence of the Justices sitting at York he said, Some were all for Law, but they should find, That the Kings little finger should be heavier than the loins of the Law.

The Earls Answer. To this, being the substance of the second Article, the Earl replyed, That having spoken sufficiently before to his justification in general, he would by their Lordships favour add these few words, That it did strike him to the heart, to be accused of such a wicked crime, and that such honourable persons who were the Companions of his youth, and with whom he had spent the best of his dayes, should now rise up in judgement against him; yet he thanked God for it, it was not guilt but grief, that so much troubled him; he added, That it was a wonder how he had gotten strength sufficient in such infirmity of body and anguish of mind, to collect his thoughts and say any thing at all for himself: But the Almighty God who knows him to be innocent, had furnished him with some abilities to give testimony to the truth and a good Conscience: He therefore intreated, that if either in judgement or memory, he should at any time fail, it might be imputed to his great weakness: And although the Gentlemen his Accusers should seem more ready in their Accusations, than himself in his Defence, that it might not prejudice his cause, who in very unequal terms, had to do with learned and eloquent Lawyers, bred up a long time and inured to such judiciary pleadings, and whose Rhetorick he doubted not might present many things to their view in a multiplying Glass; he told them farther, that for these many years he had been weary of Publick service, and that now it was his resolution after he had vindicated his honour to retire himself, and to enjoy his much longed-for privacy: And yet he could not but say, it had been his hearty wish and desire, to have rather voluntarily resigned his places of honour like a ripe fruit fallen from the tree, than to be violently pulled from thence as a fruitless and unprofitable withered branch.

To the Charge of Treason, he said, That under favour he conceived, although all the Articles contained in his Impeachment were verified against him, yet they could not all amount to Treason, neither simple nor accumulative; for, said he, I do not understand by what interpretation of Law, the diversion of Justice can be called a subversion of the same, or the exceeding of a Commission, the Usurpation of a new Power; To the particular alledged, he replyed, That his words were inverted, for that his expression was, That the little finger of the Law, (if not supported by the Regal Power in granting Pardons for the Penalties of the same) was heavier than the Kings loyns: That this was his expression, he verified.

1. First by the occasion, for he spake the words a long time since to some who had been imprisoned at York, and were then by the Kings favour set at liberty, whom he incited to thankfulness towards his Majesty by this expression.

2. Secondly, by Sir William Pennyman, a Member of the House of Commons, who was there present and heard the words: which Sir William declared to be true. 1640.

In the examination of the Witnesses against him to this Article, he convinced one of them of untruth by interrogating, where he was when the speech was heard, and how far distant from him? to which the man replyed, He was twelve yards from him: the Earl then said, It was impossible for him to hear a man three yards off, by reason of a deafness he had, which had held him fourteen years, which being found true, the Witness was rejected.

Another Witness Sir David Fowles was brought against him, against whom he excepted as his known and profest Enemy, but that was not allowed of, because in matters of Treason, a mans enemy may Witness against him pro Domino Rege: this was all that was done for that time.

On Thursday he appeared again, and the second expressions in the third Article of the Charge, was charged against him, viz. 1641.

The second expression in the third Article charged against him. That he had declared that Ireland was a Conquered Nation, and that the King may do with them what he pleased; and speaking of the Charters the former Kings of England made to the City of Dublin, he said, They were nothing worth, and did bind the King no farther than he pleased.

This was aggravated as a prime Note of his tyrannical Will and Disaffection, that would permit no Law to bound the Subject, but what himself and such as he should appoint might draw by sinistrous Informations from a gracious and well-meaning Prince, and if this were admitted, the whole power and liberty of the Republick would utterly be lost.

The Earl Answers thereunto. To this he replyed, That the first part of it cannot be denyed: and to the second, That he said only, That the King was the Law-giver, which he hoped none could deny without incurring the crime of Treason; and that the Kings Sentence was a Law in matters not determined by Acts of Parliament, which all but disloyal Subjects would grant: professing withal, that it had been ever his endeavours to have the liberty of the Subject, and the Royal Prerogative follow both in one Channel; knowing, that if either of them crossed other, we could expect nothing but a subversion of the Common-wealth, either by Tyranny or Rebellion: That the Prerogative was like the first; the liberty of the Subject like the second Table, either both or neither can be preserved: That in his duty, he stood obliged, first to the King as Gods Anointed, then in the second place to his Countrey, if it did not cross the Regal Power: And therefore hoped that what he had said was so far from being Treason, that he thought a thousand such expressions would not make up one Felony. This was all the proceedings of this day.

On Friday, two other expressions were urged against him out of the fourth Article:

Two expressions out of the fourth Article urged against him. 1. That he would neither have Law or Lawyers dispute or question any of his Orders.

2. In speaking of the Earl of Cork, he said, he would make him and all Ireland know, so long as he had the Government, That any Act of State there

1641. there made or to be made, ſhould be as binding to the Subjects of that Kingdom as an Act of Parliament.

The Earls Anſwer. The Earl of *Cork* was the main Witneſs to prove theſe expreſſions.

The Earl anſwered, *It were hard meaſure for a Man to loſe his Honour and his Life for a haſty word: he confeſſed, he had often ſaid he would not ſuffer his Orders to be contemned, becauſe in contempt of him, his Maſters Honour would be wounded.*

To the ſecond he ſaid, *If a proportionable Obedience was not as well due to Acts of State, as to Acts of Parliament, in vain did the Council ſit: And that he had done no more than what former Deputies and chief Governours of* Ireland *had done: And what was agreeable to his Inſtructions for the Council Table, which he produced.*

He convinced the Earl of *Cork* of two overſights in his Depoſition, for he had declared upon his Oath, that the Earl had cauſed an Ordinance made againſt him to be interlined, and ſome words to be ſcraped out, which words were notwithſtanding ſtill found to be in the Ordinance by an Authentick Copy under the hand of Sir *Paul Davies*, Clark of the Council-Board in *Ireland*, which the Earl of *Strafford* produced.

In the next place, the Earl of *Cork* alledging amongſt other things, that he had advanced a Groom of his to be a Preacher.

He diſproves what the Earl of Cork alledged againſt him. To diſprove which, the Earl produced a teſtimony from the Univerſity of *Dublin*, *That the man had been a Maſter of Arts of ten or twelve years ſtanding before his advancement; adding withal, that my Lord* Cork *was an excellent Scholar that could breed ſuch Grooms.* Theſe matters took up the whole day on Fryday.

Upon Saturday he appeared again, and having (as they ſaid) done with expreſſions, they would next proceed to his actions, and begin with thoſe concerning his execution of Martial Law againſt the Lord *Mount-Norris* and another perſon, as the matter is laid down in the 5*th.* Article;

Which they diſtinguiſhed under four heads.

1. That he exerciſed Martial Law in time of Peace.

2. That he was both party and Judge in *Mount-Norris* his Caſe.

3. That he proceeded ſummarily in the matter.

4. That he had not heard the exceptions made by *Mount-Norris* againſt his Witneſſes.

To the firſt he anſwered;

The Earl anſwers the firſt head of the firſt Article. 1. *That all Armies have been, and muſt be governed by Martial Law.*

2. *That there is a ſtanding Army in* Ireland, *and therefore the caſe is all one in time of Peace or War; And that the Army might be undone if they ſhould not uſe Martial Law, but were to expect remedy for the ſetling of a Mutiny, or aſſurance of Obedience from the Common Law.*

3. *That it had ever been the Practice of the Deputies, particularly of* Wilmot, Faulkland, Chicheſter, *yea* Cork *himſelf, and therefore was no new thing brought in by him:* This he proved both by the production of the Military Ordinances, and by divers Witneſſes who knew Sentences given in that kind by them.

4. *That he had a particular Warrant in his Commiſſion for his Power.*

5. *That in the Lord* Mount-Norris *his Caſe, he was commanded to exerciſe the ſame by the Kings particular Letter, both which he cauſed to be read.*

His anſwer to the ſecond head. To the ſecond he ſaid, *He was not a Judge in the Tryal, but a party which appear'd, in that he had ſate bare in the Court all the time of Tryal, and gave no ſuffrage in it, and for further evidence of his being a party, he cauſed his Brother Sir* George Wentworth, *in regard of intereſt of blood, to decline all acting in the proceſs.*

His anſwer to the third head. To the Third he ſaid, *That he being not a Judge in this matter, the Court of War was to be anſwerable for their own proceedings, and that after a long reaſoning he had heard them ſay, No delay could ſafely be granted in Martial Courts.*

His anſwer to the fourth head. To the fourth he anſwered, *That he was not a Judge in the Caſe, and remembers not the exceptions againſt any Witneſſes, adding, That as he had been regular in his proceedings, ſo he had been moderate in the execution of that Sentence: for though the Lord* Mount-Norris *juſtly deſerved to Dye, yet he had obtained for him the Kings Pardon for the ſaving of his Life, and proteſted that he intended nothing by that Sentence; but in ſome meaſure to repair his own Honour, and to give* Mount-Norris *fair reproof, who was known to be of an exorbitant and licentious tongue and ſpirit:* Adding, That if the Houſe of Commons would go on the ſame way with him, and aſſure him that the iſſue of his Charge ſhould be nothing elſe but to admoniſh him for the time to come, he would thank them heartily for it, and ſtudy amendment in all his pretended overſights: And whereas *Mount-Norris* complained, that he had jeeringly told him, when the Sentence was paſſed and pronounced againſt him, That e're he loſt his head, himſelf would loſe his hand; he anſwered, That although he had been thought to be inſolent and haughty, yet he was never ſo impertinent to uſe this expreſſion: if any ſuch were, it was for undervaluing himſelf in ſaying, That e're a hair of *Mount-Norris* ſhould perish, he would loſe his hands; And truly (ſaid he) if *Mount-Norris* would ſay ſo to me, even in the worſt ſence that can be conceived, that e're I dye, he would loſe his hand, I would take it very kindly from him. For the other man he avouched, that he himſelf had voiced to hang him, both becauſe he was an arrant Thief, & alſo had fled from his Colours, which by the very Common law was juſtifiable: (and to this effect he cited a Statute 20 *Henr.* 6. and 7 *Henr.* 7.) That to fly from their Colours, is Felony: He concluded, *That ſeeing he was not acceſſary to the Sentence againſt* Mount-Norris, *had not ſate there as Judge, had a power to keep Martial Courts by his Commiſſion, had not exerciſed the ſame till a new Command came from his Majeſty, had done no more than ever was practiſed in* Ireland *before his time, and had at laſt obtained* Mount-Norris *his pardon, He hoped there was nothing accuſable in him but his too remiſs and too moderate proceedings.*

Mr. *Glyn*'s aggravation of the firſt Head. Mr. *Glyn* in aggravation of his Exerciſe of Martial Law ſaid, That he knew the time when the Earl of *Strafford* was no leſs active and ſtir-

ring

1641. ring to enlarge the liberty of the subject, and advance the Petition of Right, than now he is for extending his own Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government.

The Earls reply. To this he replyed, without the least semblance of Passion, *That if at any time he had done the least Service to the House of Commons, he thought his whole Life well spent, nor could they ever so graciously reward him as to give Commission to that Gentleman to express so much before that Honourable Assembly, But withal, he said, If ever any such thing was done by him, he intreated it might now be remembred, and serve to over-ballance some slight and mean over-sights committed by him, which he hoped should never make him guilty of Treason, unless it were Treason for a Man to have no more wit and prudence than God and Nature had bestowed upon him.* And so much for *Saturday*.

On *Monday* the Court sate again, and the Earl appeared, and was charged with the sixth Article, concerning the dispossession of the Lord *Mount-Norris* of the Manner of *Tymore*, which the Prosecutors inforced with many Arguments, saying, this fact was

1. Against an Act of the *7th.* of *Henr. 6.* which provides all matters to be determined by the ordinary Judges.

2. Against the late Proclamation of the King.

3. Against the Practice of all Deputies before that time: withal, they added, that it was a Tyranny that could not be express'd, to exercise this power over the persons of the Peers of the Land and their Goods.

The Earls answer to the sixth Article. To this he replyed, *That for his part in matter of justice* (under favour he spake it) *he thought there was no distinction to be make betwixt a Peer of the Land, and one of the Commons, except they did think that either fear or faction should do something, which had no place in him.* He said,

1. *That the Act of* H. 6. *answered it self sufficiently, both because it excepted the Court of Requests* (and that his proceedings were nothing else in Ireland) *and also it makes an express reservation of the Kings Prerogative, which he said was his Strength because he derived his Commission from the King, and that the Act was the most express Warrant in the World for him.*

2. *The Kings Proclamation mentioned came not out in five years after, wherefore he thought it hard to have a disobedience objected to him for a thing that was not in being, adding, that he wish'd from his heart, they would respect the Kings Command and Commissions, with that tenderness of affection and obedience as he did his Proclamations: He then proved that the like course by summary Proceedings before the Deputies of* Ireland, *was the constant Practice of all the Deputies that were before him, but nevertheless, He said, he was tender to exercise that Power, till the King (induced by the humble Remonstrance of the meaner sort of people) had most peremptorily and upon just reasons commanded him,* causing the Kings Letter in that behalf to be read.

Obj. It was objected, that other Deputies had indeed determined upon suits of Equity, and matters of debt, but not of land.

He replyed, *That neither he nor they had ever given Sentence or determined any thing concerning matters of Inheritance, but only concerning violent Intrusion, which was this Case in question, & which fell directly within a suit of Equity: and in deciding this controversie he had, he said, the Lord Chancellour, the Master of the Rolles, and Lord Chief Justice of the common Pleas to assist him, nor did he hear the business, till the Complainant by Petition had complained of delay of Justice in the Chancery where the suit had long depended, & upon the proofs exhibited in that Court, he made the Decree. He said moreover, the Natives would unwillingly be debarred of relief in this summary way of proceeding, because they had that dispatch in a day or two which the Common Law would not yield in so many years; that as to this matter charged on him, seeing he had done nothing therein but what was customary, necessary & equitable, and the Sentence just, he expected rather thanks from the State than a charge for ill Deportment; He likewise shewed with what extortion and violence the Lord* Mount-Norris *had taken seisure of that piece of Land, and made the action to appear on his part very foul; and at last he concluded, saying, That he had done no more in* Ireland, *than the Court of Requests in* Eng. *usually doth: And that the Chancery Court in* Ireland *doth the same daily, and the last Chancellour was never charged for such Proceedings, though his Power and Authority was less than his: But the difference of the Person and his Authority (it seemeth) doth difference the matter.* And this was the business on *Monday*.

1641.

On *Tuesday March* the 31*th.* he was charged with the *7th.* Article, to which he answered, *That the L.* Dillon *with others producing his Patent according to a Proclamation on the behalf of his Majestie, the said Patent was questionable, upon which a Case was drawn and argued by Counsel, and the Judges delivered their Opinion thereupon. But the L.* Dillon *or any other was not bound thereby, nor put out of their Possessions, but might have traversed the Office, or otherwise have legally proceeded, notwithstanding the said Opinions.* His answer to the 7th. Article.

They then proceeded to the *8th.* Article concerning a Petition exhibited by *Thomas Hibbott* against Dame *Mary Hibbots* Widow, to which he answered, *That true it is, he had voted against the Lady* Hibbots, *and thought he had reason to so do, the said Lady being discovered, by fraud and circumvention to have bargained for Lands of a great value for a small sum. And he denied that the said Lands were after sold to his Use, or that the major part of the Council Board Voted for the Lady, the contrary appearing by the Sentence under the hand of the Clerk of the Council: which being true, He said, he might well threaten her with Commitment, in case she disobeyed the said Order; Neither had he any underhand dealings with Sir* Robert Meredith, *for the Lady had her own Land back from him; he also declared with what fraud and deceit the Lady had come to her Lands.* His answer to the 8th. Article.

After this Article, they fell the same day upon the ninth, about the giving of Warrants to the Bishop of *Downe* and *Conner*, for apprehending all such persons (and presenting them before the Council Table) as contemned the Ecclesiastical Ordinances.

This was aggravated as a new and Tyrannical form of proceeding against the liberty of the Subject.

To

1641.

His answer to the 9th Article.

To this he replied:

First, *He produced the Primate of* Irelands, *Arch-bishop* Usher's *testimony under his hand, (he being himself sick) that the same course had been used in* Ireland *before, and that Bishop* Montgomery, *the Primates Predecessor in the Bishoprick of* Meath, *had had the same Warrant.*

Secondly, *He shewed the equity that such assistance should be given to Church-men, who otherwise because of Papists and Schismaticks either to God or the King, would have no respect or obedience given them in that Kingdom.*

Thirdly, *He proved by two Witnesses, that such Warrants were in use before his time.*

Fourthly, He said, *He had never granted any but that one, and had presently within some few Months called the same in again; What (*said he, *was the Bishop of* Downs *carriage in it, he had no reason to answer for: But he presumed the Bishop could give a satisfactory Answer for himself when he should be called in question*; and so he concluded, *That a matter so just, so necessary, so customary and practical before, he hoped should not be charged upon him, as an introduction of a new and Tyrannical form of Government. And therefore submitted himself to the mercy of God, and the equity of his Peers in his Trial thereon.* And this was the work on *Tuesday.*

On *Wednesday* they charged him with the 12th Article, which was pressed hard upon him by Mr. *Glyn*, who said, That the Earl of *Strafford* having established an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government over the Lives, Lands and Liberties of the King's Subjects, his next desire was to make intrusion upon the Crown it self. That by applying to his own use the publick Revenues, he might be the more enabled to accomplish his disloyal and trayterous Intentions; to which end having by a new Book of Rates inhanced the Customs, he had gotten by advantage of a Lease from the Dutchess of *Buckingham* (which he procured for her, far different from a former Lease to the Duke her Husband) above twenty six thousand pounds yearly, which was a crime of a higher nature than those contained in the preceding Articles, because in those there was some colour or pretext of Justice, here none; those in particulars, this in general; those against the Subject only, this against the King himself.

For the Proof of the Charge, they produced the Lease of the Duke of *Buckingham*, which was read and compared with that Lease to the Dutchess of *Buckingham* (which the Earl hath now by assignment) and some differences were shewn, arising to the summ of 2000 *lib.* in the Dukes Lease; the moiety only of concealed and forfeited goods were due to him, but the whole goods to the Dutchess in her Lease. Again, the King's Ships of prizes did not pay Customs in the Dukes Lease, in the Dutchesses they did: Again, the Impost of the Wines (then belonging to the Earl of *Carlisle*) was not in the Dukes Lease, in the Dutchesses it was: Lastly, Whereas the Earl of *Strafford* paid but 14000 *lib. per ann.* for the Custom, it was worth to him, they said, as was apparent by the Books of the Exchequer, 40000 *lib.* Witnesses were examined.

First, Sir *James Hay*, who deposed that the Earl of *Carlisle* had an advantage of 1600 *lib. per ann.* by his Lease of Wines. 1641.

Secondly, The Lord *Ranelaugh*, who deposed, that by the inspection of the Books of Accompts, he had found the Customs to be *Anno* 1636. thirty six thousand pounds. *Anno* 1637. 39000 *lib. Anno* 1638. 54000 *lib. Anno* 1639. 59000 *lib.*

With the Proofs they concluded the Charge; That notwithstanding the Lord *Strafford* pretended a great measure of zeal and honesty in his Majesties service, yet it is evident, he had abused the trust put upon him, and by withdrawing so great summs of money from the Crown, had weakened the King, prejudiced the subject of the protection they were to expect from him, and had been the cause that the extraordinary waies of Impost and Monopolies had been taken, for supplying of the Royal necessity: And that this Act therefore ought to be enough to make the Charge and Impeachment of High-Treason laid against him.

The Earl answers to the 12th Article.

The Earl replied, *That he conceived he had given full satisfaction to all hitherto brought against him, about his pretended arbitrary Government, nor would he spend time in vain repetitions; and for the present Article, though in all parts it were granted to be true, yet he could not perceive by what interpretation of Law it could imply the least act of Treason; and when it should be directly charged upon him as a point of Misdemeanor, Oppression, or Felony, he made no doubt, but he should be very able to clear himself abundantly in that point also: yet lest any prejudice might stick to his Honour by these bold assertions, He was content to step so far out of the way as to give answers.*

First, *That it concerned him nothing, what particulars in the Lease had past betwixt the King and the Dutchess of* Buckingham; *or whether she had obtained more easie conditions than the Duke her Husband, especially seeing the same was granted some years before his coming to that Government; yet thus much he could say, that the Dutchess had paid thirty thousand pounds fine, and therefore no marvel that her yearly Rent was the less.*

Secondly, *For the Book of Rates (wherein the chief matter of oppression and grievance seemed to rest) the same was there established by the Deputy* Faulkland, Anno 1628. *three years before his going into* Ireland, *and therefore it was exceeding strange in his apprehension, how that could rise up in judgement against him.*

Thirdly, *That he had his interest in the Customs by assignation of a Lease from the Dutchess of* Buckingham, *which was granted her before his Government, and he never heard it before alledged as a crime of Treason, for a man to make a good bargain for himself.*

Fourthly, *That not of his own accord, but at the King's special command, he had undergone that Charge, on hopes that upon the enquiry into the worth thereof, the Customs might be improved for the benefit of the Crown, and the true value thereof discovered; this he proved by the Lord* Cottington *and Sir* Arthur Ingram.

Fifthly, *That when a new Book of Rates*

1641. *was recommended to him by the Council-board of* England, *in the time of his Leaſe, which might have been of great advantage to him, he ſo preferred a fear he had, That the Trade of* Ireland *might thereby be diſcouraged, before his own Commodity, as he preſumed in all humility to refuſe the ſaid Book, and tendred his reaſons thereof to the Kingdom and Council-table of* England.

Sixthly, *That he never underſtood that the Cuſtoms could ariſe to thoſe great ſumms alledged, but though they ſhould, yet his advantage was but ſmall; For firſt, dividing the fourteen thouſand pounds he paid to the King into eight parts, five parts thereof was yearly given in upon Oath (and that procured firſt by himſelf) at the Exchequer board, the other three parts was divided amongſt four of them, which were equal ſharers in the Leaſe, granted before his time: And therefore he was confident, he ſaid, the Lords would rather take his accuſation in this Article as an exerciſe of Rhetorick in the Gentlemen his Adverſaries, than as a thing ſpoken in good earneſt by them.*

The ſame day the 11th and 12th Articles were charged againſt him.

He anſwers to the 11th Article.

To the 11th concerning Licences for Exportation of Pipe-ſtaves, he anſwered, *The Pipe-ſtaves were prohibited in King* James *his time, and not exported but by Licence, paying* 6 s. 8 d. *a thouſand, and that he had not raiſed ſo much thereby to himſelf as his Predeceſſours had done for ſuch Licences.*

The 12th Article was more inſiſted on, and in the opening of it, Mr. *Glyn* ſaid, That for the further advancement of his tyrannical and avaritious deſigns, he had of himſelf eſtabliſhed a Monopoly for the reſtraint of Tobacco in that Kingdom: where they offered five particulars to the proof:

1. That he had reſtrained the Importation of Tobacco.

2. That in the mean time he had brought in a great quantity himſelf, and ſold the ſame at exorbitant prices.

3. That of Tobacco already Imported, he had forbiddden any to be ſold, but what was firſt ſealed by his Officers.

4. That upon a pretended Diſobedience, he had puniſhed a great number of people by ſeiſure, impriſonments, fining, whipping, pillory, and ſuch like cruel and inhumane uſages.

5. That by theſe means he had gained 100000 l. yearly.

For proof whereof they produced.

1. The Proclamation for reſtraining Tobacco, which was read.

2. The Proclamation about Sealing the ſame.

3. Some Witneſſes who declared the Ships had been reſtrained from landing Tobacco.

4. Others who had known ſome Tobacco ſeized on as forfeited.

5. A Remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*, declaring that the Earl had ſold 500 Tun of Tobacco, which ſold at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* per pound, amounts to an hundred thouſand pounds.

They concluded the Charge, That he had ſucked up the Blood of the King's Liege people, and had by this one point of oppreſſion raiſed greater ſumms to himſelf than all the King's Revenue in that Kingdom extended unto, and therefore was liable to the crime of Treaſon, for troubling the Peace, and bereaving the people of their Goods, who were intruſted unto his Care and Government. 1641.

The Earls Reply to this was,

He anſwers to the 12th Article.

1. *That long before his coming to* Ireland, *the ſame reſtraint had been of Tobacco, and the ſame impoſt of eighteen pence* per pound, *enjoined by King* James.

2. *That at that time the Tradeſmen for this Commodity paid but* 20 lib. *a year to the Crown for the Impoſt, but now* 400.

3. *That the Parliament in* Ireland 1628. *had Petitioned to have the Impoſt ſettled by an Act of State for ever afterwards as a part of the Revenue of the Crown.*

4. *That he had expreſs Command from the King for iſſuing thoſe Proclamations, and therefore could not imagine more danger in them, than in others for Monopolies in* England *in the worſt ſenſe.*

5. *That the Proclamations were ſent forth not by himſelf alone, but by the whole Council-board of* Ireland.

For the Proclamations, he told them, *It was his own Opinion (and if he failed in it, he humbly craved pardon, and hoped that it ſhould not be Treaſon to have no more judgement than God had beſtowed on him) that the King was inducted by God with a power to make temporary Laws, and cauſe the ſame to be promulgated for the good of his people, upon ſudden emergent occaſions, to which Laws, Obedience is due, till they be abrogated by enſuing Parliaments: that he reſtrained no man from Importing Tobacco, who was willing to pay the appointed Impoſt; that for his part, he had never traffiqued in all his time therein, nor had any part with the Contractors: And if any Tobacco was ſeized on, it was in contempt of the Proclamations: And if any perſon were cenſured to the Pillory, or Whipping, it was for known Perjury, the ordinary and uſual puniſhment in ſuch a caſe: Concerning the Tobacco Imported,* he ſaid, *No conſideration was taken of the Prices given for the Tobacco beyond Seas, of the King's Revenue of* 4000 l. *of the Merchants pains and danger in bringing the ſame home; for his part, if any advantage were made, ſurely it was not his, nor could he annul every Contract or Leaſe made by the King: And therefore ſeeing his Intereſt was none, he had done nothing but at the King's direction, and at the advice of the Council-board; ſince the ſame Impoſt was in King* James *his time, and Petitioned for by themſelves in* Ireland; *he hoped his carriage in the buſineſs ſhould be ſo far from a crime of Treaſon, that it ſhould rather be thought no crime at all.*

So much for *Wedneſday.*

His anſwer to the 13th Article.

On *Thurſday* he was charged with the 13th Article, to which he made this enſuing Anſwer; *That he did endeavour to advance the Manufacture of Linnen rather than of Woollen, becauſe the laſt would be the greater detriment to* England: *That the Primate of* Ireland, *the Archbiſhop of* Dublin, *Chancellour* Loftus, *and the Lord* Mount-Norris *all of the Council, and*

1641. *and subscribers of the Proclamation were as liable to the charge as himself: That the reducing of that Nation by Orders of the Council-board to the* English *Customs from their more savage usage, as drawing Horses by their tails, &c. had been of former practice: that the project was of so ill avail to him, as he was the worse for the Manufacture thirty thousand pounds at least by the Looms he had set up at his own charge: As for the Warrants that were issued out to seize upon goods, he affirmed the same to be necessary, because there ought to be no contempt of Proclamations; but that any part did accrue to him, he flatly denied: And if any rigour was used in the execution, he said, Not he, but the Officers were to answer for it, for this might happen in the most just and necessary commands, nor was there ever any complaint presented to him of any such matter.*

The same day they proceeded upon the latter part of the 15th Article, waving the 14th, and the former part of this. Mr. *Jeffry Palmer* urged upon him in these or the like words; That the Earl having by a Tyrannical power inverted the ordinary course of Justice, and given immediate Sentence upon the Lands and Goods of the Kings Subjects, under pretence of Disobedience to his Orders, in prosecution whereof he had laid Souldiers upon the same to their utter ruine: This Article, he said, of it self did contain an individual Treason, so that if there were no more than this, it were more than sufficient to convince him of his Impeachment; two things were offered in proof:

1. The Testimony of one *Savil* a Serjeant at Arms, who was called forth, and produced the Copy of a Warrant, upon which he had sessed Souldiers.

2. He began to name some Statutes, by which such sessing was Treason. But before he went on to that, the Earl desired to be heard against *Savil*'s testimony, and said, He hoped their Lordships would not upon an Article of such importance admit of the Copy of an Order: he said, No Transcript but an Original can make faith before the *King's-Bench* in a matter of Debt, and therefore he thought in matter of life and death before the Supreme Judicatory, less would not be allowed of: Moreover, if Copies be at any time received, they are such as are given in upon Oath to have been compared with the Originals, but this was not so.

Glyn hereupon replied, That this Order ought to be admitted, since it was produced by the Officer himself, who best knew it, having executed the same.

His answer to the latter part of the fifteenth Article.

The Earl answered, *That was the best argument he could use why it should not be admitted: for (said he) Mr.* Savil *may be charged with Treason, for sessing men of War upon the King's Subjects, he hath nothing for his defence but a pretended Warrant from me: Now what he swears to my prejudice is to his own advantage, nor can a man by any equity in the World be admitted to testifie against another,* in foro justificationem.

This answer seemed so weighty to the Lords, that they rose and went up to their House; and after an hours stay, they returned, and declared, That after much deliberation, they had resolved, that this Copy should not be admitted, and willed them to proceed to other proofs; which after a little pause they did. 1641.

1. The Lord *Ranelagh* affirmed that he heard of such a Warrant, and knew sometimes three, sometimes five Souldiers billetted by it.

2. Mr. *Clare* declares the very same.

3. Another Deposed, that he had seen such a Warrant under the Deputies hand and seal; and so much for the proof.

For the Statutes alledged, one of *Edw.* 3. 6. That whosoever should carry about with them *English* Enemies, *Irish* Rebels, or Hooded men, and sess them upon the Subject, should be punished as a Traytor. Another of *Henr.* 6. 7. That whosoever should sess men of War, in his Majesties Dominions, should be thought to make War against the King, and punished as a Traytor.

The Earls Reply was,

The Earls reply to other proofs.

That in all the course of his life, he had intended nothing more than the preservation of the lives, goods and welfare of the King's Subjects, and that he dared to profess, that under no Deputy, more than under himself, had there been a more free and uninterrupted course of Justice.

To the Charge he answered,

His answer to the Charge.

1. *That the Customs of* Ireland *differed exceedingly from the Customs of* England, *as was clear by* Coke's *Books, and therefore though sessing of men might seem strange here, yet not so there.*

2. *That even in* England *he had known Souldiers pressed upon men, by the Presidents of* York *and* Wales, *in case of known and open contempts, and that both in point of Outlawry and Rebellion, and also even for summs of Debt between party and party, there is nothing more ordinary than these sessings to this day in* Scotland, *whereby the chief house of the Owner is seized upon.*

3. *That to this day hath been nothing more usual in* Ireland *than for the Governours to appoint Souldiers to put all manner of Sentences in Execution, which he proved plainly to have been done frequently, and familiarly exercised in* Grandison's, Faulkland's, Chichester's, Wilmot's, Cork's, *and all preceding Deputies times: And had even been done for Outlawries for the King's Debts in the Exchequer, of Collections of Contribution money, and (which comes home to the point) for small summs of money between party and party, so that he marvelled* qua fronte *or with what boldness it could be called an Arbitrary Government lately brought in by him.*

To this the Lord *Dillon*, Sir *Adam Loftus*, and Sir *Arthur Terringham* deposed: the last of whom told, that in *Faulkland*'s time he knew twenty Souldiers sessed upon a man for refusing to pay sixteen shillings sterling.

4. *That in his instructions for executing his Commission, he had express Warrant for the same, as were in the instructions to the Lord* Faulkland *before him, both of which were produced and read.*

1641. 5. *That although all theſe Preſidents were not, yet it were not poſſible to govern the Kingdom of* Ireland *otherwiſe, which had been from all times accuſtomed to ſuch ſummary proceedings.*

6. *That no Teſtimony brought againſt him, can prove that ever he gave warrant to that effect; And for the deeds of the Serjeant at Arms, he did conceive himſelf to be anſwerable for it.*

And for the Acts of Parliament, he had reſerved them to the diſpute of his Lawyers, but was content to ſay thus much for the preſent.

1. *That it is a ground in the Civil Law, that where the King is not mentioned, there he cannot be included: But (with all diſtance to his ſacred Perſon be it ſpoken) he conceived himſelf to be in his Maſter the Kings place (for ſo his Commiſſion did run) in that Kingdom of* Ireland.

2. *The words in the Statute are not appliable to him, for God knows, he never went about in Perſon to lay Souldiers upon any of the King's Subjects.*

3. *That the King's own Souldiers, requiring in a Cuſtomary way, obedience to his Orders could in no conſtruction be called,* Iriſh *Rebels,* Engliſh *Enemies, or Hooded men.*

4. *That the uſe and cuſtom of the Law was the beſt interpreter thereof, and for that he had already ſpoken enough.*

5. *That it ſavoured more of prejudice than equity, to ſtart out ſuch an old Statute againſt him and none others, (though culpable of the ſame fact) to the overthrow and ruine of him and his Poſterity.*

6. *That (under favour he conceived) for any* Iriſh *Cuſtom, or upon any* Iriſh *Statute, he was to be judged by the Peers of* Ireland.

7. *The Statute of what force ſoever was repealed.*

1. *By the* 10th *of* Henr. 7. *where it is expreſly declared nothing ſhall be reputed Treaſon hereafter, but what is ſo declared by the preſent Statute, now not a word is there of any ſuch Treaſon.*

2. *By the* 11th *of Queen* Elizabeth, *where expreſly power is given to the Deputy of* Ireland *to ſeſs and lay Souldiers, although the ſame be reputed Treaſon in any others.*

To the Statute of *Henr.* 6. he replied, *That a ſlender anſwer might ſerve, he hoped that no man would think him ſo inconſiderate to War againſt the King of* Britain *and* Ireland, *by the ſeſſing of five Souldiers: That he had been charged by many for taking Arms for the King, but to that time never for taking Arms againſt him; And that he heartily wiſhed that no man in all his Majeſties Dominions had more practices with Rebels and Rebellious deſigns than himſelf.* So much for *Thurſday*.

At the cloſe he deſired the intermiſſion of a day, that he might recollect his ſpirits and ſtrength againſt the next time of Charge, and with much difficulty obtained reſt till *Saturday*.

On *Saturday* they proceeded to the 16th Article, which Mr. *Palmer* charged thus: That the Lord of *Strafford* having eſtabliſhed a Tyrannical and Independent Authority, by giving ſummary Decrees and Sentences, had deprived the Subject of all juſt remedy; for in that Kingdom there was no Supreme to himſelf to whom they might appeal: And leſt their juſt Grievances might be made known to his Majeſty, he had obtained a reſtraint, that no complaint ſhould be made of injuſtice or oppreſſion done there, till the firſt addreſs had been made to himſelf, and that no perſon ſhould come out of that Kingdom but upon Licence obtained from himſelf. 1641.

To which the Earl replyed to this effect.

His Reply to the fixteenth Article.

That the Deputy Faulkland *had ſet out the ſame Proclamation, That the ſame reſtraint was contained in the Statute of* 25 Hen. 6. *upon which the Proclamation was founded: That he had the King's expreſs Warrant for the Proclamation: That he had alſo power to do it by the Commiſſion granted to him: and that the Lords of the Council and the Juſtices not only yielded, but preſſed him unto it. That it was done upon juſt cauſe, for had the Ports been open, divers would have taken liberty to go to* Spain, *to* Doway, Rhemes *or St.* Omers, *which might have proved of dangerous and miſchievous conſequence to the State. That the Earl of* D'elmond *ſtood at the time of this reſtraint charged with Treaſon before the Council of* Ireland, *for practiſing againſt the Life of one Sir* Valentine Coke. *That the Lord* Roch *was then a Priſoner for Debt in the Caſtle of* Dublin, *and therefore incapable of a Licence; That* Parry *was not Fined for coming over without Licence, but for ſeveral contempts againſt the Council-board in* Ireland, *and that in his Sentence he had but only a caſting Voice, as the Lord Keeper in the Star-Chamber*: He concluded, that he hoped the leaſt ſuſpicion of Treaſon could not accrue to him from theſe actings: and for oppreſſion or miſdemeanour when it ſhould be laid to his charge, he made no doubt but he was able to anſwer it.

The 17th and 18th Articles were waved, and on the cloſe of the day Mr. *Whitlock* charged him with the 19th Article, ſaying, That he did not only Tyrannize over the bodies, but alſo over the conſciences of men, and to that purpoſe did contrive and frame a new and unuſual Oath injoined to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, and becauſe ſome of tenderneſs of conſcience did refuſe to take the ſame, he had fined them in great ſumms of money, baniſhed a great number from that Kingdom, called all that Nation Traitors and Rebels, and ſaid if ever he returned home from *England*, he would root them out both ſtock and branch.

For proof of this,

1. Sir *James Montgomery* was produced, who declared at large how that Oath was contrived.

2. Sir *Robert Maxwell* of *Ochyarden* who ſpake to the ſame purpoſe.

3. Sir *John Clotworthy*, who declared that a great number had fled the Kingdom for fear of that Oath.

4. One Mr. *Samuel*, who depoſed, that upon the 10th of *October* 1638. he heard the Deputy ſay theſe words, That if he returned, he would root them out ſtock and branch.

They

1641. They concluded, that this was one of the chiefeſt crimes he had done againſt the Priviledge and Liberty of the Subject.

The Earl's Reply to the nineteenth Article.

The Earl Replyed, *That every new Article acquainted him with a new Treaſon, that if he had done any thing in all his Life acceptable to the King and Country, he conceived it to be this:* And to theſe particulars he anſwered to this purpoſe,

1. *He deſired the Lords would call to mind the condition of thoſe times, no man (pointing to my Lord Steward) knows better than your Lordſhip, who had in the expedition againſt the* Scots, *the chiefeſt Place in his Majeſties Service: I would be very ſorry (ſaid he) to rub old ſores, eſpecially ſeeing I hope things are in a fair way to a firm Peace, and I wiſh that I may not be deceived, that is, that it may be ſo; only thus much I may ſay, we had then greater fears and apprehenſions in* Ireland, *leſt the* Scots *in that Kingdom (who were above* 100000 *Souls) might have joined with their Country-men at home, for the diſturbance of our Peace: and we detected a Treaſon of betraying of the Caſtle of* Knockfergus, *to a great man in that Kingdom (whoſe name I now ſpare) by one* Freeman, *who upon the diſcovery was Executed.*

The Council-board in Ireland *reſolved to preſcribe the* Scots *an Oath, whereby they might declare their diſcontent to their Country-mens proceedings, and oblige themſelves to the King's Service: But while we were about this, they of their own accord came to* Dublin *to Petition for it, and took it with a wonderful Alacrity and Free-heartedneſs, ſo that it is a marvellous thing for any man to ſay it was invented or violently enjoined by me.*

2. *About the ſame time the ſame Oath,* Verbum Verbo, *was by the Council of* England *preſcribed to the* Scots *at* London *and elſewhere, which was no ſmall incouragement to us in* Ireland.

3. *I had (ſaid he) which I never ſhewed, becauſe I had no need before this time, a ſpecial Warrant from the King, all written with his own hand to that effect: And when the King commands a matter not contrary to the Law, truly, I (ſaid he) do conceive it both contrary to Law and Conſcience, not to yield him all due Obedience.*

For the proof brought againſt him, there was nothing inſiſted on, to be of any moment but the words.

For the firſt words, *That he had called all the Nation Rebels and Traitors, He ſaid, there was no proof at all, nor indeed could there be any, for if I had ſaid it (ſaid he) I had been perfectly out of my wits; and he thanked God, ſuch irrational ſpeeches uſed not to eſcape him: He honoured that Kingdom very much, becauſe it was the Native Soil of our dread Soveraign, his Gracious Maſter, and becauſe he knew a great part, yea, (he hoped) the greateſt part of them had been and ever will be as Loyal and Dutiful to the King as any other of his Subjects; and of thoſe who had ſubſcribed that unhappy Combination, he knew a great many had done it againſt their hearts and wills, and would ever be ready upon occaſion to remonſtrate the ſame, by adhering to the King's Service; ſo that this accuſation was nothing but a wreſting and perverting his words and meaning of purpoſe to make him odious, and irritate a whole Nation againſt him.* 164.

For other words they were proved only by one Witneſs, which could make no ſufficient faith, and that Witneſs too he could evidence, if not of Perjury, yet of a notable miſtake; for he had ſworn poſitively that he had ſpoken thoſe words the 10th *of* October, *whereas he came out of* Ireland *into* England *the* 12th *of* September *before, and was at* London *the* 21th.

For thoſe that had fled the Kingdom becauſe of that Oath, he knew none ſuch, and if they did, they fled into Scotland, *which might ſufficiently argue their intention and reſolutions: for his part, if they were not willing to give that teſtimony of their Loyalty to their Prince, although he had known of their departure, he would have been very loth to have kept them againſt their wills, but ſhould have been gladly rid of them, and have made them a Bridge to be gone rather than to ſtay.*

Upon *Munday*, Mr. *Whitlock* proceeded to the 20th Article, but ſaid, becauſe the matter was *conſimilis naturæ*, they would join the five next Articles together, becauſe all of them tended to one period, to ſhew what bad deſign he had to have ſubdued the Kingdoms both of *England* and *Scotland* by force of Arms, to reduce them to that arbitrary Government he had lately introduced into *Ireland*.

The Earl intreated they would proceed Article by Article as they had hitherto done, he ſaid, five Articles were many, the matter weighty, his Memory treacherous, and his Judgement weak.

It was ſharply Replied by Mr. *Glyn*, that it doth not become the Priſoner at the Bar to preſcribe them in what way they ſhould give in their Evidence.

The Earl modeſtly anſwered, *That if he ſtood in his place, he would crave the like favour, unleſs his abilities did furniſh him with more ſtrength than he could find in himſelf, for his part he was contented they ſhould proceed any way, alwaies provided they would grant him a competent time for Replying.*

Then *Whitlock* went on, and told the Lords, That ſome things in thoſe Articles concerned the *Scottiſh*, ſome things the *Engliſh* Nation; that which concerned the *Scottiſh*, he reduced to five Heads.

1. That the Deputy had ſaid at the Council-board, that the *Scots* demands contained ſufficiend matter to perſwade to an offenſive War.

2. That the ſame demands did ſtrike at the Root and Life of Monarchical Government, and were only to be anſwered by the Sword.

3. That he had cauſed ſome *Scottiſh* Goods and Ships to be ſeized on in *Ireland*.

4. That he had engaged the *Iriſh* Parliament by their Declaration in that War againſt the *Scots*.

5. That by all poſſible means he put bad thoughts and ſuſpicions into his Majeſty againſt his *Scottiſh* Subjects, and laboured to make a National

1641. tional Quarrel between them and *England*: which if the King's Piety, and the Prudence of better States-men had not prevented, could not have been soldred up again without much blood.

Concerning *England*, his Speeches were either before, or after the Parliament.

1. Before his Creature and Bosome friend Sir *George Ratcliff*, he had said to Sir *Rob. King*, when he was doubting how the King might have moneys to pay the Armies, that the King had 400000 *lib.* in his purse, 30000 Men in the field, and his sword by his side, and if he wanted money afterwards, who would pity him.

2. That is Brother Sir *George Wentworth* had said to Sir *Robert Barrington*, upon the dissolution of the last Parliament, that seeing the *English* would not grant supply to the King, it seems they were weary of their Peace, and desired to be conquered a second time.

3. That he himself upon a discourse with the Primate of *Ireland*, had said, That he was much of the mind of those *English* Divines, who maintained it lawful for a King, having tried the affection and benevolence of his people, and then denied their help, upon an inevitable necessity, and to prevent danger of the Kingdom, that he might use his Prerogative for his own supply, and the defence of his Subjects.

4. To the Lord *Conwey* in a discourse he had said, that if the Parliament (meaning the last Parliament) should not grant a competent supply, then the King was acquitted before God and Man, and might use the Authority put into his hands.

5. He did say at the Council-Board, that if the Parliament should deny to help the King, he would take any other way he could for his Majesties service and assistance.

His expressions after the Parliament were two.

1. That the Parliament had forsaken the King, and denied to supply him, and that the King should not suffer himself to be over-mastered by the frowardness, obstinacy, and stubbornness of his people.

2. That if his Majesty pleased to imploy Forces, he had some in *Ireland*, that might serve to reduce this Kingdom.

The Proofs of the *Scots* Particulars were these,

1. The Earl of *Traquayr*, who told them, that when he gave in the demands of the *Scots*, he heard him say, That it was time for the King to put himself into a posture of War, but that 1. All the Council of *England* said the same as well as he. 2. That it was a double supposition, First, that the demands were truly given in: Secondly, that there was no other Remedy left but Arms to reduce them.

2. The Earl of *Mortons* testimony, being sick himself, was produced, and it was one and the same with the Article.

3. Sir *Henry Vane* was examined, who declared that he had heard the Earl advise the King to an offensive War, when his own Judgement was for a defensive.

4. The testimony of the Earl of *Northumberland* was produced, which was the very same with that of Sir *Henry Vane*.

5. The Lord Treasurer deposed the same with *Traquayr*. 1641.

6. One *Beane* from *Ireland* deposed, that he had known Ships seized on there, but by whose procurement or warrant he knew not.

To the Articles about *England*.

1. Sir *Robert King*, and the Lord *Ranelaugh*, deposed the same, that they had heard Sir *George Ratcliff* speak those words in the Article.

2. Sir *Robert Barrington* of Sir *George Wentworth*.

3. The Lord Primate of *Ireland*'s Testimony, who was sick, was the same with the Article.

4. The Lord *Conwey* deposed the same with the Article.

5. Sir *Henry Vane* deposed, he did hear those words said at the Council-Table, if the Parliament should deny to help the King, he would take any other way he could for his Majesties service and assistance.

For the two Expressions after the Parliament.

Sir *Thomas Jermayn*, the Lord *Newburgh*, the Earl of *Bristol*, and the Earl of *Holland* were examined to the first: but the testimony they gave did not reach to prove the words.

And to the second, Sir *Henry Vane* was examined, who declared that he said either those words, or the like.

At this some of the Lords spake.

1. The Lord *Savile*, who desired of Sir *Henry Vane* to know whether he said, their, or this, or that Kingdom, and withal said it was very hard to condemn a man for such *petit* circumstances.

2. The Earl of *Southampton* desired to know whether Sir *Henry Vane* would swear these words positively or not: Sir *Henry* said, positively either them, or the like; The Earl replied, that under favour, those, or the like, could not be positive.

3. The Earl of *Clare* desired to know, what could be meant by this Kingdom; for his part, he said, he thought it meant of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to which the word (*This*) might very well be relative, that Kingdom being only mentioned in the preceding discourse: and that he was the more ready to be of that opinion, because he could not see, by what Grammatical construction it could be gathered from his words, that he meant to reduce *England*, which neither then was, neither is now (God be thanked) out of the way of Obedience, nor upon Rebellious Courses.

The Prosecutors at last concluded the Charge, that the words were so monstrous that to aggravate them was to allay them, and therefore they would singly leave them to the Judgement of the Lords.

The Earls reply was;

That though the heaping up of these Articles had put him to a great confusion, yet he would endeavour to bring his Answer to the best method he could, and first he would reply to the Proof, then add something in general for himself, in what a hard taking and lamentable condition he was, to have his private Discourses, his intimate and bosom friends searcht and sifted to the least circumstance, that he might seem guilty of that, which by God's assistance he should never be. The Earls Reply to the twentieth, and five following Articles.

To

1641. *To the Lord* Traquayres *depositions, he thought their proofs did not much stick upon him; for upon the suppositions, First, that the demands were true: Secondly, that they were not justifiable: Thirdly, that no other course could prevail: He could not see what other advice he could possibly give the King, than to put himself into a posture of War, especially seeing that there was frequent Reports of the* Scots *Invading or entring into* England, *neither was he of any other mind, than all the rest of the Council-board.*

For that of Mortons, *he doth not positively remember the words, but if the demands were read, perhaps they would imply nothing less, and if so, how otherwise to be answered but by the Sword? All other means being first assayed, which is ever to be supposed.*

For Sir Henry Vane, *and* Northumberlands *testimony about perswading of an offensive War, He said, he remembred it very well, and thought it as free for him to give his Opinion for an offensive, as they for a defensive War: Opinions (said he) if they be attended with obstinacy or pertinacy, may make a Heretick, but that they make a Traytor, I never heard till now, nor (under favour) shall I be unwilling to acknowledge my weakness, and correct my Errours, whereof no man hath more, nor is more sensible of them, than my self; yet if that Opinion of mine had been followed, it might perhaps have spared us some money, and some reputation too, of which we have been prodigal enough.*

For the last about the Ships, it proves nothing, but what he would willingly confess, viz. *That some Ships were there detained, and that by himself, and his own direction, as Vice-Admiral of* Connaght, *but it was at the Command of the Lord Admiral the Earl of* Northumberland, *and produced his Letter to that purpose.*

To the *English* Proofs, he marvelled much (he said) *how Sir* George Ratcliffes *words could be put upon him; Sir* George (*though alledged to be his bosom friend*) *yet had thoughts of his own: No man (said he) can commit Treason by an Attorney, and should I by my friend Sir* George *as by a Proxy, it would be something strange.*

For his Brother, *He never knew him before so rash, but that was nothing to him, except they could prove a nearer Identity than nature had instituted, and that his Brothers words and his were all one: yet withal he conceived, that his Brothers words might be very well understood of the* Scots *Conquering* England, *but not at all of the* Irish; *and so he wished with all his heart he had not spoken something which is like Prophetie.*

To the Primates Testimony (*with all reverence to his integrity be it spoken*) *he is but one Witness, and in Law can prove nothing: add to this (said he) that it was a private discourse between him and me, and perhaps spoken by me* tentandi gratia, *and how far this should be laid to a man's charge, Let your Lordships judge.*

Yea, this seems to me against humanity it self, and will make the Society of Men so dangerous and loathing to us, that our dwelling Houses will be turned to Cells, and our Towns to Deserts: That which God and Nature have bestowed upon us, our Tongues (for the greater comfort of venting our own conceptions, or craving the advice of wise and learned Men) shall become to be snares and burdens to us, by a curious and needless fear; yet if my words be taken (said he) with all that went before and followed after, I see no danger in them. 1641.

To the Lord *Conwey, I may reply the same, with this addition, that it is a very natural motion for a Man to preserve himself, every Creature hath this Priviledge, and shall we deny it to Man, provided this be done in a lawful, though in an extraordinary way; this grain of Salt must be added to all my discourse.*

To that of Sir *Henry Vane, of offering my Service to the King, I thank him for the Testimony, and think he hath done me much Honour thereby; but if he or any body else do suspect that his Majesty will imploy me in any unlawful Enterprizes, I shall think them more liable to the Charge of Treason than my self.*

And then he went on saying;

To the first of the subsequent Testimonies, concerning that Expression, That the Parliament had forsaken the King, and denied to supply him *&c. (pretended in the Charge against me, to be said the same day of the dissolution of the Parliament, and urged as a consequence of Malice in me, for having first advised the dissolution, and then endeavoured to incense his Majesty against his people) though no testimony hath yet proved the words, nor is it I hope, believed that I was the principal cause of the dissolution of the Parliament, yet I shall crave leave to relate the matters that occurred previous thereunto.*

Before I came to the Council Table, it was Voted by the Lords to demand twelve Subsidies, and Sir Henry Vane *was ordered to demand no less; but coming in the interim, I perswaded the Lords to Vote it again, and resume the debate; whereupon it was agreed, That if the Parliament would not grant twelve Subsidies, Sir* Henry *should descend to eight, and rather than fail to six; but he not observing his instructions, demanded twelve only without abatements or going lower; so that the height of this demand, urged the Parliament to deny, and their denial moved his Majesty to dissolve the Parliament, whereof Sir* Henry Vane *as I humbly conceive, was the chief occasion.*

To that part of the Testimony proved by Sir *Henry Vane,* That if his Majesty pleased to employ Forces, he had some in *Ireland* which would serve to reduce the Kingdom: He said to this purpose;

This lies sore upon me, but to that which the Earl of Clare *hath said already, give me leave to add this, That the Testimony of one man is not a sufficient Witness, nor can a man be accused, much less condemned of Treason upon this: and for that read the Statutes of* H. 7. 12. *and of* Ed. 6. 5. *But to give you further satisfaction, I shall desire all the Lords of the Council which were then present, may be examined, whether they heard those words or not, there were but eight present, with the Arch-bishop, and Sir* Francis Windebank; Sir Henry

1641. Henry Vane *gives the Teſtimony, I deny it, four only remain.*

Upon the this Teſtimony of the Lords was taken.

1. The Earl of *Northumberland's* teſtimony was read, wherein was declared expreſly, that he had never heard thoſe words, nor any like them, but that he ſpake with great honour and regard of *England* to the King.

2. The Marqueſs *Hamilton* declared that he never heard ſuch words, but that he had often heard the Earl ſay, that the King was to uſe his Royal power *candide & caſte*, that it would never be well for this Kingdom till the Prerogative of the Crown and the Priviledge of the Subject went in one pace together, and that Parliaments were the happieſt means to keep a correſpondence betwixt the King and people.

The very ſame was delivered by the Lord Treaſurer and the Lord *Cottington*; *Now, my Lords, ſaid he, you may marvel how theſe words reſted only on the Ears of Sir* Henry Vane: *but my Lords, (ſaid he) that I may remove all ſcruples from you, I will make it evident, that there was not the leaſt intention that the* Iriſh *Army ſhould ſet a foot in* England, *and then I hope you will conceive that I had no meaning to reduce this Kingdom.*

This he made clear by the teſtimony of the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Oaths of Marqueſs *Hamilton*, Lord *Cottington*, Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, who only were private to that matter.

For other of my words, my Lords, (ſaid he) I deſire you would not take them by halves, if ſo, who ſhould be free from Treaſon? Certainly if ſuch a Preſident take footing, Weſtminſter-Hall *ſhall be more troubled with Treaſon than with Common-Law: Look therefore to the antecedents and conſequents of my ſpeeches, and you ſhall find the State of the Queſtion clearly altered: The Antecedents were upon an abſolute or inevitable neceſſity upon a preſent invaſion, when the remedy of Parliament cannot be expected; the conſequents to the Kingdom with accompts afterwards to the Parliament: The Qualification too in a lawful, convenient and ordinary way, ſo far as the preſent neceſſity can permit. Add but theſe, and which of you are not of my mind? Is the King endowed with no power from the Law? Is he not* Publicus inſpector regni? *ſtands it not him in hand to do ſomething on preſent neceſſities?*

And that theſe were his words, he then proved again, by the Marqueſs, the Lord Treaſurer, Lord *Cottington*, Sir *Tho. Jermine.*

My Lords, What I have kept to the laſt (ſaid he) is this, and I would intreat you ſeriouſly to think of it: If a man's table, his bed, his houſe, his brother, his friends, (and that too after they have given an Oath of ſecreſie) are to be rack'd to find out Treaſon againſt him; Let my misfortune, my Lords, be your advertiſement, your wiſe Anceſtors were glad to put bands and limits to this Union Treaſon, if you give it large ſcope of words to range into, he will at laſt pull you or yours all to pieces.

But my Lords, I never did think till now, that matter of opinion ſhould be objected as matter of Treaſon. 1641.

For firſt, Opinions are free, and men may argue both Pro *and* Con *in all faculties without any ſtain of reputation, otherwiſe all conſultations were vain.*

2. *I may be of another judgement, than I declare my ſelf to be of opinion, perhaps to gain better arguments for the maintenance of my own Grounds.*

3. *Many and my ſelf oftentimes have propounded an opinion, yet upon hearing better Judgements, have preſently changed it.*

4. *We uſe to ſtrain our opinions too high ſometimes that we may meet in a juſt moderation with thoſe whom we conceive in the other extremity to be too low.*

5. *It is expreſly commanded by that* Stat. Henr. 6. 9. *that though a man ſhould ſay the King is not lawful Heir to the Crown, and may be depoſed, yet he is not to be charged with Treaſon, but only with Felony, and I hope my Lords, thoſe words are of a more tranſcendent and ſuperlative nature than any alledged by me to be ſpoken; But, my Lords, ſaid he, Lay it to your hearts: it muſt come to you, you and yours, your Poſterity are they whom God and Nature, Birth and Education, have fitted to beautifie the Royal Throne, and to ſuſtain the weighty affairs of the Kingdom. If to give your Opinions in Political agitation ſhall be accounted Treaſon, who will be willing to ſerve the King, or what a* Dilemma *are you in? if being ſworn Counſellours you ſpeak not your minds freely, you are convict of Perjury, if you do, perhaps of Treaſon; what detriment, what incommodity ſhall fall to the King and Kingdom, if this be permitted? Which of you hereafter will adventure, yea dare adventure ſo much as to help by your advice, unleſs you be weary of your Lives, your Eſtates, your Poſterity, yea your very honour? Let me never live longer than to ſee this confuſion, nay I may ſay it, this inhumanity in* England; *for my part, my Lords, I here confeſs my ſelf, I ever have, and ever ſhall ſpeak my opinion freely in any thing that may concern the Honour and Safety of my Gracious King, or my Dear Country, though the Sword be two-edged, fearing him rather who killeth the Soul, than he whoſe power reacheth only to the body.*

Nor do I ſee how I am culpable of Treaſon, unleſs it be Treaſon for not being infallible, yet if it be ſo, my Lords, you have this rag of mortality before you loaden with many infirmities, though you pull this into ſhreds, yet there is no great loſs, there may be perhaps a great gain; If I have ſeemed to have dared too far to give teſtimony to the World of an innocent conſcience towards God, and a reſolute loyalty towards my Prince (which have ever been my only Pole-ſtars in the whole courſe of my life) and if by ſpilling of mine there be not a way found to trace out the Blood of the Nobility, (which I hope your Lordſhips will look to) there will be no diſadvantage at all ſuffered by the loſs of Me.

Tueſday was a day of Reſt.

Upon *Wedneſday* Mr. *Whitlock* charged thus: That

1641. That the precedent Articles were of so high a consequence, and of so transcendent a nature, that nothing wanted to make up the perfect measure of the most horrid Treason and monstrous attempt that ever by a Native was intended against his King and Countrey, but putting these designed projects into Execution, which had undoubtedly hapned to the subversion both of Church and State, had not the clemency and goodness of the Prince, and the piety and carefulness of the well affected Peers timely foreseen and prevented the same; that still the Principles of Tyranny and Oppression had lodged within his bosome, and therefore had burst forth into these expressions and advices contained in the following Articles, where first they charged him in the twenty fifth with three things.

1. That he had advised the King to rigorous and unlawful exaction of Ship-money.

2. That he had given Counsel, That if the Sheriffs should deny their best indeavours and assistance to that effect, they should be sent for and fined by the Star-chamber and Imprisonment.

3. That when the Aldermen of *London* had in all humility presented the causes why the Ship-money could not be collected amongst them, and had given in their reasons why they refused to give in a list of their names within their City, who were able to afford the Loan-money; He in a contemptuous and Tyrannical manner in the face of the Council-board had said to the King, Sir, these men because of their obstinacy and frowardness deserved very well to be fined, ransomed and laid by the heels: And it will never go well with your service untill some of them be hanged for example to others.

The proofs were these,

1. The Bishop of *London*, Lord Treasurer, who declared that he remembred the words very well, that the Earl had advised the King to cause the Ship-money to be gathered in, but he remembred withal that both himself and all the Council had done the like, and that it was upon a present necessity and defect of money for entertaining the Army, which (the condition of the Army considered) they all conceived way by any means to be kept on foot.

2. Alderman *Wiseman* declared, that upon an humble Remonstrance made to the Council-board, that the City would take it ill, if a Tax roll should be delivered of their Estates who were thought able for the loan-money; the Lord *Strafford* said, they deserved to be fined, ransomed, and laid by the heels; But for the words of hanging them up, he heard not at all.

3. The Earl of *Berkshire* declared, that the Lord *Strafford* had said, that upon the refusal of such a service enjoyned by the Kings peremptory command, it was his opinion they might be fined.

4. Alderman *Garway* attested the preceding words, and withal added, that the Earl to his best remembrance, had said, it were well for the Kings service if some of them were hanged up.

They closed up the charge, saying, That by such undutiful Expressions he had invaded the propriety of the Subject, and had put such discontent upon the City, that they were the less willing upon occasion to concur for advantage of the Kings Service. 1641.

The Earl replyed, *That though all the charge were, in the most strict and rigid way verified against him, yet he could not conceive by what interpretation of Law it could be reach'd home to High Treason*; And to that common objection (that the Treason was not individual, but accumulative) he replyed, *that, under favour, he thought that were as much as to say, No Treason at all, Because,* The Earl's reply to Mr. Nicholas's new charge in the 25th Article.

1. *That neither in Statute Law, Common Law nor practice, there was ever till this time heard of such a matter as accumulative Treason, or a Treason by way of consequence, but that it is a word newly coined to attend a charge newly invented, such a one as never was before.*

2. *That Treason was a thing of a simple and specificative nature, and therefore could not be so by accumulation, but either must be so in some or either of the Articles, or else could not be so at all.*

3. *That a heap or Accumulation should be, and not be of* Homo-geneous *things, and therefore that which in its first being is not Treasonable, can never confer to make up an accumulative Treason.* Cumulus, *an heap of grain, so called, because every or at least some of the individuals are grain, if otherwise, an heap it may be, but not an heap of grain: Just so perhaps these Articles may make up an heap of Felonies, Oppressions, Errours, Misdemeanors, and such like (and to the things themselves, I shall give an answer, when under that name they shall be charged against me) but they can no wayes confer to the making up of Treason, unless some, at the least, be Treason in the Individual.*

2. *That the Testimonies brought against him were all of them single, not two one way, and therefore could not make faith in matter of debt, much less in matter of life and death: That it was against the Statute expresly, to impeach a man of High Treason under the Evidence of two famous Witnesses, much less to adjudge and convince him upon attestation of one.*

3. *To the Lord Treasurers testimony, he did with all his heart condescend unto it: but upon these grounds only, that there was a present necessity of money, that all the Council-board had so voiced with him, yea before himself, and he alwayes thought it presumption in a man not to follow the wiser and more Judicious: And that then there was a sentence of the Star-Chamber for the right of paying Ship-money: for his part he would never be more prudent than his teachers, nor give judgement against the Judges: And therefore he thought it not far amiss to advise the King for collecting of that which by Law was his own, in such a present and urgent necessity, and although his opinion (and it was no more) had been amiss, he hoped, that though in case of Religion being attended with stubbornes and pertinacy, it might come home to Heresie, yet could it not reach so far as Treason; unless it be Treason*

1641. *for a man to ſpeak his judgement freely, when he is upon his Oath to do the ſame.*

4. *For the words about fining, he had already acknowledged them in his General anſwer to be true, but with theſe qualifications, that it was his opinion only, that it was upon the refuſal (as he conceived) of a juſt ſervice, that he had ſpoken them by no means to prejudice the Citizens, but to make them the more quick and active in the Kings Service: That no ill conſequence at all happened upon them: that they were words might have been ſpared indeed, but innocently though ſuddenly ſpoken, which he hoped might proceed rom a man of ſuch a haſty and incircumſpect humour as himſelf (made ſo both by nature and his much infirmity of body) without any mind at all to Treaſon: And that if all Cholerick Expreſſions of that nature ſhould be accounted Treaſonable, there would be more ſuits of that kind fly up and down* Weſtminſter-hall *than Common Law.*

5. *To theſe words atteſted by Alderman* Garway, *he poſitively denyed them, and hoped they ſhould never riſe up againſt him in Judgement, becauſe the teſtimony was ſingle and not poſitive, but only to his beſt remembrance, and that it was exceeding ſtrange, that not any one man neither of the Council or the other Aldermen were ſo quick to obſerve them, but only Alderman* Garway, *which he thought ſufficient to nulliſie that ſingle teſtimony, except he could demonſtrate himſelf to have ſome rare ſingular faculty of hearing. In the cloſe, he deſired the Lords from his misfortunes to provide for their own Safety, and ſeriouſly to conſider what a way was chalked out to ruine them, both in their lives and their eſtates, if for every opinion given in Council, or words ſuddenly or haſtily ſpoken, they (who are born to wield the great affairs of the Kingdom) ſhould be arraigned and ſentenced as Traytors.*

Then they went to the 26th Article, and charged thus.

That the Lord *Strafford* having by his wicked advices exhauſted the Kings Treaſury, did alſo counſel him,

1. To embaſe the coin by allay of copper money.

2. To ſeize upon all the Bullion in the Mint.

3. That in diſcourſe with ſome of the Aldermen, about the buſineſs, he had ſaid, the City was more ready to countenance and relieve the Rebels than the King: And that the King of *France* did manage ſuch buſineſſes not by Treaties or Requeſt, but by ſending forth his Commiſſaries to take account of mens Eſtates, accompanied with Troops of Horſe.

The proofs were,

Firſt, Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, who declared that in his diſcourſe with the Lord *Strafford*, having remonſtrated unto him, that Merchants goods were ſeized on beyond Seas becauſe of the money taken out of the Mint, he told him, that if the Londoners ſuffered it, it was deſervedly, becauſe they had refuſed the King a ſmall Loan of Money upon Security, and that he thought them more ready to help the Rebels than the King.

Secondly, Mr. *Palmer* declared, that he ſpake ſomething about the King of *France*, but whether with relation to *England* or no, he did not remember. 1641.

Thirdly, Sir *William Parkiſe* atteſted in the ſame words, and withal, that the Lord *Cottington* was then preſent, and could declare the whole buſineſs.

Fourthly, Sir *Ralph Freeman* declared, that in a diſcourſe with the Lord *Strafford*, he had ſaid, that the Servants in the Mint-houſe would refuſe to work in Copper-money: And he replyed, *That then it were well to ſend thoſe Servants to the Houſe of Correction.*

They cloſed the Charge, That by ſuch undutiful Counſel and words he had given more than ſufficient proof of his deſign and purpoſe to ſubdue this Kingdom and ſubvert the fundamental Laws and Priviledges of the ſame.

The Earl Replyed,

The Earls anſwer to the 26th. Article.

That he expected ſome proofs to evidence the two firſt particulars, but heard of none: for the following words he confeſſed, probably they might proceed from the door of his lips: nor did he think it much amiſs, conſidering the preſent poſture, to call that faction Rebels: As for the laſt words objected againſt him in that Article, he ſaid, that being in conference with ſome of the Londoners, *there came to his hands at that inſtant a Letter from the Earl of* Leiceſter, *then at* Paris, *wherein were the Gazets incloſed, relating that the Cardinal had given order to levy Mony by Souldiers: This he only told the Lord* Cottington *ſtanding by, but made not the leaſt application thereof to the* Engliſh *affairs: he ſaid moreover, there was no great likelihood that he had committed real acts of Treaſon, when his adverſe party was content to trifle away ſo much time about words, neither was there any Treaſon in them, though they had been fully verified, and therefore in that (as in all other Articles) he reſerved a power for his Counſel to diſpute in matter of Law.*

They then went to the 27th Article, and charged thus, That immediately after his appointment to be Lieutenant General to the Army here in *England*, he ſhewed what principles of Arbitrary Government lurked within his boſome, for by his own immediate authority, without and againſt Law, he had laid Impoſts upon many of the Kings Subjects; whereof they mentioned three particulars:

1. That he impoſed 8 *d. per diem* for a Souldier upon the County of *York*, for entertaining the Trained bands there one whole moneth.

2. That he ſent out Warrants for collecting the ſame, and threatned to impriſon ſuch as refuſed to pay.

3. That he ſaid it was a crime nigh to the crime of High Treaſon not to pay the ſame.

4. They added in his general replies, he had brought two things for his defence: 1. That the money was freely and voluntarily offered by thoſe in *Yorkſhire*. 2. That the great Council of the Peers had notice of the ſame: but to both they had the following anſwers to make, *viz.*

To the firſt, That a Petition was indeed preferred by the *Yorkſhire*-men to the King, and a moneths pay offered, but that the Lord *Strafford* had refuſed to preſent the ſame upon this exception only, becauſe in the ſame they had petitioned for a Parliament, whereby he evidently declared

1641. red what little inclination he had to that way.

To the second, they appealed to all the Lords whether any such order did pass before the Council of the Peers at *York*.

The Proofs were:

1. A Warrant issued by Colonel *Pennyman*, for this money, and another by Sir *Edward Osbourn*.

2. Mr. *John Burrows*, who declared that he was Clerk to the great Council, but did remember of no order, and withal added, that it might have passed at that time when he was at *Rippon*.

3. Mr. *Dunstan*, who declared, that he had known that money to be levied by some Musketiers.

4. By Sir *William Ingram*, who declared that he heard the Earl say, that to refuse the same came nigh to the crime of High-Treason.

They concluded the Charge, that by these particulars, it was more than evident what unhappy purposes and trayterous designs he had to subdue this Kingdom, and subvert the fundamental Laws and Priviledges.

The Earl replied:

The Earls answer to the 11th. Article.

1. To the Petition, *That it was true, a Petition was drawn up by the* York-shire *Gentlemen, and as true, that he had refused to present the same, because of that Clause about the Parliament: but the matter was thus: At his Majesties coming to* York, *it was thought necessary for the defence of that County to keep the Trained Bands on foot, because the Enemy was upon the Borders; and therefore the King directed him to write to all the Free-holders in* York-shire *to see what they would do for their own defence. The time and place were designed by the King, but the night before the meeting a small number convented, and in a private and factious way did draw up that Petition, upon the morrow at their appointed Diet, in presence of the whole number, the Petition was presented to him, where he did advise them to leave out that Clause, and that because he knew the King out of his own gracious disposition had intended to call a Parliament, which he desired should rather be freely done, than upon the constraint and importunity of Petitions: Moreover, it would seem a mercenary thing in them at one and the same time to offer a benevolence, and withal to Petition for his favour. Upon this Remonstrance they were all willing to recall the Petition, and directed him by word of mouth to offer unto the King the moneths pay in their names, which he did accordingly, in the presence of them, to their no small advantage.*

This he proved by Sir *William Pennyman*, Sir *Paul Neal*, Sir *George Wentworth*, Sir *William Savil*, Sir *Thomas Danby*, who all of them declared as much in ample terms, and withal added, *That nothing was done upon better grounds of necessity and obedience, than the offer of that money, and that they never had heard any man grudge against it to this time.*

For the second about the Council of Peers, he alledged, That he never made mention of any Order of theirs; but he remembred very well it was twice propounded before them, that the King had approved it at that time as a just and necessary act, and none of the Council contradicted it, which he conceived as a tacite approbation and an Order in equivalence. 1641.

But though that had not been, there was nothing done in the business but at the special desires of the Gentlemen themselves, and for their necessary defence and protection: And though he had done it by himself alone, yet he conceived he had so much power by his Commission, causing the Commission to that effect to be read: That albeit he should mistake his Commission and do some inferiour act beyond it (because military proceedings are not alwayes warranted by the Common Law) yet it should not be imputed as an Act of Treason to him. And to this effect read a Statute of *7 Hen. 2.*

To the proof:

1. *Colonel* Pennymans *Warrant, or Sir* Robert Osbornes *nothing concerned him, and he doubted not but those worthy Gentlemen could justifie their own acts, and that he had enough to do to answer his own misdemeanors.*

2. *Sir* John Burrows, *he was at* Rippon, *when that Proposition was made.*

3. *That as not the Warrant so neither the Execution troubled him at all.*

4. *For Sir* William Ingram, *he was but a single testimony, and that such an one as he could produce an evidence to testifie, he had mistaken himself in his testimony upon Oath, if it were not to disadvantage the Gentleman.*

He concluded, that he had done nothing in that business, but upon the Petition of that County, the Kings especial command, the connivence at least of the Great Council, and upon a present necessity for the defence and safety of the County.

And so much for *Wednesday*.

Upon *Thursday*, the Committee for the Charge declared, That they had done with all the Articles, and were content to wave the last for reasons best known to themselves; only Sir *Walter Earl* added, That he had some Observations to bring forth upon the *22th.* Article, which he conceived might do much to prove the Lord *Straffords* design for landing the *Irish* forces in *England*.

And they were:

1. That in his Commission he had power to land them in *Wales*, or in any part of *England* or *Scotland*; which were altogether superfluous, unless there had been some purpose for the same.

2. That within two days before the date of the Commission, Letters were sent to the Lords *Bridgewater*, and *Pembrook*, from Sir *Francis Windebank*, to assist the Earl of *Worcester*, in levying Forces for the Kings service, and these might be supposed to have intended a joyning with the *Irish*.

3. That the Lord *Ranelaugh* at the raising of the *Irish* Army did fear such a design as this.

4. That the Town of *Ayre* in *Scotland*, where the Lord *Strafford* pretended he would land those Forces, was fortified with a Bulwark, a Garrison, and Block-house, which would prohibit landing there: that the Earl of *Argyles* bounds were divided thence by the Sea, and that the Barr or entry into the Town was very dangerous and shallow.

The proofs were only the reading of the Commission granted to the Lord *Strafford*.

1641.

The Earls reply to Sir Walter Earle's observations on the 22th. Article.

The Earls Reply.

1. *That his Commission was the same* Verbatim *with* Northumberlands *for* England, *and that it was drawn up by the Council-board here, and sent over unto him: so no more design in him than in the Gentlemen of the* English *Army, nor no larger than that was put upon him.*

2. *That this was the first time that he heard of any such Letters, neither did they concern him more than any of the house.*

3. *That he was not bound to purge the Lord* Ranelaugh *from all his fears; and that he had his own fears too, which God forbid should be evidence of Treason against any man whatsoever.*

4. *That it seemed the Gentlemen had better information from that Kingdom than himself, yet he would be confident to say, at* Ayre *there was never such a thing as Block-house or Garrison: But to remove all scruples (for indeed the Road or Landing-place is not there safe) he declared, that it was his intention to have landed some miles above* Ayre, *and made only his Magazine at that Town.*

To the Earl of Argyles *bounds, he hoped the Gentleman knew they came not on foot out of* Ireland, *but had Ships to waft and transport themselves, and that one of his prime Houses (*Rosneth*) was within some few miles of the same.*

The Lord *Digby* finding Sir *Walter Earl* a little puzzell'd, endeavoured to bring him off, and told the Lords in such a business as the plotting of Treason they must be content sometimes with dark probabilities.

The Earl having thus answered the Charge against him, it was moved by one of the Prosecutors, that if he have any thing to say further in his defence, he should do it presently; but he desired time till the next morning, which was (not without difficulty) granted.

The next morning the Lords met, but the Lieutenant of the Tower appeared without his Prisoner, certifying that the Earl was taken with a great fit of the stone that night, and continued so ill as he could not go abroad without danger of his life. The Commons thought this an excuse to gain time, but the Lords believed the relation: Mr. *Glyn* moved, that if he did not appear upon *Saturday* morning, he should lose the Priviledge to speak in his own defence afterwards, and they permitted to proceed: But the Lord Steward said, That the Lords had appointed some of their number to go to the Tower, and learn the just cause of his stay, and if by any means he were able, he should be obliged to come; but if not, humanity and common equity would excuse him. These Lords that went to the Tower found the Earl much eased of his pain by the application of some remedies, which the Physitians had administred unto him: so that the next day he appeared before them, and one of the Prosecutors proffered new proofs concerning the two and twentieth Article, upon which the Earl craved the freedom for himself concerning some testimonies not yet exhibited on his behalf, whence ensued a hot contest betwixt the two Houses, which took up two days debate, but at last the reasons of the Lords prevailed, who declared, 1641. that in the common dispensation of equity, the accused should have equal allowance to superinduct new proofs as well as the Accusers, and it was agreed that all further testimony should be waved on both sides.

Upon *Tuesday* the Earl appeared, and the Lord Steward told him, that the Lords had ordered, that both their testimonies should be waved, and if he had any thing to say further in his own defence, he should proceed, so that that day might put an end to what concerned the matter of fact. The Earl replyed; That in all humility and obedience he would submit himself to that or any other their Decrees whatsoever, though it should reach as far home unto him as his own life; but withal humbly begged, That if hereafter he should be troubled (for they were to speak last) with new matter, or with supplemental proof, he might have leave to speak something in his defence.

The Lord Steward answered, it is all the reason in the world:

Whereupon the Earl made a summary repetition of the several particulars of the former defence, which ended, he continued his Speech thus;

My Lords,

The Earl of Strafford's Speech.

There remains another kind of Treason, that I should be guilty of, for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land; That this should be Treason together, that is not Treason in one part; a Treason accumulative, that when it will not do it alone, being weaved up with others, it should do it, seems very strange. Under favour, my Lords, I conceive there is neither Statute nor Common Law which doth declare this endeavoring to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land to be High Treason, for I have been diligent in the inquiry, as you know it deeply concerns me, and could never discover it: It is hard to be questioned for life and honour upon a Law that cannot be shewn; for it is a rule in Sir Edward Coke: De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem est ratio. *Jesu! Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundred of years without smoke to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children? That punishment should precede promulgation of a Law; To be punished by a Law subsequent to the fact is extreme hard: What can be safe, if this be admitted? My Lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set, by which we should know this offence; no admonition by which we should avoid it: If a man pass the* Thames *in a Boat, and split himself upon an Anchor, and no Buoy be floating to discover it, he who oweth the Anchor shall make satisfaction; but if a Buoy be set there, every man passeth upon his own peril: Now where is this mark, where the token upon this Crime to declare it to be High Treason? My Lords be pleased to give that regard to the Peerage of* England, *as never to expose your selves to such moot-points, such constructive interpretations of Law. If there must be a trial of Wits, let the subject-matter be of somewhat*

1641. *what else than the lives and honours of Peers. It will be wisdom for your selves, for your Posterity, and for the whole Kingdom to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious Volumes of constructive and arbitrary Treason, as the Primitive Christians did their books of curious Arts, and betake your selves to the plain letter of the Law and Statute, that telleth us what is, and what is not Treason, without being more ambitious to be more learned in the Art of killing than our Fore-fathers: It is now full 240 years since any man was touched for this alledged Crime to the height before my self; Let us not awaken these sleeping Lions to our destructions, by raking up a few musty Records that have lain by the Walls so many ages, forgotten or neglected. May your Lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes; for my sins be-slave me, not for Treason; let not a President be desired from me, so disadvantageous as this will be in the consequence to the whole Kingdom; Do not through me wound the interest of the Common-wealth: And howsoever these Gentlemen say, they speak for the Common-wealth, yet in this particular I indeed speak for it, and shew the inconveniences and mischiefs which will fall upon it; for as it is said in the Statute of the First of* Hen. 4. *No man will know what to do or say for fear of such penalties: Do not, my Lords, put such difficulties upon Ministers of State, that men of Wisdom, of Honour, of Fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be imployed for the publick; if you weigh and measure them by grains and scruples, the publick affairs of the Kingdom will lye waste; no man will meddle with them who hath anything to lose. My Lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not an interest of those dear pledges a Saint in Heaven hath left me. [At this he stop'd a while, offering up some tears to her ashes] What I forfeit my self is nothing, but that my destruction should extend to my Posterity, it woundeth me to the very soul: you will pardon my infirmity, something I should have added, but am not able, therefore let it pass: And now, my Lords, for my self, I have been by the blessing of Almighty God taught, that the afflictions of this present life, are not to be compared to the Eternal weight of Glory which shall be revealed hereafter: And so, my Lords, even so, with all tranquility of mind, I freely submit my self to your Judgement: and whether that Judgement be of life or death,*

——*TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.*

As soon as the Earl had ended, Mr. *Glyn* and Mr. *Pym* spent some time in repetition of the Charge, wherein they proceeded Article by Article, endeavouring by Rhetorical declamations to render his offences as odious as they could.

The Earl allowed to plead by his Counsel.

Matters of fact being thus transacted, the Earl moved that he might be allowed to plead by his Counsel as to matter of Law: to which the Lords agreed, but the Commons would not till after three days Conference assent thereunto; and on *Wednesday* when they met in their house, they considered and debated much in what manner to proceed further against the Earl of *Strafford*. 1641.

By the modesty of his behaviour he had much insinuated into the good opinion of the Lords, and many of the Commons, and by the clearness of his answers to the several parts of his charge, his Crimes appeared not to be specifically comprehended under the Letter of any Statute Declaratory of Treason: but the Prosecutors perceiving hereby that the Judgement of the Lords upon the whole matter might not answer their Expectation, urged, that though he were not guilty of Treason, or any of those offences enumerated in the Statute of 25 *Ed.* 3. yet so great were his Crimes, that according to a branch of that Statute, they ought to be declared Treason. For it is therein mentioned, that if any other case supposed to be Treason, which is not in that Statute specified, should happen, *no judgement should be given till the cause be shewed, and declared before the King and his Parliament, whether it ought to be judged Treason, or other Felony.* This branch (they said) gave the Parliament power to declare Treason, and in the enumeration of his offences, they argued, That his intentions to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, was Treason at Common Law before the making of the fore-named Statute: and such Treasons were not thereby taken away, but by the words before recited, might be declared as often as occasion should require; but because many doubts arose concerning such Treasons, the wisdom of those times thought it not fit to submit the Judgement there of to any less authority than the Parliament: These Debates produced a resolution in the house to declare him guilty of Treason: but because they had no President since the first of *Hen. the 4th.* of any fact declared Treason in Parliament, that was not expressed in the letter of some Statute, they doubted a little of the way of Declaring Treason, but at last concluded to do it by bill of Attainder.

The Commons pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*.

This was much oppos'd by *Selden*, *Bridgeman*, and *Holburne*, three Eminent Lawyers, at that time Members of the Commons House, who made it manifest, that the *Salvo* of the Statute of the 15*th. Edw.* 3. was repeal'd, and that no man could be convict of Treason but by the letter of that Statute; nevertheless, being put to a question, the Majority of Voices carried it for a Bill, and a Committee was appointed to prepare it.

The Arguments by those and others then us'd against it, shall not be here inserted, because most of them were alledged by the Counsel for the Earl, and when those come to be mentioned, they will be related. There had been three Conferences betwixt the two Houses of these matters.

The Lords resolve to hear the Earls Counsel in matter of Law.

The Lords at the first, of the two last of the three Conferences (for the first was not a free Conference) told the Commons that they had resolv'd to give full audience to the Earl of *Strafford's* Counsel in matter of Law, and that they as competent Judges would by themselves give Judgement in the cause, as that which was most suitable to the Practice, Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, the safety of the Nobility, and to Common Justice; to which those of the Commons reply'd, that their House was resolv'd to go on with the

1641. the Bill of Attainder, and if the same should be rejected by the Lords, they fear'd a rupture and division might ensue to the ruine and desolation of the Kingdom, for no content would be given to the Subject, unless the man who had so much intruded upon their right, might be punish'd as a Traytor: and for the practice and Laws of the Kingdom, they said no man had ever found such a favourable hearing; and that the Process against the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Essex*, were all of them closed on one day.

On the next day they met at another Conference, where the Lords told those of the Commons that they should expect nothing from their house, but what should tend to the Peace and Preservation of the Kingdom, nor was there a more forceable argument for that, than to preserve the Laws and Customes thereof, lest innovation so much complained of by them, might unhappily be found among themselves, that the Subjects should have all that Justice could afford, but that an act of Injustice would never give satisfaction to the world nor safety to themselves, the eyes of all forein States being fixed upon the business in agitation, and the wisdom of our Nation either to be much advanced or depressed by their Judgements in this case; That the Process against *Norfolk*, and *Essex*, (for *Somerset* was convict only of Felony, and had not so much animadversion to save himself by his Book) were for direct and formal Treason comprised in one or two individual Acts, but this against the Lord *Strafford* only Arbitrary and accumulative, to be pick'd out of the Articles. And therefore that it was impossible to have a full examination of them all, to give sentence against him; And those Noble-men were charg'd with some breach of Statutes formerly made, but here a new Statute was to be made, or else he to be found guiltless: They concluded, that they had given Order for his appearance on Saturday, and that in the great Hall at *Westminster*, where the House of Commons might, if they pleased, be present.

The Commons Conferrers refuse to be there.

After some deliberation with their House, the Commoners Conferrers answered, that since the Lords had so resolved, they should deny to be there, and to hear what his Counsel could say for him, for to reply any more in publick, they neither could nor would, because of the Bill already read, only if their Lordships should take any scruple in the matter of Law, they would be ready to give them satisfaction in a private Conference, and to give publick satisfaction also therein.

The next day the Lords and Commons convened in the great Hall, but they that were of the Committee for the prosecution did not stand at the Barr as before, but sate promiscuously with the rest of their fellows; so that a mouth was not opened for the House of Commons all that day: After they were set, the Lord Steward told the Earl, *That the Lords had resolved to give him a fair hearing in the matter of Law, and therefore desired that the Counsel in urging thereof might keep that distance, moderation, and respect to the Judicatory, that was fitting, and not at all to meddle with the matter of fact.*

The Earl replyed, *That in all humility he acknowledged that favour from the Lords, and that it was such an one too, as he could not but expect from such honourable Peers, and just persons, in whose integrity and goodness (under that which he had placed above) he had reposed his chiefest confidence: for his Counsel they knew much better than himself, what concerned the point of discretion and Reverence, and that he doubted not but that they won'd give all satisfaction and obedience therein.* 1641.

Then his Counsel were called to the Barr, which were Mr. *Lane* the Princes Attorney, Mr. *Gardiner* the Recorder of *London*, and two others. The Earls Counsel called to the Barr.

Mr. *Lane* spake first to this purpose. Mr. Lanes Speech to the Lords in his behalf.

My Lords, I shall not at all touch the matter of Law farther than to clear your judgments in one Statute only, viz. 25 Edw. 3. *because when the same was alledged by the Lord* Strafford, *in his own defence, that not being convict of the Letter thereof, he could not be convict of Treason: I remember the Salvo of the Statute was much insisted upon by those from the House of Commons, as much conducing to their ends. My Lords, I will first speak of the Statute it self, and then of its* Salvo *or provision: The Statute is*, That if any man shall intend the death of the King, his Queen, their Children; Kill the Chancellor, or Judge upon the Bench, imbase the Kings Coyn, or counterfeit the Broad Seal, &c. he shall be convict and punished as a Traytor. *That the Lord* Strafford *comes not within the Letter of this Statute, is not so much as once alledged, nor indeed it cannot be with any reason; all that can be said is, that by relation or by argument, à minore ad majus, he may be drawn into it, yet that this cannot be, I humbly offer these considerations.*

First, This is a declarative Law, and such are not to be taken by way of consequence, equity or construction, but by the Letter only, otherwise they should imply a contradiction to themselves, and be no more declarative Laws, but Laws of construction or constitutive.

2. *This is a penal Law, and such (if our grounds hitherto unquestioned hold good) can admit of no constructions or inferences, for penalties are to perswade the keeping of known Laws, not of Laws conjectural, ambiguous, and by consequence, which perhaps the most learned may not in their disputes question, much less the Subject (who is not obliged to interpret the Statute) doubt of in the point of obedience, yea, rather without any doubt, he is rather to obey the Letter of the Statute, and conceive (and that truly) that he is not liable to the penalty.*

3. *We have a notable Law*, 13 Eliz. cap. 2. *whereby it is declared, that the bringing in of Bulls from* Rome, *to stir up the Subject to mutiny and Rebellion, shall be punished as Treason: Now if by interpretation or by consequence this sence might have been thrust upon the preceeding Statutes, the making of this had been superfluous; yea, the persons then charged with that Crime, might have been impeached of Treason, even before the making of this Act.*

Anno 21 Edw. 3. *We have a Statute, declaring*

1641. claring, that for a Servant to kill his Master is an Act of Treason; and in the 23 year of the same King, a Process of Treason was framed against a man for killing his Father, grounded upon the same argument a minori ad majus: But it was found (and the sentence is yet in the Records that although in the 21 year of Edw. 3. that Argument might have been admitted, yet in the 27 it could not, by reason of the declarative Law, intervening in the 25 year; and this Case comes very home to the point in Law.

My Lords, I will not demand what kind of offence it may be for a man to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, the Crime doubtless is unnatural and monstrous, and the punishment must keep the same proportion, only I presume to offer these few things to your Lordships consideration:

1. That one or more Acts of Injustice whether maliciously or ignorantly done, can in no sense of Law be called the subversion of the Fundamental Laws; if so, as many Judges (perhaps) so many Traytors; it is very incident to mans nature to err, nor doth the Lord Strafford plead his innocency in oversights, but in Treason.

2. I do remember the Case of John de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, this man in the 28 of Hen. 6. was charged by the House of Commons with Articles of Treason, and those too very like to these against my Lord Strafford.

1. That he had given the King bad advices.
2. That he had embased his Coin.
3. That he had fessed men of War.
4. That he had given out summary Decrees.
5. That he had imposed Taxes.
6. That he had corrupted the Fountains of Justice.
7. That he had perswaded the King to unnecessary War, and the giving over of Anjou in France.

And for all these, though he was charged with High Treason for wronging the right of the Subject, and subverting the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, yet after a long agitation, the matter was found by the Lords of Parliament not to imply Treason, but only Felony. Add to this another, who in the 23 of Hen. 8. was charged for subverting the English Laws, and yet no Treason charg'd upon him. Add to both, the charge of Richard Larks pleaded at the Common Pleas, who was charged with Treason for subverting the Law, but convicted only of Felony by which you may see, my Lords, what to this time hath been subverting the Laws.

3. It is very considerable, that the Lord Strafford is not charged to have subverted, but only to have intended to subvert the fundamental Laws, and this I conceive, if there were no more, might keep him free from that Statute of the 25 of Edw. 3. For although as touching the King, his Queen and Children, intention is treasonable: yet in all other things there mentioned, there must be action beside intention; for it is not said, if a man do intend to kill a Chancellour, it shall be Treason, but if he doth kill him; and if he doth actually counterfeit the Broad Seal: and although a man should prepare a furnace, make ready his stamp melt his Bullion, yet if he gives not the Kings impression upon the Coin, all his intentions, yea, his preparations will not serve to make up a Treason. 1641.

To see therefore, my Lords, that the body of the Statute cannot stick against the Lord Strafford, neither in Letter nor consequence, this is not, that must not be; all that can be said is, that the fact may be Treason by the Common Law. For my part I profess my ignorance, who ever thought the Common Law might declare, but never make a Treason; it might be presupposed that there is a Statute whereupon to build a declaration, and therefore to say there is no Statute for it, it is to say, it is no Treason at all; the Statute ever makes the Treason: and to be declared Treason either by Common Law, or by Parliament, are but two different wayes of proceedings, and must both resolve into one Principle, nay, and which comes home to the point, In the 21 of Edw. 3. To kill a man imployed in the Kings War was Treason, and the 23. to kill the Kings Messenger was Treason by declaration of the Common Law, but always by reason of the Statute, yet none of these are Treasons, but Felonies only, because of the intervening Statute of the 25 of Edw. 3. such hath ever been thought the force of its Letter and Declaration: and so I will leave it and a word or two of the Salvo, which is this, that because all particulars could not be enumerated, therefore what the Parliament should declare to be Treasonable in time to come, should be punished as a Treason.

And according to this reservative, in the 8th year of King Richard 2. one charged before the Kings Bench, was afterward referred to the Parliament, and there though the fact was not contained in the body of the Statute, yet because of the Proviso aforementioned, it was adjudged Treason.

In the 11 year of the same King, the Duke of Ireland, and Nevil Archbishop of York were impeached of High Treason by Glocester, Arundel, and Warwick, and notwithstanding the Statute were convicted thereof by the Salvo; but in 21 of the same Rich. 2. the tide turned, and the King had such a hand with the Parliament, that the Sentence was recalled, and those three Noblemen themselves were adjudged Traytors. Again, in 1 Hen. 4. his Successor, that Revocation of the 21 Rich. 2. was repealed, and the Sentence of the 11th of his Reign established; such were the tossings to and fro of Treason, and all because of that uncertain Proviso.

Therefore it was that in the same Parliament 1 Hen. 4. A Petition was preferred by the Nobility, to have Treason limited within some Statute.

Because they knew not what to speak or what to do for fear thereof: And in Cap. 10. an Act was made upon this Petition, that the Salvo should be holden repealed in all times to come, and nothing esteemed Treason but what was literally contained in 25 Edw. 3. and therefore it is said in the Records, That there was great joy at the making of this Act, in that the drawn sword hanging over every mans head by this slender thred of a consequence or illation, was removed by this

Act.

1641. Act. *Add to this, that in the* 1 *of Qu.* Mary. Cap. 1. *the same is repeated,* That no man shall be punished in life or estate as a Traytor, but for the Crime contained in the Statute of the 25 *Edw.* 3. without the least mention of the pretended *Salvo.*

The Earl of Northumberlands *Case comes right to the point, he was charged with Treason, the* 5 *of* Hen. 4. *and if the Statute of the* 1 *of* H. 4. Chap. 10. *whereby this* Proviso *is repealed, had not interven'd, no doubt he had been condemned of Treason, but he was only convict of Felony, and that because he could not be drawn within the Letter of the Statute of the* 25 *of* Edward 3. *And I dare confidently say it, that since that Act was made the* 1 *of* Henry 4. Chap. 10. *whereby the* Proviso *is repealed, no man hath ever been declared a Traytor either by King or Parliament, except it were upon that, or some other Statute literally and declaratively taken. These two things I do offer to your Lordships considerations: That the Lord* Strafford *cannot be impeached of Treason by the Statute of the* 25 Edw. 3. *and that the* Salvo *contained in the same, stands repealed almost two hundred years ago. And this is all I conceive to be necessary for that Statute which was alledged by the Lord* Strafford *in his defence for matter of Law.*

The Recorder said, he could add nothing to what the former Counsel had spoken for matter of Law; *but if their Lordships would state unto him any further questions, he was ready to give his resolution according to his best ability.*

No answer was made to this motion, but the Lords and Commons adjourned to their respective Houses, without appointing any time for the next meeting.

The Commons were resolv'd to proceed upon the Bill of Attainder, which was so extraordinary a thing, that it did not pass without great debate. The Lord *Digby* then a Member of the Commons House, and one of the most active Prosecutors of him, was so satisfied with his Answers at his Tryal, that he could not but shew a dislike to the passage of it, upon every occasion that occurr'd in the reading or debating thereof, which made *Pym* and some others that were resolv'd on the business, to do what they could to blast his credit in the House, but yet when the last reading of the Bill was in the Commons House, he gave so generous a testimony against it, That it may not be unfit to record what he then said, in this History:

The Lord *Digby's* Speech against the Bill of Attainder.

Mr. Speaker,

We are now upon the point of giving (as much as in us lies) the final Sentence unto death or life, on a great Minister of State, and Peer of this Kingdom, Thomas *Earl of* Strafford, *a name of hatred in the present age by his practices, and fit to be made a terrour to future ages by his punishment.*

I have had the honour to be imployed by the House in this great business, from the first hour that it was taken into consideration: it was a matter of great trust, (and I will say it with confidence) that I have not only served the House in it with industry, according to my ability, but with most exact faithfulness and secrecy.

And as I have hitherto discharged my duty to this House, and to my Countrey in the progress of this great cause, so I trust I shall do now in the last period of it to God, and to a good Conscience. 1641.

I do wish the peace of that unto my self, and the blessings of Almighty God to me and my Posterity, according as my judgement on the life of this man shall be consonant with my heart, and the best of my understanding in all integrity.

I know well, Master Speaker, that by some things I have said of late, whilest this Bill was in agitation, I have raised some prejudices upon me in this cause.

Yea some (I thank them for their plain-dealing) have been so free as to tell me, that I suffered much by the backwardness I have shewn in this Bill of Attainder of the Earl of Strafford, *against whom I have been formerly so keen, so active.*

Mr. Speaker, I desire of you and the rest of this House a suspension of Judgement concerning me, till I have opened my heart unto you freely and clearly in this business.

Truly Sir, I am still the same in my opinions and affections as unto the Earl of Strafford, *I confidently believe him the most dangerous Minister, the most insupportable to free Subjects, that can be charactered.*

I believe his practises in themselves as high, as tyrannical as any Subject ever ventur'd on, and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the use, but the Devil the application. In a word, I believe him still that grand Apostate to the Common-wealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world, till he be dispatch'd to the other. And yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that dispatch, I protest as my Conscience stands informed, I had rather it were off.

Let me unfold unto you the Mysterie, Mr. Speaker.

I will not dwell much upon justifying unto you my seeming variance at this time from what I was formerly, by putting you in mind of the difference between Prosecutors and Judges.

How mis-becoming that fervour would be in a Judge, which perhaps was commendable in a Prosecutor. Judges we are now, and must put on another personage.

It is honest and noble to be earnest in order to the discovery of truth, but when that hath been brought as far as it can to light, our judgement thereupon ought to be calm and cautious.

In prosecution upon probable grounds, we are accountable only for our industry or remissness, but in Judgement we are deeply responsible to God Almighty, for its rectitude or obliquity. In cases of life, the Judge is God's Steward of the parties blood, and must give a strict account for every drop.

But as I told you, Mr. Speaker, I will not insist long upon this ground of difference in me now, from what I was formerly.

The truth on't is, Sir, the same ground whereupon I wish the rest of the five to whom you first

1641. first committed the consideration of my Lord of Strafford) brought down our opinion that it was fit he should be accused of Treason, upon the same ground I was engaged with earnestness in his prosecution; and had the same ground remained in that force of belief with me, which till very lately it did, I should not have been tender in his condemnation. But truly Sir, to deal plainly with you, that ground of our accusation, that spur to our prosecution, and that which should be in the basis of my judgement of the Earl of Strafford as unto Treason, is to my understanding quite vanisht away.

This it was Mr. Speaker:

His advising the King to employ the Army of Ireland to reduce England.

This I was assured would be proved, before I gave my consent to his Accusation. I was confirmed in the same belief during the prosecution, and fortified in it most of all since Sir Henry Vanes preparatory examinations, by the assurances which that worthy Member Master Pym gave me, that his Testimony would be made convincing, by some Notes of what passed at the Junto concurrent with it, which I ever understanding to be of some other Counsellour, you see now prove but a Copy of the same Secretaries Notes, discover'd and produced in the manner you have heard, and those, disjointed fragments of the venemous part of discourses, no results; no Conclusions of Counsels, which are the only things that Secretaries should register; there being no use at all of the other, but to accuse and to bring men into danger.

But Sir, this is not that which overthrows the evidence with me, concerning the Army of Ireland, nor yet that all the Junto upon their Oaths remember nothing of it.

But this Sir, which I shall tell you, is that which works with me, under favour, to an utter overthrow of this evidence, as unto that of the Army of Ireland; Before whilest I was a Prosecuter, and under tye of secresie, I might not discover any weakness of the cause, which now as a Judge I must. Master Secretary was examined thrice upon Oath at the preparatory Committee.

The first time he was questioned to all the Interrogatories, and to that part of the seventh which concerns the Army of Ireland, he said positively in these words, I cannot charge him with that. But for the rest, he desired time to recollect himself, which was granted him.

Some dayes after he was examined a second time, and then deposed these words, concerning the Kings being absolved from Rules of Government, and so forth, very clearly, but being prest to that part, concerning the Irish Army, again, said he could say nothing to that.

Here we thought we had done with him, till divers weeks after my Lord of Northumberland and all others of the Junto, denying to have heard any thing concerning those words of reducing England by the Irish Army, it was thought fit to examine the Secretary once more, and then he deposes these words to have been said by the Earl of Strafford to his Majesty: You have an Army which you may imploy here to reduce (or some word to that sense) this Kingdom. 1641.

Mr. Speaker, these are the circumstances, which I confess with my conscience, thrust quite out of doors that grand Article of our Charge, concerning his desperate advice to the King, of employing the Irish Army here.

Let not this I beseech you, be driven to an aspersion upon Master Secretary, as if he should have sworn otherwise than he knew or believ'd, he is too worthy to do that; only let thus much be inferred from it, that he who twice upon Oath with time of recollection, could not remember any thing of such a business, might well a third time mis-remember somewhat: and in this business the difference of one letter, here for there, or that for this, quite alters the case, the latter also being the more probable, since it is confest of all hands, that the debate then was concerning a War with Scotland, and you may remember at the Bar he once said to imploy there. And thus, Mr. Speaker, I have faithfully given you an account what it is that hath blunted the edge of the Hatchet or Bill with me towards my Lord of Strafford.

This was that whereupon I accused him with a free heart, prosecuted him with earnestness, and had it to my understanding been proved, should have condemned him with innocence; Whereas now I cannot satisfie my conscience to do it.

I profess I can have no notion of any bodies intents to subvert the Laws treasonably, or by force, and this design of force not appearing, all his other wicked practices cannot amount so high with me.

I can find a more easie and more natural spring, from whence to derive all his other Crimes, than from an intent to bring in Tyranny, and to make his own Posterity as well as us slaves; as from Revenge, from Pride, from Avarice, from Passion, and Insolence of Nature.

But had this of the Irish Army been proved, it would have diffused a complexion of Treason over all, it would have been a Withe indeed, to bind all those other scattered and lesser branches, as it were into a Faggot of Treason.

I do not say but the rest may represent him a man as worthy to dye, and perhaps worthier than many a Traytor. I do not say, but they may justly direct us to Enact that they shall be Treason for the future.

But God keep me from giving Judgement of death on any Man, and of ruine to his innocent Posterity, upon a Law made à posteriori.

Let the Mark be set on the door where the Plague is, and then let him that will enter, dye.

I know, Master Speaker, there is in Parliament a double power of life and death by Bill, a Judicial power, and a Legislative: the measure of the one is what's legally just, and the other, what is prudentially and politickly fit for the good and preservation of the whole. But those two, under favour, are not to be confoun-

1641. ded in Judgement. We muſt not piece up want of Legality with matter of Convenience, nor the defaulance of prudential ſtrictneſs, with a pretence of legal Juſtice.

To condemn my Lord of Strafford Judicially as for Treaſon, my conſcience is not aſſured that the matter will bear it.

And to do it by the Legiſlative power, my reaſon conſultively cannot agree to that, ſince I am perſwaded neither the Lords nor the King will paſs the Bill, and conſequently that our paſſing it will be a cauſe of great diviſions and combuſtions in the State.

And therefore my humble advice is, that laying aſide this Bill of Attainder, we may think of another, ſaving only life, ſuch as may ſecure the State from my Lord of Strafford, without endangering it as much by diviſion concerning his puniſhment, as he hath endangered it by his practices.

If this may not be hearkened unto, let me conclude in ſaying that unto you all, which I have throughly inculcated to mine own conſcience upon this occaſion. Let every man lay his hand upon his heart, and ſadly conſider what we are going to do, with a breath, either Juſtice or Murther; Juſtice on the one ſide, or murther heightned and aggravated to its ſupreameſt extent: For as the Caſuiſts ſay, that he who lies with his Siſter, commits Inceſt, but he that marries his Siſter, ſins higher, by applying Gods Ordinance to his Crime: So doubtleſs, he that commits murther with the Sword of Juſtice, heightens that Crime to the utmoſt.

The danger being ſo great, and the caſe ſo doubtful, that I ſee the beſt Lawyers in diametrical oppoſition concerning it, Let every man wipe his heart, as he does his eyes, when he would judge of a nice and ſubtil object. The eye if it be prelimited with any colour, is vitiated in its diſcerning. Let us take heed of a blood-ſhotten eye of Judgement.

Let every man purge his heart clear of all paſſions (I know this great and wiſe Body Politick can have none, but I ſpeak to individuals, from the weakneſs which I find in my ſelf.) Away with perſonal animoſities, away with all flatteries to the people, in being the ſharper againſt him, becauſe he is odious to them; away with all fears, leſt by the ſparing of his blood they may be incenſed; away with all ſuch conſiderations, as that it is not fit for a Parliament, that one accuſed by it of Treaſon ſhould eſcape with life.

Let not former vehemence of any againſt him, nor fear from thence, that he cannot be ſafe while that man lives, be an ingredient in the ſentence of any one of us.

Of all theſe corruptives of Judgement, Mr. Speaker, I do before God diſcharge my ſelf to the uttermoſt of my power.

And do with a clear Conſcience waſh my hands of this mans Blood, by this ſolemn Proteſtation, That my Vote goes not to the taking off the Earl of Straffords life.

The Earls enemies preſume offended at this Speech.

At this Speech thoſe were much offended who deſigned the death of this Earl, and they were ſo factious in the purſuit of it, that they took the Names of all the diſſenters upon a diviſion of the Houſe when the Bill paſs'd, and caus'd them to be diſperſed among their party in the City, who came in great tumults to *Weſtminſter* to clamour for Juſtice, and in the Old Palace-Yard in *Weſtminſter* thoſe diſſenters were poſted up, to be expoſed to the fury of the ungoverned multitude, made at this time ſo mad and violent, that ſome of them were heard to ſay, If they could not have the Earl of *Straffords* life, they would have the Kings; and in their Paper they called the moderate part of the Houſe of Commons *Straffordians*. The Names of whom were theſe; Lord *Digby*, Lord *Compton*, Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *Robert Hatton*, Sir *Thomas Fanſhaw*, Sir *Edward Alford*, Sir *Nicho. Slaning*, Sir *Thomas Danby*, Sir *George Wentworth*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *William Carnaby*, Sir *Richard Winn*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, Sir *William Wiſthrington*, Sir *William Pennyman*, Sir *Patrick Curwent*, Sir *Richard Lee*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Sir *William Portman*, Mr. *Gervaſe Hollis*, Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Coventry*, Mr. *Ben. Weſton*, Mr. *Will. Weſton*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Alford*, Mr. *Floyd*, Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Digby*, Sergeant *Hide*, Mr. *Taylor*, Mr. *Griffith*, Mr. *Scowen*, Mr. *Bridgeman*, Mr. *Fettiplace*, Dr. *Turner*, Captain *Charles Price*, Dr. *Parry*, Civilian, Mr. *Arundel*, Mr. *Newport*, Mr. *Holburn*, Mr. *Noel*, Mr. *Kirton*, Mr. *Pollard*, Mr. *Price*, Mr *Travannian*, Mr. *Jane*, Mr. *Edgecombe*, Mr. *Chilckly*, Mr. *Mallery*, Mr. *Porter*, Mr. *White* Secretary to the Earl of *Dorſet*, and Mr. *Warwick*.

1641.

Vide of the Hiſtory of K. *Charles* pag. 258.

The Names of thoſe that refuſed to paſs the Bill of Attainder.

The ſame afternoon this Bill of Attainder was carried up to the Lords Houſe, where it reſted many dayes, and had probably never paſſed, had not many of the Peers been terrified from coming to the Houſe by the tumultuous multitude, in whom ſuch fears and jealouſies were infuſed by the artifices of ſome of the Members of both Houſes, that when any debate was like to be carried againſt them in either Houſe, they would ſend for great numbers of them with ſwords and clubs, who would menace, reproach, and aſſault ſuch Members as diſliked them; But notwithſtanding all this violence of proſecution, the Lords were much unſatisfied, and ſo many ſcruples were ſtarted by them, that a conference was deſired with the Commons to reſolve them, and it was agreed that *Oliver St. John* the Kings Solicitor ſhould on the 29th of this Moneth give their Lordſhips an account in publick in *Weſtminſter*-Hall of the reaſons impelling the Houſe of Commons to proceed by Bill, ordering alſo that the Earl of *Strafford* ſhould then be preſent. Whileſt theſe things were in agitation, many conſultations were had about raiſing money for the paying and diſbanding the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Armies in the North, and other matters relating thereunto.

Artifices uſed to make the Bill paſs in the Lords Houſe.

The Commons Vote 300000 lib. to the *Scots*.

The Commons had Voted to give three hundred thouſand pounds to the *Scots* as a fit proportion for recompenſe of their loſſes and neceſſities occaſion'd by this War, notwithſtanding the great Levies made by them for their ſubſiſtence in the Northern Counties; but thoſe that invited them hither, ſo their own purpoſes were effected, cared not into what extremity the Kingdom was brought,

1641. brought, and therefore they gave many delays to the *Scotch* Treaty, and to the disbanding the Armies, and the raising money for these ends: and one of them said, *They could not yet spare them, that the sons of* Zerviah *were too strong for them:* but upon a debate of these matters in the House of Commons, when many discourses were made of the necessities of the Northern parts, occasioned by the *Scotch* Army, and one Mr. *Gervase Holles* a Burgess for *Newborne* upon *Trent* said, *That the best way of paying them, was by Arms to expel them forth of the Kingdom:* They took such offence at his Speech, that they speedily call'd him to the Bar, and being not satisfied with what he said there, they expelled him from the House.

Mr. Strode's Exact Collection, pag. 521.

Mr. Gervase Holles expelled the House for a Speech concerning the Scotch Army.

These transactions were carried on with great heat by a clamorous pretended necessity of Reformation in Church and State, and the people were perswaded to believe their Religion and Liberties had been lost if the *Scots* had not interposed at this time; wherefore that the time of the Armies stay may be prolonged till such alterations in Church and State were made as they designed, all things were urged that might heighten the jealousies of the people, and at this time many apprehensions were raised of danger by the exercise of Popery and their access to the Court, as also of the continuance of the Army in *Ireland:* So that a Petition was presented to the King, for three things touching those matters:

A Petition presented to the King.

1. *For removing of all Papists from Court:*
2. *For disarming of them generally throughout the Kingdom.*
3. *For disbanding the Irish Army.*

To all which the King the 28th delivered answer contractly thus:

The Kings Answer to the Petition.

For the first, They all knew what legal trust the Crown hath in that particular, therefore he shall not need to say any thing to give them assurance that he shall use it so, as there shall be no just cause of scandal.

For the second, He is content it shall be done according to Law.

For the last, He had entred into consultation about it, and found many difficulties therein, and he doth so wish the disbanding of all Armies, as he doth conjure them speedily, and heartily to joyn with him in disbanding those two in England.

The day after the King had given his answer, the Earl of *Strafford* in pursuance of what was before resolved, was brought into *Westminster*-Hall before a Committee of both Houses of Parliament, where Mr. *St. John* did endeavour to satisfie the Lords in the reasonableness of the Bill of Attainder to induce them to pass it; for though their Proofs at the Tryal were insufficient, and nothing but legal evidence could prevail in Judicature, by this way both Lords and Commons might proceed by the light of their own Consciences without any further proof whatsoever: And so it was expressly affirmed by Mr. *St. John* in the Speech he then made, wherein he said:

Mr. St. John's Reason to the Lords for the Bill of Attainder.

That although single testimony might be sufficient to satisfie private Consciences, yet how far it would have been satisfactory in a judicial way, where forms of Law are more to be stood upon, was not so clear; whereas in this way of Bill private satisfaction to each mans Conscience is sufficient, although no evidence had been given at all.

And towards the conclusion of what he said after many aggravations of the Earls offences (tending as he said) to subvert our Laws; he told them, *He that would not have had others to have Law, should not have any himself. It is true (said he) we give Law to Hares and Deer, because they be Beasts of Chase. It was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock Foxes and Wolves on the head, as they can be found, because these be Beasts of prey: the Warrener sets Traps for Powlcats and other Vermine, for preservation of the Warren.* 1641.

Upon the Close of this Speech the Lords and Commons rose, nor was there a word spoken but by Mr. *St. John*, only the Earl by a kind of dumb eloquence, often holding up his hands towards Heaven, all along the Speech made his reply with a deep silence; and the next day, he petitioned the Lords to be heard again, alleadging that his Lawyers had not fully spoken at their last meeting; but this was denyed him, and many of the Lords shewed greater propensity towards the Earls condemnation than before; whereof the King being inform'd, he came the next day to the House of Peers, and having sent for the House of Commons, he spoke to them to this purpose:

The Earls Petition for a Second hearing denyed.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Kings Speech concerning the Earl of Strafford.

I had no intention to have spoken to you of this business to day, which is the great business of the Earl of Strafford, *because I would do nothing which might hinder your occasions. But Judgement being ready to be past on him, I think it most necessary to declare my conscience therein.*

I am sure you know I have been present at the hearing of this great Cause, from one end to the other: and I must tell you that in my Conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason.

It is not fit for me to argue this business, I am sure you will not expect it, a positive Doctrine best becomes the mouth of a Prince, yet must I tell you three truths, which I am sure no man can tell so well as my self.

1. *That I had never any intention of bringing over the Irish Army into* England, *nor ever was advised by any body so to do.*

2. *That there was never any debate before me, either in publick Council, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of my English Subjects, nor ever had I any suspicion of them.*

3. *That I was never Counselled by any to alter the least of any of the Laws of* England, *much less to alter all the Laws. Nay, I tell you this, I think no body durst ever be so impudent as to move me to it; For if they had, I should have made them such an Example, and put such a mark upon them, that all Posterity should know my intentions by it, they being ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwise.*

I desire rightly to be understood, for though I tell you in my Conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason, yet cannot I clear him of Misdemeanors; therefore I hope you may find out a way to satisfie Justice, and your own fears, and not oppress my Conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender Conscience is, and I must declare unto you, that to satisfie my People I would do great matters, but in this of Conscience, neither fear, nor any

1641. *other respect whatsoever, shall ever make me go against it.*

Certainly I have not deserved so ill of this Parliament at this time, that they should press me in this tender point, therefore I cannot suspect you will go about it. Nay, I must confess for Misdemeanors, I am so clear in them, that though I will not chalk out the way, yet I will shew you that I think my Lord of Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve Me, or the Common-Wealth in any Place of Trust, no not so much as a Constable. Therefore I leave it to you my Lords, to find out some such way as to bring me out of this strait, and keep your selves and the Kingdom from such inconveniencies.

The Solemnization of the Marriage of the Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary*, eldest Daughter to the King.

This coming of the King, and the Speech then made, reliſht ſo ill with the two Houſes, that few of them attended on the Solemnities of the next day, *May* 2. being *Sunday*, on which the Kings eldeſt Daughter married to the Prince of *Orange*, and the next day five or ſix thouſand of Prentices and other tumultuous Citizens came down to *Weſtminſter*, moſt of them arm'd with ſwords, and demanded of the Lords as they went to the Houſe, Juſtice and Execution againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, and many of them they likewiſe affronted in their paſſage.

Tumults at *Weſtminſter*.

The ſame day intimation was given to the Houſe of Commons of practices upon the Engliſh Army, to bring them up to *London* to awe the Parliament; which was an artifice uſed by ſome leading men, to add to thoſe diſtractions already raiſed to fill the minds of the people with fears and jealouſies, when in truth all that appeared in reference thereunto amounted only to this:

Obſervation being made of the great tumults about *Weſtminſter*, which ſeem'd to threaten the ſafety of ſuch of the Members of both Houſes as were known not to agree with the deſigns of ſome paſſionate men, who countenanc'd the delivering of Petitions attended and ſubſcrib'd by the hands of many thouſands againſt the Laws and eſtabliſht Government of the Kingdom, (which yet ſeem'd to receive ſome countenance, and to carry ſome authority, as inſtances of the affections of ſo many perſons:) it fell into the thoughts of ſome Officers of the Army of known, and publick affections to their Country, that a Petition of a modeſt and a dutiful nature from the whole Army, *For the compoſing and ſetling all Grievances in the Church and State by Law*, might for the reaſon of it prevail with the whole Houſe, and coming from ſuch a Body might confirm thoſe, who might be ſhaken with any fears of power or force by the Tumults: but even this in the debate of it had ſo many intervening difficulties, that it was laid aſide two months before any diſcovery, yet nevertheleſs this Alarm gave occaſion to the Commons immediately to frame a Proteſtation, which the ſame day it was made, was impoſed upon all the Members before they were permitted to go out of the Houſe, and was taken by all of them, except the Lord *Digby* and an Uncle of his, and ſhortly after, it was ſent to the Lords, and by them taken alſo, and afterwards by an order of the Houſe of Commons, all the Subjects of *England* were injoyn'd to take it, under pain of being thought unfit of bearing any office either in Church or Common-wealth, to which the Lords would not conſent. The Proteſtation was in theſe words;

A Petition from the Army preſented to the Parliament.

1641.

The Proteſtation taken by both Houſes, and the Subjects of *England*.

I A. B. do in the preſence of Almighty God, promiſe, vow, and proteſt, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and eſtate, the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, *againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovations within this Realm contrary to the ſame Doctrine, and according to the Duty of my Allegiance to his Majeſties Royal Perſon, Honour and Eſtate; as alſo the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and every Perſon that maketh this Proteſtation in whatſoever he ſhall do in the lawful purſuance of the ſame. And to my power, and as far as lawfully I may, I will oppoſe, and by all good wayes and means, endeavour to bring to condign Puniſhment all ſuch as ſhall either by Force, Practice, Plots, Counſels and Conſpiracies, or otherwiſe do any thing, to the contrary of any thing in this preſent Proteſtation contained. And further, That I ſhall in all juſt and honourable wayes, indeavour to preſerve the union and Peace between the three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland: *And neither for fear, nor other reſpect ſhall relinquiſh this Promiſe, Vow and Proteſtation.*

How this Proteſtation was obſerv'd by moſt of them that took it, will be diſcovered hereafter.

On the fifth of *May*, ground was taken from the great apprehenſions of the Houſe of Commons, that the Parliament might be diſſolv'd before Juſtice ſhould be done upon Delinquents, publick Grievances redreſt, a firm Peace betwixt *England* and *Scotland* concluded, and before Proviſion ſhould be made for the re-payment of ſuch moneys as ſhould be taken up upon Credit to anſwer the immediate emergencies that were at that time in the State, to debate of the neceſſity of a Bill for the continuance of this Parliament not to be prorogu'd or adjourn'd, but by Act of Parliament, in which there was ſuch haſte made, that within two dayes after the firſt mention of it, it was paſs'd in the Houſe of Commons, and carried up to the Lords, where it ſtaid not long, for the temptation was too great to let a Bill of this Nature be laid aſide, and in a few dayes after it came before them, (*viz.*) On *Saturday* the eighth of *May*, both that, and the Bill of Attainder were paſs'd; The Bill of Attainder had a hard paſſage, of forty five preſent, there were nineteen againſt it, there were many of the Earls friends that abſented themſelves for fear of the tumults, otherwiſe the ſuffrages for him, had more than counterpois'd the Votes for his death: the ſame day they ſent to the King, to deſire acceſs to him, which was granted, and about four a clock they attended in the Banquetting houſe at *Whitehall*, where after ſome ſtay, theſe two Bills were preſented to him, with a ſignification, that the preſent danger of the Kingdom could not admit of delay, and therefore they humbly beſought him, to give his Royal aſſent thereunto; The King told them they ſhould expect his anſwer on *Monday*, and ſo they parted from each other.

A Bill for the continuance of the Parliament paſſed by both Houſes. The Lords alſo paſs the Bill of Attainder.

They preſent both to the King, requeſting his Royal aſſent.

On the next day which was *Sunday*, the King ſends

1641. sends for the Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Lincoln*, and *Carliſle*, whom he desired as Casuists to advise him, whether in Justice he ought to pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earl? all but the Bishop of *Lincoln*, were very tender in this affair, the matters of fact they say he could himself best judge of, having been present at the Tryal; and for the matter of Law, what was Treason, and what not, he was to rest in the Opinion of the Judges, whose office it was to declare the Law, and who were sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently betwixt him and his Subjects, that the King might shew mercy to him, and pardon his offence, without any scruple of conscience, they said no man doubted, if other reasons of State did not hinder, of which the major part desired neither to be Judges nor Advisers; but the Bishop of *Lincoln* went a little farther, he urged the opinion of the Judges, and the Judgement of the Parliament thereupon, representing the terrible consequences of an inraged multitude, and that no other expedient could be found out to appease the people. It is not said the King was convinced by any thing said to him at this Conference, but the motive superiour to all, was a Letter he received from the Earl, wherein he thus concluded.

The King consults with the Bishops about the Case of the Earl as to matter of Conscience.

SIR,

(To set Your Majesties Conscience at liberty,) I do most humbly beseech You, for the preventing of such mischiefs as may happen by Your refusal, to pass the Bill. By this means to remove praised be God, I cannot say this accursed, but I confess this unfortunate thing forth of the way, towards that blessed agreement which God (I trust) shall for ever establish betwixt You and Your Subjects. Sir, My consent herein shall more acquit You to God, than all the World can do besides: To a willing man there is no injury done. And as by Gods Grace I forgive all the World, with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging Soul; So Sir, I can give up the life of this World with all cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgement of Your exceeding Favours, and only beg that in Your Goodness, You would vouchsafe to cast Your gracious regard upon my poor Son, and his three Sisters, less or more, and no otherwise than their unfortunate Father shall appear more or less guilty of this death. God preserve Your Majesty.

The Earls Letter to the King for the freeing of his Conscience.

Your Majesties Most Humble and
Faithful Subject, and Servant,

STRAFFORD.

On the next day in the morning he signed a Commission to the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord Privy Seal the Earl of *Pembroke*, and others, for the passing of the two Bills, the one for the continuation of the Parliament, the other the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*, than which Conceſſion never any thing passed from him with greater Reluctancy at the present, or which he bewailed afterward with greater remorse of conscience; for those themselves that framed it, knowing of what dangerous consequence it might be hereafter to the lives and fortunes of the Subjects, to let such a president remain in force; a clause was added to the Bill, that it should not be drawn into example for the time to come: which because it may seem strange to them that know it not, we shall here insert so much of the enacting part thereof as concerns this point, (for the Preamble is only a recital of the heads of the Accusation.)

The King signs a Commission to pass the two Bills.

1641.

Be it therefore enacted by the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, and by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same; That the said Earl of Strafford for the heinous Crimes and Offences aforesaid; stand and be adjudged and attainted of High Treason, and shall suffer such pain of death, and incurr such forfeiture of his Goods and Chattels, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, of any Estate of Free-hold or Inheritance in the said Kingdoms of England *and* Ireland, *which the said Earl or any other to his use, or in trust for him, have, or had the first day of the sitting of this present Parliament, or at any time since. Provided that no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any act or thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine any Treason, nor in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been made.*

Thus have we Treason and no Treason in the self-same action; that being judged Treason in this one man which never was to be judged Treason in any other.

What inducements the King had to pass this Act, and with what regret he did it, we have heard, but * who drew him to the other may be now inquired, some attribute it to the Lord *Say* then Master of the Wards, and one of his Majesties Privy Council, who as it is reported when the King asked him if a continuance for seven years might not serve the turn, made answer, that he hoped they would dispatch all businesses in so many Moneths, and that if his Majesty passed the Bill, it should be so far from the making the Parliament Perpetual, that he was confident they would desire to be dissolved before three years end; but most lay the blame on the Marquess of *Hamilton*, who by cutting out so much work for the King in *England*, doubted not to carry on his designs in *Scotland* without interruption, for it is credibly said, that he did brag much of this service when he was in that Kingdom, affirming frequently, that he had got a perpetual Parliament for the *English*, and would procure the like for the *Scots* before he had done: Although the King signed the Commission for passing of these Acts, yet the Royal assent was not given to them till the tenth of *May*, and on the next day, the King wrote to the Lords by the Prince of *Wales*, in these words.

* The Act for continuance of the Parliament.

The King gives his Royal assent to the two Acts.

My Lords,

I did yesterday satisfie the Justice of the Kingdom by passing the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford. *But Mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a King as Justice, I desire in some measure to shew that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in some close imprisonment, yet so, that if*

The King's Letter to the Lords in behalf of the Earl of *Strafford*.

1641.

1641. *if he ever make the least offer to escape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any sort of publick business, especially with me, either by Message or Letter, it shall cost him his life without further process. This, if it may be done without the discontentment of my people, will be an unspeakable contentment to me.*

To which end, as in the first place, I by this Letter do earnestly desire your approbation, and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry it, who is of all your House most dear unto me: So I desire that by Conference you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment; likewise assuring you, that the exercise of Mercy is no more pleasing to me, than to see both Houses of Parliament consent, for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the Law in so important a Case.

I will not say that your complying with me in this my intended Mercy, shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more cheerful in granting your just grievances. But if no less than his life can satisfie my People, I must say, Fiat Justitia. *Thus again recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest,*

Your unalterable and affectionate friend
Charles R.

If he must dye, it were Charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

This Letter was twice read in the House of Peers, who after consideration thereof, sent 12 of their number to the King, to signifie to him, that neither of the two intentions expreſt in the Letter, could with duty in them, or without danger to his Consort the Queen, be possibly admitted. Which being accomplished, and more expressions offer'd, the King suffered no more words to come from them, but said, that what he intended by his Letter, was with an *If*, if it may be done without discontentment to his people. If it cannot be, I say again the same that I wrote, *Fiat Justitia.*

The Lords send to satisfie the King about this matter.

My other intention proceeding out of Charity, for a few dayes respite, was upon certain information that his estate was so distracted that it necessarily required some few dayes for the settlement thereof.

Whereunto the Lords answered, their purpose was to be suiters to his Majesty for favour to be shewed to his innocent Children, and if himself had made any provision for them, that the same might hold. This was well pleasing to his Majesty, who hereupon departed from the Lords. At his Majesties departure they offered up into his hands the Letter it self which he had sent. But he pleased to say, What I have written to you, I shall be content it be registred by you in your House. In it you see my mind, I hope you will use it to mine Honour.

Upon *Wednesday* the 12 of *May*, the Earl was summon'd to his period: He was conveyed from the Tower by a Court of Guard, formed of the Trained Bands. Before him went the Marshals men, next the Sheriffs Officers with Halberts, then the Warders of the Tower, then the Earls Gentleman-Usher bare-headed, and next him the Earl himself accompanied with the Primate of *Armagh* and others. Upon his first coming forth, being to pass near the Archbishops lodging (who stood at the window waiting for his approach) he lifted up his eyes, and espying the Arch-bishop, bestowed a low obeysance towards him, saying, My Lord, your Prayers, and your Blessing: the Arch-bishop lift up his hands, and bestowed both; but overcome with grief fell to the ground *in animi deliquio.* The Earl proceeding a little farther, he bowed the second time, saying, Farewel my Lord, God protect your innocency. 1641.

Being brought to the Scaffold, he addrest his Speech to the Lord Primate to this effect:

My Lord Primate of *Ireland*,

The Earl of Strafford's Speech on the Scaffold directed to the Lord Primate of Ireland.

It is my very great comfort that I have your Lordship by me this day, in regard I have been known to you this many years, and I do thank God and your Lordship for it that you are here. I am come hither by the good will and pleasure of the Almighty to pay that last debt I owe to sin, and to submit to that Judgement which hath passed against me. I do it with a very contented and quiet mind; I thank God, I do freely forgive all the world. I thank God, I can say it, and truly too, my Conscience bearing me witness, that in all my imployment since I had the honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in the purpose of my heart, but what tended to the joynt and individual prosperity of King and People, although it hath been my ill fortune to be misconstrued.

There is one thing I desire to free my self of, and I am confident I shall obtain your Christian charity in the belief of it. I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did alwayes think the Parliaments of England, *were the most happy Constitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best means under God to make the King and people happy.*

For my death I here acquit all the world, and beseech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purposes of my heart, I am not made guilty of what I die for. And it is a great comfort for me, that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so heavy a punishment as this.

I wish this Kingdom all prosperity and happiness, and desire every one who hears me, to consider seriously, whether the Reformation of a Kingdom should be written in Letters of Blood. Let me never be so unhappy as that the least drop of my Blood should rise up in Judgement against any of you, but I fear you are in the wrong way.

I Professe that I dye a true and obedient Son of the Church of England *wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and prosperity be ever to it.*

This said, he desired all present to assist him in his Prayers, wherein he continued near a quarter of an hour, then rising up he bade all his friends farewel, especially by name his Brother Sir *George Wentworth*, by whom he sent his love to his wife, and blessing to his Children, willing him to charge his Son, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church.

Then he addrest himself to the Block, and having prayed a while, he gave the Executioner the token of his preparedness, whereat the Heads-man doing his office, severed his head from his Body, at the first stroke. Thus dyed this unfortunate Earl. A Gentleman he was of excellent indowments, of a happy fluency in Speech, and of a searching and sound Judgement in Counsel, and alwayes faithful to his Master therein. The *Scots* designing some alterations in that Kingdom pre-

He is beheaded.

His Character.

1641.

prejudicial to the Kings Government there both in Church and State, were opposed therein by him, which made him formidable to them, and they therefore became his mortal Enemies, so that some said, he suffered not so much a sacrifice to the *Scots* revenge, as to their fear: his Character is expressed by the King his Master, who said, He looked upon the Earl of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, than ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of State.

EIKON BASILIKH. Chap. 2.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours and many enemies: whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a Sphear, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a Popular *Odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integrity.

The Earls Children restored to their Honour and Estates.

His Children were restored to their Honour and Estates on the Petition of the Lords and Commons; and the Commons were seemingly most favoured therein, to make some recompence to them, or to give proof to the Nobility (lest they should be feared by the example) that not so much the estate as the man was aimed at; but when the Kingdom had need of that head for its service, they could not restore it; for at this time our want of his great abilities makes them better understood than our fruition of them, so dark is our humane understanding in preserving that, which is useful and vertuous amongst us.

The King sent Sir *Thomas Roe* to the Diet at *Ratisbone* to assist his Nephew.

Though we were enter'd into great distempers at this time, yet the King was mindful of the restitution of his Nephew the Elector Palatine, who was to attend the Emperour at a Diet to be held at *Ratisbone*, and Sir *Thomas Roe* was appointed Embassadour from hence, to assist him there, and to add to the reputation of the Embassie, the Parliament joyned with the King in a Manifesto on the Electors behalf, but no success ensued.

The Parliament now in good security and power, began to think themselves concerned to disband both the Armies.

The *Scots* by the first cessation, were limited but for a Moneth, but they having resolved not to part with them, till they had procured the passage of several Laws in agitation, their stay was from time to time enlarged, till there was almost nothing left for the King to grant, as by several of the Acts hereafter mentioned may appear.

The Triennial Parliament before spoken of was a great concession, for thereby the power of calling Parliaments, in case of neglect or refusal, was put into the hands of Sheriffs, and Constables, which every one thought a great foundation of confidence betwixt the King and his People: but because many of the peoples Grievances were conceived to proceed from the great Liberty of the Council-Board, or from some Orders and directions from them, the King admitted to his Privy-Council, the Earls of *Hartford*, *Essex*, *Bedford*, *Warwick*, the Lord Viscount *Say*, and some others, all of them eminently in esteem with the people for their reputation of Honour and Justice, that no irregularities might be there committed: and divers of the Kings most eminent Officers surrendred their Offices to the King, to inable him the better to grat fie most of them.

The Earls of *Hartford*, *Essex*, *Bedford*, *Warwick*, Lord *Say* with some others made Privy Counsellors.

1641.

The Bishop of *London's* Office of Treasurer, was put into the hands of five Commissioners; the Earl of *Hartford* was sworn Governour of the Prince in the room of the Earl of *Newcastle*; and the Earl of *Essex* Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Household in the place of the Earl of *Pembroke*; the Office of Master of the Wards was resign'd by the Lord *Cottington*, and confer'd on the Lord *Say*; and the Earl of *Leicester* was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*: having thus begun, the King was resolved to proportion remedies to all the visible known Diseases of the State, by the advice and Counsel of both Houses of Parliament, making hitherto no rule to his concession but their asking: Thus they gain'd from him the abolition of the Star-Chamber, a Court formerly erected by Act of Parliament.

The Lord Treasurer and other great Officers resign up their places.

The Star Chamber abolished.

The High Commission Court put down.

The High Commission Court had proceeded with too much strictness, having so far out-grown the power of Law that it would not be limited and guided by it, and therefore that Branch of the Statute by which it was erected was repealed.

Ship-money repealed by the King.

The Writs for Ship-mony, and all the proceedings in that business were by the Kings consent adjudged void, and the Judgments, Enrolments, and Entries thereupon vacated and cancell'd, though all the Judges had subscrib'd unanimously to the lawfulness of it in time of danger, of which danger the King was declared to be the Judge; and moreover, being brought to a publick Tryal, after it had been argued by Counsel on both sides in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, there passed a definitive Sentence for it: but this abrogation of Ship-money, by a Law was not enough, for *Bramston*, *Trevor*, *Weston*, *Davenport*, and *Crawly* five of the Judges that gave their Opinions for it, were Impeached of high Misdemeanors for so doing, and *Barkly* another of the Judges accused of Treason, but no further prosecution was made therein.

Five of the Judges for Ship-money Impeached of high Misdemeanor, and *Barkly* Accused of Treason.

Under colour of executing the Forest Laws many had been vexed by presentments, fines, and imprisonments; for remedy whereof, the King passed a Law, for the certainty of the Metes, Limits, and Bounds of all the Forests in *England*, with great provision for the ease of the Subject in that behalf, likewise he passed a Law against divers incroachments and oppressions in the Stannary Courts, and in an Act for granting the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage to him, in the Preamble thereof he parted with his Title of Imposing; a power adjudged good, and exercised by former Kings, and though disputed, never resolved against by Judgement in Parliament. And by an Act for regulating the Office for Clerk of the Market, because the undue execution thereof had been grievous to many of the people; he consented that no Clerk of the Market of his House, should hereafter execute his Office in any part of the Kingdom, but only within the Verge of the Court, and granted the execution of that Office, to the Mayors and Bailiffs of Towns Corporate, and to the Lords of Liberties and Franchises; and in an Act obtained from him for prevention of vexatious proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood, he absolutely parted with and discharg'd a right and duty as unquestionably due

Several Laws passed by the King for regulating abuses and differing Priv. Edges.

1641. due to him by the law as any ſervice he could challenge; He parted alſo with his propriety in the making of Gun-powder, and conſented to an Act, for diſclaiming of his Power in preſſing Souldiers, enjoyed by all his Predeceſſors for defence of his Perſon and the Realm: but that which chiefly protracted the diſbanding of the Armies, was a Bill tender'd to the Houſe of Commons, for the aboliſhing of Biſhops root and branch, but that took no effect. And now the Treaty between the two Kingdoms being finiſhed, and an Act paſs'd for confirmation thereof, the Armies were ſuddenly to be diſbanded, and for that purpoſe the Earl of *Holland* was made General of the *Engliſh* Army, and for the payment of them and other debts of the Kingdom, a Pole-Bill was paſſed, wherein the whole Kingdom was aſſeſſed, every Duke at 100 *l.* a Marqueſs at 80 *l.* Earls 60 *l.* Viſcounts and Barons at 40 *l.* Knights of the Bath 30 *l.* Knights Batchelors at 20 *l.* Eſquires 10 *l.* and every Gentleman diſpending 100 *l. per annum*, 15 *l.* and all others of ability, a competent proportion; the meaneſt through the whole Kingdom was not excuſed under ſix pence; As for the 300000 *l.* voted to be paid to the *Scots* towards a ſupply of their loſſes, it was agreed that 100000 *l.* thereof ſhould be paid at *Midſummer* come twelve-moneth, and the other 200000 *l.* two years after; which was ſecured to them by Act of Parliament.

The Treaty between the two Kingdoms confirmed.

Earl of Holland made General of the Engliſh Army.

A Pole raiſ'd for the payment of the Armies.

And on the ſixth of *Auguſt* both Armies were diſbanded, and four dayes after the King began his Journey to *Scotland*, to ſettle the affairs of that Nation, and on the ſame day both Houſes of Parliament adjourn'd themſelves to the 20th of *October*, and a Committee of the Houſe of Commons conſiſting of fifty Members, was appointed to ſit during the receſs.

Both the Armies diſbanded.

The King takes a Journey into Scotland.

The King at his coming into *Scotland*, was received there with great demonſtrations of affection by the people, and to oblige them to him, he confirmed not only the Articles of the Treaty betwixt the two Nations by Act of Parliament, but all his former conceſſions alſo, and all ſuch things as had been acted by them in their general aſſemblies; And likewiſe the better to pleaſe them, he conferr'd Titles of Honour and Dignity on ſome, and great places of power, truſt and profit on others: amongſt theſe the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was made Duke of *Hamilton*, General *Leſly* was created Earl of *Leven*, who was ſo tranſported with a ſenſe of the Kings favour and bounty to him, that he often proteſted, and once at *Perth* upon his knees in the Houſe of the Earl of *Kenoul*, that he would never bear Arms againſt the King.

The King confers honour upon many perſons during his abode in Scotland.

A while after the King being at *Edenburgh*, ſome information was given to the Marqueſſes of *Hamilton* and *Argile*, that there was ſome deſign upon their perſons, which made them for ſome few dayes withdraw themſelves from the Parliament out of *Edenburgh*, but their perſons were of ſuch quality and eſtimation in *Scotland*, that great care was taken to diſcover the ground thereof, and after full examination by the Parliament, upon the whole, they themſelves, and that great Council were ſatisfied, that the information firſt given to them, could not be made good to the proof of any deſign to the danger of their perſons; but the King who was a little reflected on in the firſt information, could not conceal his reſentment of this carriage in *Hamilton*, and when he delivered to him his Patent of Duke in Parliament (according to the manner of that Nation,) he told him he had not deſerved to be miſtruſted by him, for he knew well when he was accus'd to him of High Treaſon, he permitted him even then to lye in his Bed-Chamber: This reproof had no great impreſſion on the new Duke, though he ſeem'd outwardly much troubled for having given the King ſo juſt a cauſe of diſpleaſure, yet upon the firſt report of this buſineſs at *London* (without ſtaying to hear the opinion of the Parliament of *Scotland*, who had fully examin'd it,) ſtrange interpretations were made upon the matter as highly and nearly concerning the peace of *England*, and a ſudden reſolution was taken firſt by the Committee during the receſs, and after by the Parliament, to have a guard for the defence of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and both Houſes of Parliament, which troubled the minds of the people with the apprehenſion of new danger, when they were ſo lately freed from the fears of two Armies. 1641.

About the end of *October* this year, a Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, which was carried ſo cloſe, that no certain notice was given of the conſpiracy till the very evening before it was to be put in Execution.

A Bloody Rebellion breaks out in Ireland.

The innocent Proteſtants were upon a ſudden diſſeized of their Eſtates, and the perſons of above 200000 men, women and children, murdered, within the ſpace of one Moneth, and many of them with exquiſite and unheard of tortures. That which increas'd the wonder of moſt men was, the conſideration that the ancient hatred which the *Iriſh*, (a thing incident to conquered Nations) had born to the *Engliſh*, did now ſeem to be forgotten; forty years of peace had compacted thoſe two Nations into one body, and cemented them together by all conjunctures of alliance, by intermarriages, and conſanguinity, which was in outward appearance ſtrengthned by frequent entertainments, and all kinds of friendly neighbourhood.

This deſign was to be put in execution on the 23 of *October*, upon which day, not only the Caſtle of *Dublin*, the Kingdoms chief Magazine, a Storehouſe of 10000 arms at that time, but all other Forts and Magazines in that Kingdom, were to be ſurpriz'd, and all the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants that joyned not with them to be murdered.

The ſeizure of *Dublin* Caſtle was prevented by timely diſcovery of the Plot to the two Lords Juſtices, by one *Owen O Conally* of *Iriſh* Extract, but a Proteſtant, which diſcovery was but the very night before that fatal day, and the occaſion of it very accidental, by one *Hugh Mac Mahon*, Grandſon to the great *Tyrone*, a Gentlemen of a plentiful Fortune, in the County of *Monagan*, and one that had been a Lieutenant Colonel in the King of *Spains* Service, who truſted this *Owen* with ſome relations concerning it at a Tavern.

O Conally by diſcovery of the Plot, prevents the ſeizure of Dublin Caſtle.

Upon which diſcovery, *Mac Mahon* and the Lord *Mac Guire* were preſently apprehended by the Lords Juſtices, and many Conſpirators of great note eſcaped that night out of *Dublin*; ſo was *Dublin* ſaved, that all *Ireland* might not be loſt

Mac Mahon and the Lord Mac-Guire apprehended.

1641. lost in one day. But the horrid design was past prevention, as to the general; for the Conspirators were up at the day fix'd in all Counties round about; and poor English Protestants arrived at *Dublin* every day, robbed and spoiled of all they had, relating how their Houses were seized, how Towns and Villages in all parts were fired, and cruel outrages committed.

The Lords Justices, Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Burlace* taking those Arms which they found in *Dublin*, and arming whom they could to defend themselves, dispatched Letters to the King in *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, then chosen Deputy, but staying in *England*.

The Earl of *Leicester* chosen Deputy for *Ireland*.

It was gegerally said, the late insurrection (we must not call it Rebellion) in *Scotland* gave the first incouragement to this in *Ireland*, and the pretences were in many of them the same, namely, for Liberty of Conscience, not to have the *English* Bishops and Liturgie imposed upon them, and these, as those in *Scotland*, being mighty zealous in their Religion, when once they were possessed with a possibility of compassing their designs, executed whatever the impetuous dictates of Superstition or wicked exhortation of Priests could infuse into them, in this exceeding the actions of the *Scots*, whose Religion founded on more pious Principles, instructed them not to such bloody wayes of propagation of it.

The Irish Rebellion occationed by the insurrection in *Scotland*.

The King receives intelligence of what hapned in *Ireland*, and sends Sir *James Stuart* with instructions thither. He moves the Parliament of *Scotland* for Aid, which they excuse.

The Lords Justices sent Sir *Henry Spotswood* to *Scotland* to the King, with intelligence of all that hapned, and thereupon he sent Sir *James Stuart* to the Lords of the Privy-Council in *Ireland*, to acquaint them with his knowledge and instructions, and to carry all that money that his present stores could supply; He moved also the Parliament of *Scotland* (as being nearest) to a speedy help, but they excused their aids, because *Ireland* was dependent upon the Crown of *England*, but they said, if the State of *England* would use any of their men for that service, they would make propositions in order to it; at the same time likewise he sends Post to the Parliament of *England*, and a while after *Owen O Conally* the first discoverer of the Plot, brought Letters to *London* to the Earl of *Leicester* with an account of it, wherein the Lords Justices desired some reward might be given to him; upon the receipt of which the Parliament Voted him a gift of five hundred pounds, and an annuity of 200 *lib.* a year, and at a Conference of both Houses they resolved to consider of the relief of *Ireland*, and passed several Votes to that end; but little was done for their relief till the King returned to *London*, which was about the end of *November*.

O Conally the discoverer of the Plot rewarded.

The *Irish* to dishearten the *English* from any resistance, bragg'd that the Queen was with their Army; that the King would come amongst them with Auxiliary Forces; that they did but maintain his cause against the Puritans; that they had the Kings Commission for what they did (shewing indeed a Patent that themselves had drawn, but thereto was affixed an old Broad Seal that had been taken from an obsolete Patent out of *Farnham* Abby by one *Plunket*, in the presence of many of their Lords and Priests, as was afterwards attested by the Confession of many.) That the *Scots* were in Confederacy with them, to beget a faith of which, they abstained for some time from the Lives and Fortunes of those of that Nation among them.

The *Irish* pretend the Kings Commission for what they did, thereby, to dishearten the English.

1641.

On the other side to encourage the Natives of their own party, they produced fictitious Letters wherein they were informed from *England*, that the Parliament had passed an Act, that all the *Irish* should be compelled to the Protestant worship; and the refusers for the first offence should forfeit all their Goods, for the second their Estates, and for the third their Lives. Besides, they presented them with the hopes of Liberty; that the *English* yoke should be shaken off; that they would have a King of their own Nation; and that the Goods and Estates of the *English* should be divided among the Natives.

And feigned Letters, that the Parliament would compel them to Protestancy.

With these hopes of Spoil and Liberty in the *Irish*, the Rebellion increased. The Rebels in *Ulster* under the conduct of Sir *Phelem Oneal*, assisted by *Turbeck Oneal* his Brother, *Rory Mac-Guire* Brother to the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, *Malvere O Rely*, Sir *Conno Mac Gennes*, called *Mac Ruian*, and others had possessed themselves of all the strong places in *Ulster*, (*London-Derry*, *Colrein*, and the Town and Castle of *Enikellen* excepted) many places which the *English* defended, and they could not either surprize by Treachery, or take by plain force, they had surrendred to them upon composition and Articles, which they afterwards most perfidiously broke, butchering and massacring the poor *English* without pity or compassion to Age or Sex, though they still spared the Scottish Plantations in *Ulster*, because of their numbers; and likewise for fear of the *Scottish* Army so easily to be transported into the North parts of *Ireland*, till such time as their General Sir *Phelem Oneal* (one of the Race of the late bloody Earl of *Tyrone*, of *English* Education, a Gentleman of *Lincolns*-Inn, and a professed Protestant till some time before, having gathered together a numerous Rabble of the Natives, who daily flocked in to him, fell upon their Quarters; where though he exercised not that cruelty upon their persons which he did upon the *English*, yet he deprived them both of their Goods and Livings, enforcing many of them to fly away naked to the *Scottish* shore; from thence he marched into the *English* Pale, and in the beginning of *November* he took *Dundalk*, and soon after he encamped at *Arde* within seven miles of *Tredagh*.

The Rebels possess themselves of all strong places in *Ulster*.

They contrary to Articles of Surrender Massacre the poor English but spare the *Scots*.

The King finding his stay in *Scotland* to be somewhat longer than he expected, that the business of *Ireland* might not suffer thereby, refer'd the whole business of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*, who had undertaken the Charge and management of the War, wherewith the Earl of *Leicester* acquainted the Lords Justices, letting them know further, that they had declared a speedy and vigorous assistance, and had designed for their present Supply the sum of 50000 *lib.* which would be raised with all convenient speed.

The Parliament designs Money for *Ireland*.

By this time the Lords of the Council of *Ireland* had armed as many as they were able, and given Commissions for raising of several Regiments, which were put into the hands (for the most part) of Gallant men, as their actions afterwards testified to the World; Sir *Charles Coote* an active, and valiant man (who was also

1641. made Governour of *Dublin*) with great ſpeed made up his Regiment out of the poor robbed and ſtripped Engliſh which had fled to *Dublin*; Sir *Henry Tichbourn* a worthy Commander was diſpatched away with a Regiment of Foot, to keep *Tredagh* from the approaching Rebels; the Lord *Lambert*, and Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Captain *Armſtrong*, Captain *Tarner*, with others raiſed many Companies of Souldiers there.

Forces raiſed to go againſt the Rebels.

This was done about the middle of *November*; at which time alſo the Earl of *Ormond* with his well armed Troop of Horſe came to *Dublin*; wherewith in few days after, he was by a Commiſſion ſent from the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* (as likewiſe by the Kings approbation from *Scotland* ſignified in a Letter) made Lieutenant General of all the Forces there, who being a perſon of great eſtate, credit and reputation in that Kingdom, and a Proteſtant, did very eminent Service againſt the Rebels.

The Earl of *Ormond* made Lieutenant General of the Forces there.

The Parliament in proſecution of their great promiſes, ſent over twenty thouſand pounds in money, which arrived ſeaſonably at this time, their treaſure being much exhauſted, by paying the new Companies they had raiſed, but with this ſmall relief they were much incouraged, and very ſucceſsful ſervice was performed in divers places againſt the Iriſh, but no levies of men were made in *England*, till the King had diſclaimed his power of preſſing Souldiers, and thereby laid himſelf open to thoſe Arms that were afterward raiſed againſt him: the firſt Souldiers they ſent was a Regiment under Sir *Simon Hartcourt*, who arrived in *Ireland* on the laſt of *December*.

A Regiment ſent to *Ireland* under Sir *Simon Hartcourt*.

Whil'ſt that Kingdom was thus diſtreſſed, the King returned out of *Scotland* into *England* about the end of *November*, and was by the City of *London* entertained, feaſted and conducted to his Palace at *White-Hall* with as pompous ſolemnity, and coſtly expreſſions of love and duty as ever any King of *England* was, and the chief of them afterward were feaſted by him at *Hampton*-Court, where ſeveral of the Aldermen had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon them: but this little proſpect of happineſs was quickly clouded by a Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom preſented to him at *Hampton*-Court a few dayes after his arrival there, from the Houſe of Commons, which they prepared for him againſt his coming to *London*, wherein all the miſtakes and misfortunes which had happened from the Kings firſt coming to the Crown and before, to that very hour were with great aſperity recited.

The King returns out of *Scotland*.

The Parliament preſent a Remonſtrance to him at *Hampton*-Court.

Moſt moderate men wondered at this carriage towards the King, ſince he had from the firſt ſitting of the Parliament, denied nothing to them they reaſonably asked, and when he went to *Scotland* it was voiced to all, that he parted a gracious King, from a contented people: and in *Scotland* he gave ſo much ſatisfaction to that people (though afterwards as appeared by their unfaithfulneſs they were perverted) that they cauſed an Act (then in force) to be publiſhed and revived, *That it ſhould be deteſtable and damnable Treaſon in the higheſt degree that could be, for any of the* Scots *Nation conjunctly or ſingly to levy Arms, or any Military Forces upon any pretence whatſoever, without the Kings Commiſſion.*

An Act publiſhed in *Scotland* againſt levying Arms without the Kings Commiſſion.

Thoſe in the Parliament of *England* that were ill diſpoſed to the Kings Perſon and Government (as too many were) were much diſpleaſed at theſe methods of his to gain the affections of his people, and therefore they uſed all the endeavours they could, to blaſt him, and this remonſtrance as an engine for that work was prepared and brought into the Houſe, where the greateſt induſtry and skill imaginable was uſed by private ſollicitations, threats and promiſes to procure it to paſs; the Debate laſted from ten in the morning till three of the Clock the next morning, ſo that at laſt they carried it by eleven Voices, when many of the more aged, and perſons of beſt fortunes not accuſtomed to ſuch watchings were wearied out, and many others not daring to provoke the prevailing faction, leſt the Houſe: the conſent of the Lords was not asked, for of that they deſpaired, though ſome of them were too apt to be ſeduced: this they preſented to the King at *Hampton*-Court, with a Petition before it as ſharp as the Remonſtrance it ſelf, wherein they deſired him;

1641.

A Petition preſented with the Remonſtrance.

1. *To concur with the People for depriving the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament*, (for which there was yet no Bill paſſed.)

2. *To imploy ſuch people about him as the Parliament might confide:* and,

3. *Not to alienate any of the forfeited and eſcheated Lands in* Ireland, *which ſhould accrue to the Crown by reaſon of the Rebellion, and thereupon they promiſed to undergo the hazard and expences of the War, and to apply themſelves to ſuch Counſels and courſes, as may ſupport the Royal Eſtate with honour and plenty at home, and with power and reputation abroad.*

This Petition and ſtrange Remonſtrance, was graciouſly received by the King, from the hands of the preſenters, who were Members of the Commons Houſe; and he promiſed to anſwer to them, but in the mean time deſired, that the Remonſtrance might not be printed and publiſhed to the People: the thing it ſelf, and the printing any thing of the like nature, being never heard of, by the direction of the Houſe of Commons till this Parliament, it being the firſt appeal to the people, and of fatal conſequence, both to the King, and many of the buſie Actors in this tranſaction.

The King receives the Petition.

And deſires them not to publiſh the Remonſtrance.

But without giving the King leiſure to anſwer, ſpecial direction was given for printing the Remonſtrance, and equal care taken for the publiſhing it in all places and parts of the Kingdom: but this did not hinder the King from performing his promiſe, to anſwer their Petition, and vindicate himſelf from thoſe aſperſions that were publiſhed in the Remonſtrance, to leſſen or blemiſh his Reputation with the people.

They contrariwiſe order it to be publiſhed in all parts of the Kingdom.

The King anſwers the Petition, and vindicates himſelf from the aſperſions of the Remonſtrance.

That part of the Petition, that he would not alienate the forfeited and eſcheated Lands in *Ireland*, he did not diſlike, he ſaid, it might be a reſolution very fit for him to take (though he doubted whether it were ſeaſonable to take reſolutions of that nature, before the events of the War were ſeen) and to all the other parts, he gave ſuch modeſt and gracious replyes, (but yet not without ſome reſentment of their dealing towards him) that many of the prime Actors were much diſcontented, to find their practices ſo fully diſcovered, ſo that they had recourſe to their former perillous remedy, the tumults of the multitude to bring about their next deſign.

For

1641.

The Commons pass a Bill for disabling all Persons in Holy Orders to exercise Temporal Jurisdiction.

For the Commons having passed a Bill for disabling all persons in holy Orders, to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority (wherein the Votes of the Bishops in the House of Peers were taken away) when it came to the Lords House it met with a very cold reception; but the tumultuous Rabble were so insolent, that they assaulted and evil intreated some of the Peers even at the doors of their House, crying out against Bishops, and bending most of their Malice against them, whereby they were deterred from doing their duty; and afterwards they went to *White-Hall*, and made a stand before the Gate in a great body, saying, They would have no more Porters-Lodge, but would speak with the King when they pleased: and when the Lords at a Conference with the House of Commons, desired they would joyn with them in a Declaration for the suppressing such Tumults, several Speeches were made in justification of them, Mr. *Pym* saying, God forbid that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way.

The Tumult upon the Lords dissenting the Bill, comes to their House, and clamour against the Bishops.

The Commons justifie those Tumults.

The Lords having in vain tryed this way, appointed by advice of the Judges a Writ to be directed to the Sheriffs and Justices upon divers Statutes to suppress all tumultuous resort, in Obedience to which the Justices appointed the Constables and others to attend about *Westminster*, to hinder that unlawful conflux of people, which was no sooner done, but the Constables and Justices of the Peace were sent for by the House of Commons, and the setting forth a Watch was Voted to be a breach of Priviledge, and before any conference with the Lords, by whose direction that Legal Writ issued our, the Watch were discharged, and one of the Justices for doing his Duty according to that Writ was sent to the Tower.

The Lords direct a Writ to the Sheriffs and Justices to suppress those Tumults.

Whereupon the Constables and Justices are sent for by the Commons.

These licentious and unpunished Tumults, gave occasion to the Bishops (who could not repair to the House without danger of their lives) to frame their Petition and Protestation to the King and Peers, which was to this purpose;

The Bishops Protestation against the Actions of the Parliament.

They protested themselves to abominate all actions or opinions tending to Popery, or any malignity against the State; but were willing and ready to perform their Duties in Parliament: But whereas coming to perform that Duty and Service, they have been rudely menaced, affronted, and put in fear of their Lives by multitudes of people, and can find no redress or protection upon complaint made; They therefore humbly protest before his Majesty and the Noble Peers, that saving to themselves all their Rights and Interests of Sitting and Voting in that House at other times, they dare not Sit and Vote in the House of Peers, until his Majesty shall further secure them. And because their fears are not in vain, but upon true grounds and objects, they do in all Duty and Humility therefore protest before his Majesty and the Peers, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which in their absence since the 27th of this instant December, 1641. *have already passed, as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass during this their enforced absence from the said House.* Which Protestation they desired the King to command the Clerk of that House to Record.

The Lords were so much displeased at this Protestation, that immediately at a Conference with the Commons, they declared it was of dangerous consequence, and deeply intrenching upon the fundamental Priviledges and Being of Parliament, at which the Commons took so great a heat, that after a little debate, they passed a resolution by Vote to accuse them of High Treason, and sent Mr. *Glyn* to the Lords House to impeach them thereof, which caused their Commitment to the Tower, where they continued about four Months.

1641.

They are Charged with Treason and Committed to the Tower.

The King thinking himself at this time unsafe at *White Hall* without a Guard, accepted of the offer of some Gentlemen of the Inns of Court to be a Guard to him, by which means the insolency of the Rabble was in some degree checkt, but they instructed by their heads laboured to make it more unsafe to the King, by seeking on this occasion to raise the rage and jealousie of the whole City against him. For at midnight there were cries made in the Streets of *London*, that all people should arise to their defence, for the King with his Papists were coming to fire the City, and cut their Throats in their beds; than which though nothing were more false, yet it found the effects of truth; and the people by such Alarms being terrified from sleep, the impressions of those nightly fears lay long upon their Spirits in the day, and filled them almost with madness.

The King upon this sent a message to the Common-Council of *London*, complaining of tumultuous assemblies of the people from the City daily resorting to *Westminster*, to the disturbance of that Place and his Palace at *White-Hall*; but the House of Commons to obviate this, Petitioned him for a Guard for security of their Persons, alledging, that there was a malignant party; bitterly envenomed against them, who did daily gather strength and confidence, and were now come to that height of boldness, as to give out insolent and menacing Speeches against the Parliament it self. It was therefore their humble desires, that they might have a Guard out of the City, Commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Houshold, of whose fidelity to the King and Common-Wealth no question was ever made.

The Parliament petition the King for a Guard.

This Petition was denied by the King; but with a solemn engagement of himself by the word of a King, that the security of all, and every one of them from violence was, and ever should be as much his care, as the preservation of himself and his Children; and if this general Assurance would not suffice to remove those apprehensions, he would command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to Almighty God.

The King denies the Petition.

The King at such time as he was in *Scotland*, had expostulated with some of the Chiefs among them, touching their coming into *England* in a Hostile manner, and found, that some who were now leading Men in the Houses of Parliament, had invited them to it. And having furnish'd himself with sufficient proofs thereof, he commanded his Attorney General to draw up an Impeachment of High Treason against some of them; That is to say, the Lord *Kimbolton* a Member of the House of Peers, *Denzill Hollis* Esq; Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Strode*,

1641. Knighton with five Members of the House of Commons Charged with High Treason by the King.

all Members of the House of Commons, appointing him likewise to inform the House of Peers therewith, and with the general matters of the Charge; and at the same time he sent a Serjeant at Arms to the House of Commons, to acquaint them that he did accuse, and intend to prosecute the five Members of that House for High Treason and did require that their Persons might be secured in Custody.

The Articles of their Accusation were, to this purpose.

1. *That they had endeavoured to subvert the Government, to deprive the King of his legal Power, and to place on Subjects an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power.*

2. *That they had endeavoured by foul aspersions upon his Majesties Government, to alienate the affections of his People from him.*

3. *That they endeavoured to draw his late Army from his Obedience, to side with them in trayterous Designs.*

4. *That they trayterously invited and incouraged a forrain Power to Invade his Majesties Kingdom of* England.

5. *That they trayterously endeavoured to subvert the very Rights and Beings of Parliament.*

6. *That they have endeavoured by force and terrour, to compel the Parliament to joyn with them in their trayterous Designs, and to that end have actually raised and countenanced Tumults against the King and Parliament.*

7. *That they have trayterously conspired to levy, and actually have levied War against the King.*

The Commons justifie the Accused Members.

The House of Commons did nothing herein, to comply with the Kings intimation to them concerning the accused Members, but when a Serjeant at Arms was sent to arrest their Persons, there came a countermand from them, by which the Serjeant was deterr'd from doing his Office; for they had Voted, if any person came to attach them without order from that House, they might stand upon their defence, and make resistance.

The King seeing this obstruction of Justice, and that opposition was like to be made if he proceeded in the ordinary way of Justice resolved to go himself to the House of Commons, and by a clear discovery of his intentions, prevent all seeming inconveniences, and in this he was so secret (as he thought) that he discovered it not till the very minute of his going.

The King comes to the House of Commons to demand the delivery of the five Members.

He therefore took with him the Palsegrave, (his Nephew) and about 100 Lords and Gentlemen, and their followers, and went to the House of Commons, where commanding his Attendance to move no further than the Stairs, to offer no violence, nor return any uncivil language to any, although provok'd; He himself, with the Palsegrave only, entred the House, and demanded that the accused Persons may be delivered into his hands, with whom he promises to deal no otherwise than according to Law; but they whom he sought, being before inform'd, as it is reported, of the Kings coming, by the secret intelligence of the Countess of *Carlisle*, had forsook the place, and withdrawn themselves into the City, wherefore the King having renewed his Charge, without injury to any, immediately departed.

1641. The Commons Vote this a breach of Privilege.

This Act of the Kings was Voted by the Commons a breach of Priviledge, and strange Reports and Scandals were raised against him in the City of *London*, by the friends of the accused Members, as that he had offered violence to the House of Commons, and came thither with force to murder several Members, and used threatning speeches against the Parliament, with which the City was so possess'd, that unusual Watches were set, and Guards placed in several places thereof, as if some desperate attempt or assault were to be made upon it; and as if all men were now absolved from the rules of Obedience; Publick direction is given, for drawing down the Train-bands of the City to *Westminster* on a day appointed, to guard and bring in triumph the Persons accused of High Treason, as such worthy Patriots, that the Common-wealth it self could not subsist, but with reference to them.

This coming to the knowledge of the King, although many gallant and faithful Servants proffered their Service, to curb any insolencies that should be attempted on him, yet was he resolved to withdraw himself, with the Queen and their Children to *Hampton-Court*, to give time for their jealousies and rumors to waste and perish. And though the King was not conscious to himself of any errour in his first proceeding against these Members, remembring that in a Petition from both Houses of Parliament in the beginning of his Reign, in the Case of the Earl of *Arundel* it was asserted, that in case of Treason, Felony, and breach of Peace, Priviledge of Parliament doth not extend; yet neither his desisting from the Prosecution of that Impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say or do, would give satisfaction.

The King removes to Hampton-Court.

But that nothing might be omitted in him to manifest the clearness of his intentions, he sent a Message to the Parliament of the twentieth of *January*, wherein in gracious expressions he proposed; *That since particular Grievances and Distractions were too many, and would be too tedious to be presented by themselves, that they would comprise and digest them into one entire Body, that so both he and themselves might be able to make the more clear Judgement of them; And that it should then appear, by what he would do, how far he hath been from intending or designing any of those things, which the too great fears and jealousies of some Persons, seemed to apprehend; and how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greatest examples of most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to the People.*

The Kings Message to the Parliament.

This Message was received by the Parliament with thanks, and most people expected very good effects of it, but the accused Members and their faction, fearing this good disposition of the King might put an end to their Empire, cast about all wayes how they might obstruct the settlement of affairs, and in a Petition to the King on pretence the better to enable them to discharge their duties in those matters, they desired him to raise up to them a sure ground of confidence by putting the Tower of *London* into their hands, together with the Command of the Royal *Navy*, as also all the Forts, Castles, and Train-Bands of the Kingdom, all which they comprehended under the Name of the Militia: This Petition was ill reliſh'd

The Commons Petition the King to have the Militia put into their hands.

1641. relish'd by him, but he concealed his resentment for some time, and about the midst of *February* he and the Queen went to *Canterbury* with the Princess *Mary*, and from thence to *Dover*, and there she imbarqued her self with her Daughter, and accompanied her to *Holland*: The Kings stay at *Canterbury* and *Dover* was not long, nor the place so remote, but that some business passed, of which the greatest was, The Bill for taking away the Bishops Votes in Parliament; from *Canterbury* the King came to *Greenwich*, and from thence he sent for the Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *York* to come to him, to accompany him to *York*, whither he forthwith went, as to a place of safety, where he might better find a way to compose those differences which now began to imbroyl the Kingdom.

The Queen accompanies the Princess Mary into Holland.

The King removes to York.

The Parliament send after him in his journey to *York* two Petitions for the Militia, one came to him at *Theobalds*, and the other at *Huntington*, to both of which he gave a denyal; but since they could not have it by his consent, they took it without it, and both Houses passed it by an Ordinance, and settled it in divers Counties in the hands of such as they reposed confidence.

The King looked upon this as the beginning of a War against him, and therefore that he might not be surprized, he issued out several Commissions of Array to persons of the most eminent quality, to muster, train and array the Subjects for defence of himself and the Kingdom; and because of the indisposition of the Earl of *Northumberland* to command the Fleet, the King appointed Sir *John Pennington* in his place; but the Parliament by a Message of the 28th of *March*, disliked of that choice, and recommended the Earl of *Warwick* to the King; but this the King would not admit of; nevertheless they authorized him to command the Fleet without the Kings consent, and within a few moneths they used such arts, that he became possessed of the whole Navy: At *Hull* the King had a Magazine of Arms, and ammunition provided for the late intended War against the *Scots*, which was laid up there, when the occasion of that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to possess himself, and to make use of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own Preservation; but coming before the Gates of the Town, he was denyed Entrance by Sir *John Hotham*, who by the appointment of the House of Commons, had newly taken Charge of that place.

The King thereupon proclaimed him Traytor, and by letters to the Parliament complained to them of the indignity, and required satisfaction, but they justified him therein, and sent a Committee of the Lords and Commons to reside there, for the better securing of the Garrison to them, and they gave the Governour power to raise the Train-bands for his defence. The King was forced for the time to indure this indignity, but being very intent on subduing the Rebellion of *Ireland*, he sent a Message to the Parliament to declare his intention to go thither in Person, and acquainted them with his purpose in order thereunto, to raise two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse in the Counties near *Chester* for a Guard to his Person, which was so grateful news to the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, that they very much rejoyced thereat; but the Parliament were so jealous of any thing that tended to the Kings security, that they resolved to oppose it, but in regard it was a popular action, they were forced to use art in it; They shewed many inconveniences in the undertaking such a journey, both in the hazard of the Kings Person, and interruption of the proceedings of Parliament; but the chief matter was an apprehension, that hereby the King might have a good occasion of raising Souldiers for his defence against the designs and contrivances against him; wherefore in the conclusion of their answer to the Kings Message, They declare, That they cannot consent to any levies but such as they shall advise and direct, and if any be otherwise raised, they must declare against them.

The King did hereupon decline the levying of Guards and his Journey to *Ireland*, but reflecting now upon the affront of Sir *John Hotham* to him, and hearing that the Parliament against his consent had raised Guards to themselves, He summoned the Gentry of *York-shire* to a meeting, and acquainted them, *That his Magazine at* Hull *was going to be taken from him against his will, the Militia against the Law, and his consent, put in Execution, and Sir* John Hotham's *Treason countenanced; so that upon these considerations, he was resolved to have a Guard to secure his Person, in which he desired their assistance, that he might be able to protect them, the Laws, and the true Protestant Religion from violation, or injury.*

1642. The Parliament oppose the Kings intention to go in person into Ireland.

The King summons the Gentry of York-shire to his assistance.

The Kings desires herein were with great affection complyed with, but the Parliament, upon notice thereof, declared, *That it is against the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that any of the Subjects thereof, should be commanded by the King to attend him at his pleasure, and that whosoever, upon pretence of his Majesties command, shall take up Arms in a War-like manner, shall be esteemed disturbers of the Peace, and to be proceeded against accordingly*; but this did not terrifie the people of *York-shire* from doing their duty to the King.

The Parliaments Declaration.

The breach now began to grow very wide, and many Members of both Houses repaired to the King to *York*, insomuch that in a very short space, there were more of the Peers at *York*, than sitting with the Parliament at *Westminster*.

Many Members of both Houses repair to the King to York.

The Commons, that they might not seem dejected at this time, sent up an impeachment to the House of Lords against nine of those Peers that deserted, that is to say, The Earl of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Earl of *Dover*, the Earl of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Howard* of *Charleton*, and the Lord *Rich* for high *Crimes* and Misdemeanors; the substance whereof was, *For that contrary to their duty, they had deserted their attendance on the House, absenting themselves, after a Vote passed in both Houses, That the King seduced by wicked Counsel, intended to make War against the Parliament, and that whosoever served or assisted him in that War, was adjudged a Traytor.*

The Commons Impeach nine of the Peers.

The King and Parliament differ about who shall be chief Commander at Sea.

The King issues out Commissions of Array.

1642.

Sir John Hotham denies the King entrance into Hull.

He thereupon is proclaimed Traytor. The Parliament justifie Sir John Hotham.

Upon

1642. The nine Lords censured.

Upon the impeachement, the House of Peers entred into debate thereof, and the nine Lords were censured:

1. *Never to sit more as Members of that House.*

2. *That they should be utterly uncapable of any benefits or Priviledges of Parliament, and that they should suffer imprisonment during their pleasure.*

The Lord Littleton flies to York with the Great Seal.

Not long after this, the Lord Keeper *Littleton* sent away the great Seal to the King, by one Mr. *Eliot* who was sent to him for it, and the next day he himself followed it, and came safe to the King at *York*; but this departure of the Seal, put the Parliament to a great plunge, and they sent (in vain) to intercept it in its passage.

The King found himself in very good esteem in the Northern parts, but he was rather willing to prevent the effusion of Blood, by any reasonable accommodation, than ingage the Nation in a Civil War; and during his abode at *York* many Messages and Replies to that purpose passed between him and the Parliament, and at last, that they might not seem altogether averse from Peace, about the beginning of *June* they sent a Petition to the King with nineteen Propositions.

The Propositions were:

The Parliaments Propositions to the King.

1. *That all the Kings Privy Council, great Officers, and Ministers of State may be put out, excepting such as the Parliament shall approve, and to assign them an Oath.*

2. *That all Affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except such matters as are transferred by them to the Privy Council, and to be concluded by the Major part of the Nobility under their hands: the full number not to exceed 25, nor under 15; and if any place fall void in the interval of Parliament, then the major part of the Council to choose one to be confirmed at the next Session of Parliament.*

3. *That all the Great Officers of the Kingdom shall be chosen with approbation of Parliament,* &c. *as before said.*

4. *The Government and Education of the King's Children by Parliament,* &c. ut supra.

5. *Their Marriages to be treated and concluded by Parliament,* &c.

6. *The Laws against Papists, Priests, and others be executed without Toleration or Dispensation, except by Parliament.*

7. *No Popish Lord or Peer to have Vote in Parliament, and their Children to be educated in the Protestant Faith.*

8. *To reform Church-Government as the Parliament shall advise.*

9. *To settle the Militia as the Parliament have ordered, and for the King to recall all his Declarations published against their Ordinances therein.*

10. *All Privy Counsellors and Judges to take Oath for maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other Statutes which shall be made this Parliament.*

11. *All Officers placed by Parliament to hold their places* quam diu bene se gesserint.

12. *All Members of Parliament put out during this time to be restored again.* 1642.

13. *The Justice of Parliament to pass upon all Delinquents, and they to appear or abide their censure.*

14. *The General Pardon to pass with Exceptions, as the Parliament shall advise.*

15. *All Forts and Castles of the Kingdom to be disposed of by Parliament,* ut supra.

16. *The King to discharge all his Guards and Forces now in being, and not to raise any other, but in case of actual Rebellion.*

17. *The King to enter into a strict alliance with all Reformed States, for their assistance to recover the Rights of his Royal Sister and her Princely Issue to those Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them.*

18. *To clear the Lord* Kimbolton *and the five Members by Act of Parliament.*

19. *No Peer hereafter to be made, shall sit in Parliament without their consent.*

And these Articles being confirmed, the Parliament engage to make him a happy Prince.

The King refuses the Propositions.

The King shewed great dislike at these Propositions, for indeed they seemed rather calculated to gratifie the ambition of some of those that framed them, than for any other purpose, and the answer he gave was more smart than usually his answers were.

Amongst other things, he told them, *That they had contrary to Law pressed their Ordinances on the people, wrested from him the Command of the Militia, countenanced the Treason of* Hotham, *and had directed to the People Invectives against his Government, asperst him with the favouring of Papists; and with an utter dislike of the Propositions, he protested, that if he were vanquisht and a Prisoner, in worse condition than any the most unfortunate of his Predecessors had ever been reduced unto, he would never stoop so low, as to grant those demands, and to make himself of a King of* England, *a Duke of* Venice.

Both sides make preparation for War.

And now both sides prepared for War, and on the 10th of *June* an Order was made by both Houses of Parliament, for bringing in of Money and Plate to *Guild-Hall* for their Service, wherein it was expresst, that whosoever should bring any Money or Plate, or furnish any with Horse and Arms, should have their moneys repaid with Interest, according to eight in the hundred, for which both Houses of Parliament did ingage the Publick Faith.

The King was not wanting to his own Preservation in the mean time, and to do whatsoever might give encouragement to the business he had in hand; and first he assembled all the Peers then at *York* to attend him, and made to them a short Declaration, wherein he expressed himself to them in these words:

The Kings Declaration to the Peers at *York*.

We do declare, that we will require no obedience from you, but what is warranted by the known laws, as We expect that you shall not yield to any Commands not Legally grounded, or imposed by any other. We will defend you all, and all such as shall refuse any such Commands, whether they proceed from any Votes and Orders of both Houses, or any other way, from all danger whatsoever. We will

1642. *will defend the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by the Laws, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of* England, *and the juſt Priviledges of all the three Eſtates of Parliament; and ſhall require no farther Obedience from you than as we accordingly ſhall perform the ſame. And we will not (as is falſely pretended) engage you in any War againſt the Parliament, except it be for our neceſſary defence againſt ſuch as do inſolently Invade, or attempt againſt us and our Adherents.*

Upon this Declaration of the King thoſe Lords and others of his Council made a Promiſe to him, and ſubſcribed it with their hands as followeth.

The Peers Engagement to the King.

We do engage our ſelves not to obey any Orders or Commands whatſoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land. We engage our ſelves to Defend your Majeſties Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, with your juſt and legal Prerogative, againſt all Perſons and Power whatſoever. We will Defend the true Proteſtant Religion Eſtabliſhed by the Law of the Land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, *and the juſt Priviledges of your Majeſty, and both Houſes of Parliament. Laſtly, We engage our ſelves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance whatſoever, concerning the Militia, that hath not the Royal aſſent.*

Subſcribed by

Lord Keeper, D. of *Richmond*, Marqueſs of *Hertford*, E. of *Lindſey*, E. of *Cumberland*, E. of *Huntington*, E. of *Bathe*, E. of *South-hampton*, E. of *Dorſet*, E. of *Salisbury*, E. of *North-hampton*, E. of *Devonſhire*, E. of *Briſtol*, E. of *Weſtmerland*, E. of *Barkſhire*, E. of *Monmouth*, Earl of *Rivers*, E. of *Newcaſtle*, E. of *Dover*, E. of *Carnarvan*, E. of *Newport*, L. *Mowbray* and *Matrevers*, L. *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, L. *Rich*, L. *Charles Howard* of *Charleton*, L. *Newark*, L. *Paget*, L. *Chandoys*, L. *Falconbridge*, L. *Paulet*, L. *Lovelace*, L. *Coventry*, L. *Savile*, L. *Mohun*, L. *Dunſmore*, L. *Seymore*, L. *Gray* of *Ruthen*, L. *Faulkland*, the Controller, Secretary *Nicholas*, Sr. *John Culpepper*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks*.

The King forbids the Lord Mayor of *London* to raiſe Arms or Money.

The King immediately wrote a Letter to the Lord Mayor of *London*, and the Aldermen and Sheriffs, forbidding by expreſs Command any Contribution of Money or Plate towards the raiſing of any Arms whatſoever for the Parliament; and invited all his loving Subjects (to prevent their own danger and the danger of the Kingdom from a Malignant party,) to contribute Money or Plate to Him, and they ſhall be repayed with conſideration of 8 in the Hundred, and immediately upon it, he made a Profeſſion before thoſe forementioned Lords and Counſellors about him; diſavowing any preparations, or intentions to levy War againſt the Parliament; upon which the Lords and others then preſent at *York*, made this further Declaration and Profeſſion, ſubſcribed under their hands.

The Lords and others at *York* in a Declaration

We whoſe Names are under-written, in Obedience to his Majeſties deſire, and out of the Duty which we owe to his Majeſties Honour, and to truth, being here upon the place, & Witneſſes of his Majeſties frequent and earneſt Declarations, and profeſſions of his abhorring all Deſigns of making War upon the Parliament; and not ſeeing any colour of Preparations or Counſels that might reaſonably beget the belief of any ſuch Deſign, do profeſs before God, and teſtifie to all the World, that we are fully perſwaded that his Majeſty hath no ſuch intention; but that all his endeavours tend to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of the true Proteſtant Religion, and the juſt Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Law, Peace and Proſperity of this Kingdom.

1642. acquit the King from any Deſign of making War againſt the Parliament.

The King was ſtrengthned with ſome Arms and Ammunition from *Holland*, from the endeavours of the Queen, but more ſtrengthned by this Proteſtation in his behalf, concerning his intention of not making War againſt the Parliament, proceeded in his buſineſs with great circumſpection and indefatigable induſtry, and from *York* he went to *Newark*, where he made a Speech to the Gentry of *Nottinghamſhire* in a loving and winning way, commending their affections towards him: another Speech he made at *Lincoln* to the Gentry of that County full of Proteſtations concerning his good intentions not only to them but to the whole Kingdom and the Laws and Liberties of it; ſo that within three weeks both in his own Perſon, and by his Meſſengers with Speeches, Proclamations, and Declarations, he advanced his buſineſs in a wonderful manner. From *Lincoln* he removed to *York*, and from thence to *Beverley*, from whence he ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes, and a Proclamation concerning his going to *Hull*, to take it in, requiring before his journey that it might be delivered to him: Which they anſwered with a Petition, praying him to disband all his Forces about *Hull*, to recal his Commiſſion of Array, diſmiſs his Guards, and come to his Parliament; at which the King was much diſpleaſed, and the Parliament Voted, that an Army ſhould be raiſed, whereof by the Vote of both Houſes the Earl of *Eſſex* was choſen General, with whom they proteſted to live and dye in that cauſe; the King had about 3000 Foot, moſt of them Train-band-men, and 1000 Horſe before *Hull*.

The King takes a journey into Nottinghamſhire and Lincolnſhire, to win thoſe Places to his party.

The King reſolves to reduce *Hull*.

The Parliament raiſe an Army under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

Hotham upon the Kings advance, having the advantage of a Spring-tide, drew up the Sluces and drowned all the Countrey about the Town.

The Parliament took all care imaginable to ſupply the Town, which they reinforced with 500 Souldiers, under the Command of Sir *John Meldrum*. The King finding ſo great a ſtrength to oppoſe him, and conſidering the preciouſneſs of that time which he conſumed there without hope of ſucceſs, reſolved to march away: ſome about him, laid the fault of his not prevailing, upon the unskilfulneſs of the Countrey Captains, and the unexperienced rawneſs of the Souldiers, it was ſaid, the King might have ſped better, if Sir *John Pennington* could have brought part of the Navy to his aſſiſtance, to have ſtraitned them by Sea, but that was ſeized by the Earl of *Warwick*.

The King leaves *Hull*.

The Earl of *Warwick* gets the Command of the Navy.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was very buſie in raiſing his Army, the Earl of *Bedford* was made General of the

1642. the Horſe, Sir *John Merrick* Major General of the Army; the Lord *Roberts*, the Lord *St. John* the Lord *Rochford*, the Lord *Gray* of *Grooby*, Mr *Denzil Hollis*, Mr. *Hambden*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Samuel Luke*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, and Mr. *Grantham*, all Members of Parliament, had Commiſſions for Regiments.

The King in the mean time was not idle, he went to *Leiceſter*, where he ſummoned the Gentry and Freeholders, and by his great affability won many of them to an opinion of his Cauſe, and from thence by the firſt of *Auguſt* he returns to *York*, where he ſummoned the County, and acquainted them with the Parliaments preparations for War, and deſired their advice and aſſiſtance, for the Parliament had now publiſhed a Declaration for the raiſing of all power and force by Train-bands or otherwiſe to lead againſt all Traytors and their Adherents that oppoſe the Parliament, and them to kill and ſlay, as enemies to the peace of the Kingdom, and in it they named moſt of the Kings Lord Lieutenants and Commiſſioners of Array in the ſeveral Counties. The King then recommended to them the compleating of a Regiment for the Prince, and that he might not be behind hand with the Parliament, he publiſhes a Proclamation, wherein the Earl of *Eſſex* was proclaimed a Rebel and Traytor to the King and Crown, and all Colonels and Officers authorized by the Parliament that ſhould not inſtantly lay down their Arms, were declared guilty of High Treaſon.

The Earl of *Eſſex* and the reſt of the Parliament Commanders proclaimed Rebels by the King.

To obviate this, the Parliament had declared, That whoſoever ſhall return from the King to the Parliaments Army within ten days after publication, ſhould have reception and pardon, excepting Perſons impeacht of Delinquency or Treaſon, or ſuch as have been eminent Actors againſt them, and except the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earls of *Briſtol*, *Cumberland*, *Newcaſtle*, *Rivers*, and *Carnarvon*, the Viſcounts *Newark* and *Faulkland*, Secretary *Nicholas*, *Endymion Porter*, and Mr. *Edward Hyde*.

The King hearing the Parliament intended to ſend an Army Weſtward, gave Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, to be his Lieutenant General within the Counties of *Devon*, *Cornwal*, *Somerſet*, *Dorſet*, *Wilts*, *Southampton*, *Berks*, *Oxford*, *Hereford*, *Monmouth*, *Radnor*, *Brecknock*, *Glamorgan*, *Carnarvon*, *Pembroke* and *Cardigan*; and ſent to encourage Colonel *Goring*, who kept *Portſmouth* at that time for him.

The King ſets up his Standard at *Nottingham*, He ſends to treat with the Parliament.

The preparations were very great on both ſides, and on the 20th of *Auguſt* the King ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*, from whence he ſent up a Meſſage to both Houſes by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, and Sir *John Culpepper* for a Treaty of Peace.

When they came to *Weſtminſter* they were not permitted to ſit in Parliament, whereof they were Members, nor could the Earl of *Southampton* (againſt whom there was leaſt exception) be admitted to deliver it, but it was ſent into the Houſe of Peers by the Uſher of the Black Rod.

In the Meſſage the King ſignified,
That obſerving that many miſtakes had ariſen by the Meſſages, Petitions, and Anſwers, betwixt him and the two Houſes of Parliament, which might be prevented by ſome other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference might be more clearly underſtood, and more freely tranſacted, he propoſed that a certain number of perſons might be ſent, and enabled by the Parliament to a Treaty in ſome indifferent place, with the like number authorized by him. 1642.

The Parliament anſwered to this effect, *That until he take down his Standard, and recal thoſe Proclamations and Declarations whereby he declared the actions of both Houſes to be treaſonable, and their perſons Traytors, and whereby he had put them and the whole Kingdom out of his protection, they cannot admit of any ſuch Treaty.* The Parliaments anſwer to the Kings Meſſage.

The King replyed to this, *That he never did declare both Houſes of Parliament Traytors, or ſet up his Standard againſt them, much leſs to put them and the Kingdom out of his protection; and to remove all ſcruples which might hinder a Treaty, he promiſed ſo that a day be appointed by them for the revoking their Declarations againſt all perſons as Traytors, or otherwiſe for aſſiſting him, he will upon the ſame day recal his Proclamations and Declarations, and take down his Standard.* The Kings reply.

To this the Parliament anſwered by Petition, inſiſting upon their former requeſt, *To recal his Proclamations, concluding, that they can never allow themſelves to be ballanced with thoſe perſons about the King, whom they ſtiled perſons of deſperate diſpoſitions and Counſels.*

Thus did they contend for ſome time by Declarations and Proclamations, which proved all fruitleſs, for the Parliament having in their power all the Kings Revenue and his Navy, together with the ſtrength and riches of the City of *London*, and great contributions from them and others of money and plate, thought the Kings forces ſo inconſiderable in reſpect of theirs, that they deſpiſed all the overtures he made for peace, or put ſuch expreſſions into the anſwers they made to them, that he could not with honour and ſafety approve of them.

Prince *Rupert* and Pr. *Maurice* put into command by the King.

About the beginning of *September* Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, the ſecond and third Sons of the late King of *Bohemia*, came to offer their ſervice to the King their Unkle, whom preſently he put into Command, Prince *Rupert* within a fortnight after his arrival commanded a ſmall party of thoſe Forces which the King had at that time gathered together, with which he marched into divers parts of *Warwickſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, and *Cheſhire*, his forces ſtill encreaſing as he marched,

The King takes up his Quarters at *Shrewsbury*.

And whileſt the Prince was thus active with his party, the King moved on ſlowly with thoſe forces which he had, through *Darbyſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, and *Nottinghamſhire*, and ſo on to *Shrewsbury*, where he intended to Quarter for a time, as a fit Rendezvouze for thoſe Troops and Companies he expected from *Wales* and other adjacent parts, for thoſe of *Denbigh* and *Flintſhire*,

1642. *shire*, and generally all *Wales* were very cordial to him and his Cause.

To *Shrewsbury* the King caused a Mint to be brought, and there coined all the Plate which he then had, or was then and soon after presented to him; for the University of *Cambridge*, and many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, about that time had sent their Plate to him, and many others had furnished him both with Men, Horses, and Arms; and within few dayes after his coming thither, his strength by his diligence and address was wonderfully increased, even beyond his own hope, for he had summoned the Gentry and Freeholders, and made to them a Speech so full of affectionate Expressions, as rendred him to their thoughts, an injured Prince, and moved compassionate affections towards him: the Speech it self was in these words;

His Speech to the Gentry.

Gentlemen,

It is some benefit to Me, from the insolencies and misfortunes which have driven me about, that they have brought me to so good a part of my Kingdom, and to so faithful a part of my people: I hope neither you nor I shall repent my coming hither; I will do my part that you may not; and of you I was confident before I came. The residence of an Army is not usually pleasant to any place; and mine may carry more fear with it, since it may be thought (being robb'd and spoiled of all mine own, and such terrour used to fright and keep all men from supplying me) I must only live upon the aid and relief of my people. But be not afraid, I would to God my poor Subjects suffered no more by the insolence and violence of that Army raised against me, (though they have made themselves wanton even with plenty) than you shall do by mine; and yet I fear I cannot prevent all disorders; I will do my best: And this I promise you, no man shall be a loser by me, if I can help it.

I have sent hither for a Mint, I will melt down all my own Plate, and expose all my Land to Sale or Mortgage, that if it be possible, I may not bring the least pressure upon you: In the mean time, I have summoned you hither to do that for me and your selves, for the maintenance of your Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have) which other men do against us. Do not suffer so good a cause to be lost, for want of supplying me with that, which will be taken from you by those who pursue me with this violence. And whilest these ill men sacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmost industry to destroy the Common-Wealth, be you no less liberal to preserve it. Assure your selves, if it please God to bless me with success, I shall remember the assistance that every particular man here gives me, to his advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiously soever the minds of men are now possessed) be honour and comfort to you, that with some charge and trouble to your selves, you did your part to support your King, and preserve the Kingdom.

God had so blessed the just endeavours of the King, that before the middle of *October*, which was about three weeks after his first coming to *Shrewsbury*, with a small body of an Army, he was grown to a strength consisting of 6000 foot, three thousand brave horse, and two thousand dragoons in one body, besides what he had in other parts, of which he gave the chief command, under himself, to the Earl of *Lindsey*, and the next to General *Ruthen* a Scotch Gentleman of great experience, and Prince *Rupert* was made General of the Horse, and the next in command to him was Commissary *Wilmott*.

1642. The Earl of Lindsey chief Commander of the King's Army.

Whilest the King and the Parliament were gathering their Forces together, several parties were imployed in divers parts of the Kingdom; Colonel *Goring* was besieg'd in *Portsmouth* by Sir *John Meinelles* Regiment of Foot, and the County Trained-Bands, with one Troop of Horse, to which place a Squadron of the Fleet was also sent to straiten it the more, and the Garrison Souldiers were so practised on, the Governour had no confidence in them, so that though the Marquess of *Hartford* hastened to his relief with some Forces he had newly raised, yet he was necessitated to surrender the Town before he could help him, and had conditions to be transported in one of the Kings Ships to the *Brill* in *Holland*, whither he was conveyed accordingly; But the Marquess of *Hartford*, though he could not secure *Portsmouth*, yet he seized on *Sherborne* Castle in *Dorsetshire*, and passed by the Earl of *Bedford*, (who commanded in those parts a party of the Parliaments Troops) and marched over *Severn* into *Wales* to raise more Forces for the King, giving the Earl a little brush in his passage.

Portsmouth Surrendred up to the Parliament.

Sherborne Castle seized on by the Marquess of *Hartford* for the King.

The Parliament Army raised under the Earl of *Essex*, was now grown to a considerable Bulk, consisting of about 16000 Horse and Foot united in one Army, besides parties abroad, their general Randezvouse was at *Northampton*, where the Lord *Brooke*, Lord *Roberts*, Colonel *Hambden*, and many others of the chief Commanders staid with them, expecting the presence of the General, and on the ninth of *September*, he set out of *London* with great solemnity; the Parliament sent a Petition to him at *Northampton*, to be by him presented to the King; the effect of which was, *To entreat his Majesty to withdraw his presence from those wicked persons about him, (for so all the Kings party were called by them) and not to mix his danger with theirs, but that he would return to his Parliament without his Forces, and by their advice compose the present distempers.*

The Earl of *Essex* marches out of *London* to his Army.

The Parliaments Petition to be presented to the King by the Earl of *Essex*.

The Earl of *Essex* after he had been at *Northampton* a while, had increased his Army to the number of 20000, from whence he marched to *Coventry*, and from thence to *Warwick*, and having left some Companies in both those Towns for their security, he march'd away towards *Worcester*, upon intelligence that the King himself intended to come thither with his Forces.

Sir *John Byron* had first entred *Worcester* for the King, whom Captain *Fiennes* had endeavour'd to dislodge, with some Troops of the Parliament and Countrey Voluntiers which he had gotten together, with whom he assaulted the Town on the West side of *Severn*, supposing some of *Essex* his Troops were marching towards the Town on the other side, (as he was informed by a Spie,) but those proved to be a party of the Kings Horse under Prince *Rupert*, who march'd into the Town with 500 Horse, and made *Fiennes* draw off to a distance. The Prince had notice that Colonel *Sandys* with a Regiment of Parliament Horse,

Sir *John Byron* takes *Worcester* for the King.

1642. together with Captain *Hales*, Captain *Wingate*, Captain *Fiennes*, and Captain *Austin*, were drawn together to attack him, and thereupon he marched out of the City into a green Meadow near adjoyning, and drew up his men into Battalia, the passage to the Meadow was through a lane where not above four could march a breast, of which the Prince took the advantage, and charged them first there, where the Rear could not come up to assist the Van, nor the Van retreat without great disorder, so that the Prince prevailed: *Douglas*, Colonel *Sandys* his Major was slain, and the Colonels own Corner, the Colonel himself was desperately wounded and many of his Souldiers killed, and some slaughter was also made of the Princes men.

Col. Sandys routed at Worcester by Prince Rupert.

The Prince after the fight drew into *Worcester*, but hearing *Essex* was marching thither with his whole Army, he went away to *Ludlow*, twenty miles from thence; nor was his intelligence ill, for immediately after the Fight *Essex* came to *Worcester* with his Army, where he lay a Month, and from thence he sent the Earl of *Stamford* with a Party to *Hereford* to impede the Kings levies in *South-Wales*, and sent other Forces to possess *Glocester* and *Bristol*. The Parliament began now to apprehend the Kings strength; for many began to appear for him in several parts of the Kingdom; in *York-shire* and the Northern parts, the Marquess of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Francis Wortly*, and many others had raised many Souldiers, and were so powerful, that the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Son, Sir *John Hotham*, and his Son Capt. *Hotham*, who had gathered some men together for the Parliament, were not able to appear against them: In *Cornwal* a body was framing under Sir *Bevil Greenvil* and Sir *Nicholas Slaning*; and Sir *Ralph Hopton* a person of good conduct and courage was hastning to them to assist in their Levies, and many others in several parts of the Kingdom were arming on both sides.

Prince Rupert quits Worcester upon the approach of the K. of Essex.

Glocester and Bristol Garrisons for the Parliament.

The Kings party powerful in the North.

And in Cornwal.

Whilst the affairs of *England* were in this Military posture, *Ireland* was neglected, some few Regiments were sent over from *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Leicesters* Regiment under Colonel *Monk* from *England*, but in no proportion to the necessities of that Kingdom, nevertheless they made many impressions upon their Enemies into *Lemster* and *Ulster*, but *Munster* was but meanly supplied.

The King had consented to an Act of Parliament before he left *London*, *For the speedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels in his Majesties Kingdom of* Ireland *to their due obedience*; wherein several persons were invited as Adventurers to advance money for that service, who were to be repaid in Land for the same when the Rebels should be subdued, according to the proportions following, for each adventure of 200 *lib.* one thousand Acres in *Ulster*: for three hundred pounds, one thousand Acres in *Conaght*; for 450 *lib.* one thousand Acres in *Munster*; for six hundred pounds, one thousand Acres in *Lemster*; all according to the *English* measure, and consisting of Meadow, Arable and profitable Pasture, the Bogs, Woods, and barren Mountains being to be cast in, over and above, and to be holden in free and common Soccage of the King, as of his Castle of *Dublin*, and so for greater or lesser sums: and it is particularly enacted, That no part of that money which should be paid in according to the Act, shall be imployed to any other purpose, than the reducing of those Rebels, until they shall be declared to be subdued. The Parliament nevertheless to enable them the better to set out their Army, had diverted 100000 *l.* of this Money, whereat the King was very much offended and resented it very sharply in one of his Messages to them; but they answered, That they did intend speedly to repay it, and to recapitulate, did charge the King with intercepting 9000 Suits of Cloathes, with a Chirurgeons cheft, and some draught Horses going into *Ireland* for the Train of Artillery there; but the Parliament made yet bolder, and made use of the greatest part of a Brigade raised under my Lord *Wharton* and one Colonel *Horton*, designed for *Munster*, against the King in a Battle which was this year fought, of which hereafter; but by this proceeding on both sides, it was evident they both thought the security of *England* more considerable to them than that of *Ireland*, which could not well subsist without this.

The Title of the Act.

1642.

The Parliament divert some of the money designed for the relief of Ireland, for setting out their own Army.

It was now about the middle of *October* when the King came from *Shrewsbury*, he marched along by *Coventry* and summoned the Town, but by the example of *Hull*, he was denied entrance.

The King denyed entrance into Coventry

Marching on, he came and lay at *Southam*, being but a small distance from *Essex* his Army, from whence he struck a terror into the City of *London* it self, for he was then nearer to *London* than *Essex* was, insomuch that both Houses began to apprehend his approach, and Ordered that the Train Bands should be speedily raised for a Guard, and some works for planting of Ordnance in special places about the City of *London* and Suburbs, and the Parliament sent twelve Companies to possess and guard *Windsor* Castle.

The Earl thought it his chief work to march as near to the King as he could; and on the 22th of *October* he lodged at *Keinton* within six miles of the King, who then lay at one Sir *Williams Chaufe's* house near thereunto, and his Forces lodged at *Cropredy* and *Edgecot*.

The King the next morning drew his Army to *Edgehil*, and *Essex* intended to rest all *Sunday* in *Keinton*, to expect two Regiments of Foot, eleven Troops of Horse, and seven Pieces of Cannon who were a dayes march behind him, but when he heard the Kings Army was in the field, he drew his Army into Battalia, consisting of 12000 Foot in twelve Regiments, and 40 Troops of Horse and Dragooners; the Kings Army was esteemed about ten thousand Foot, and about 4000 Horse and Dragooners, but most of the Foot were very ill armed; at the bottom of *Edgehil*, there was a large Plain, called the *Vale of the Red Horse*, where *Essex* drew his Army into Battalia, about a half mile distant from the foot of *Edgehil*; the main Battel of the Kings Army was led on by the Earl of *Lindsey* on foot, with a Pike in his hand, Prince *Rupert* commanded the Kings right wing, wherein was the greatest strength of Horse, and General *Ruthen*, and Commissary *Wilmot* in the left; the right wing of the

The Battel at Edgehil.

1642. the Parliaments Horſe was commanded by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and the left which had the greateſt force, by Sir *James Ramſey* then Commiſſary General; the General himſelf was in the Main Body, and Sir *John Meldrum* had the Van: the King perceiving the Hedges near the hill lined by ſome Muskettiers of *Eſſex* his Army, ſent Major *Boſtock* and Captain *Hammond* of Sir *Lewis Dives* his Regiment down the Hill to remove them, but in the mean time my Lord of *Eſſex* cauſed three pieces of Cannon to be fired upon the Kings Army, which was anſwered from the King with the like number, and then the Battel began, and was continued with ſuch fury, that near ſix thouſand were ſlain upon the place; and the Parliaments Army was in great danger to have been totally ruined that day, with ſo abſolute a Victory on the Kings ſide, that in all probability this blow might have put a concluſion to the War; if it had not been for a Brigade of freſh Men, which was ſeaſonably brought in under the Command of *Hambden* to their Relief. This ſuccour gave *Eſſex* his broken Troops time to rally, and put them in a Condition of maintaining the diſpute, which they did with ſo much reſolution, that it was a long while doubtful what might be the event of the Battel: till in the end, Prince *Rupert* having wholly routed *Eſſex* his left Wing, fell in to the aſſiſtance of thoſe Regiments that were over-powr'd, and ſecured the Victory to the Kings party, which was before dubious. Thoſe of Quality that were loſt of the Kings ſide, were, the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Lord *Ambigny*, and Sir *Edward Verney*: of the Parliaments ſide many were ſlain, but there being but few of equal note in that Service to thoſe of the Kings, they are not remembred, only mention is made of the Lord *St. John*, Col. *Charles Eſſex*, and Lieutenant Col. *Ramſey*; the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Colonel *Vavaſor*, and Sir *Edward Stradling* of the Kings party were taken priſoners; the Kings Standard was taken, but regained by Captain *Smith*, who for that ſervice was in the field Knighted Banneret; each part pretended to the Victory, but it went clearly on the Kings ſide, who though he loſt his General, yet he kept the field, and poſſeſs'd the dead bodies, and rifled all the Wagons and Carriages of the Enemy; and not ſo only, but he made his way open to *London*, which the Earl before endeavoured to hinder, and in his way in the very ſight as it were of the Earl of *Eſſex*, he took *Banbury* Caſtle, where he had fifteen hundred Arms, and finally entred triumphantly into *Oxford*, with no fewer than an hundred and fifty Colours. Amongſt the papers of the Earl of *Eſſex*, a Letter was found from one *Blake* that attended the King, and held correſpondence with the Enemy, for which he was tried by a Court Martial, and condemned and executed betwixt *Abington* and *Oxford*.

Banbury Caſtle taken by the King.

The Earl after the Battel marched to *Warwick*, and left the Countrey clear to *London* to the King, and he after a very ſhort ſtay at *Oxford*, Marched through *Abington* to *Henley*, where his Army was two or three dayes refreſhed, and from thence he made a nearer approach towards *London*, and came to *Colebrook*; in the mean time the Earl of *Eſſex* had alſo marched with his Army nearer to *London*, and on the ſeventh of *November* came himſelf to *Weſtminſter*, where he was welcomed by both Houſes of Parliament, and had a preſent of 5000 *lib.* given to him. 1642. *The Earl of Eſſex comes to Weſtminſter and is received with great honour.*

Whilſt the King was at *Colebrook*, the Parliament ſent a Petition to him by two Peers, and three Commoners, wherein in very humble terms, they deſired his Majeſty to ſtay at ſome convenient place not far from *London*, till ſuch time as Committees of Parliament might attend him; with ſome Propoſitions for the removal of the preſent Diſtempers; the King liked well of this Petition, and ſent back the Meſſengers with a very complying anſwer, ſignifying, that he would reſide at his Caſtle at *Windſor*, or any other place if that ſhould not be liked, till ſuch time as Committees might be ſent to him: but the ſame night that he had diſpatcht theſe Meſſengers, news was brought that *Eſſex* had advanced with his Army, and the Artillery towards him, and that having poſſeſt himſelf of *Windſor*, *Kingſton*, and *Aſton*, if *Brentford* were likewiſe poſſeſt, the Kings Army would be ſo ſtraitned, that it could neither well move nor ſubſiſt; whereupon a Council of War being called, it was reſolved that part of the Army ſhould advance, and diſpoſſeſs the Enemy from *Brentford*, which was accordingly done, and there was for ſome time a very ſharp fight, betwixt the Kings Forces and thoſe of the Parliament that were there lodged, but the Kings party prevailed, killed the Commander in chief then preſent, and ſeveral others, and took 500 priſoners, and as many Arms, with 15 pieces of Ordnance, 11 Colours and ſtore of Ammunition; and the King was reſolved the next day to have marched to *London*, had not advice come, that both the remainder of that Army under *Eſſex*, & the Auxiliaries of *London* under the Earl of *Warwick*, were drawn upon *Turnham-Green* to oppoſe his marching further; whereupon he paſſed his Troops over *Kingſton-Bridge* to *Oatlands*, and from thence to *Redding*, where he left a good Garriſon, and marched with his Forces to *Oxford*. *The Parliament preſent a Petition to the King at Colebrook.* *The fight at Brentford in which the Kings party prevailed.* *The King marched to Oxford.*

The City of *London* were very much inſtigated by ſome Incendiaries upon this action of the Kings, and were wrought on to Petition the Parliament to proceed no further in the buſineſs of accommodation, for which they had the thanks of both Houſes, though the Parliament in a Meſſage to the King, did confeſs, that they gave direction to the Earl of *Eſſex* to draw the Army out of *London*, and that part of it was quartered at *Brentford*, whileſt the Committee was with the King, but they endeavoured to excuſe it, by ſaying, that they ſent a Meſſenger with a Letter to know whether his Majeſty intended forbearance of Hoſtility, who found the parties in fight, and could not paſs.

The Kings Forces in the North, became very conſiderable; the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and the Earl of *Cumberland* being joyned, made up 8000 Horſe and Foot, and their power daily increaſed, ſo that the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas*, Captain *Hotham*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Edward Loftus*, Sir *Mathew Bointon*, Sir *Henry Anderſon* and others, who commanded for the Parliament in theſe parts, were ill able to

1642. withſtand them, and the Kings ſide received a good addition of ſtrength in thoſe parts, by the landing of Colonel *Goring* at *Newcaſtle* with two hundred Commanders from *Holland*, and other proviſions of War, which made the Lord *Fairfax* and thoſe with him implore aid from the Parliament, and they therefore form'd an aſſociation of the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, *Cambridge*, the *Iſle of Ely*, and the City of *Norwich*, whereof the Lord *Grey* of *Wark* was by Commiſſion of the Earl of *Eſſex* made Commander in chief, with authority to raiſe Forces.

Goring lands with Men and Ammunition.

Several Counties aſſociate for the Parliament.

In *February* General *King* a Scotch Commander of great experience in Military affairs, came out of *Holland*, landed at *Newcaſtle*, joyned himſelf with the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and paſſed to *York* with 6000 Arms. In the ſame Moneth alſo the Queen landed from *Holland* at *Burlington-Bay*, with great Proviſion of Arms and Ammunition, and many Commanders of note in her Retinue, and was conveyed by the Earl of *Newcaſtle* to the City of *York*, to which place, the Earl of *Montroſs*, and the Lord *Ogilby* came to her out of *Scotland* with 120 Horſe; and Sir *Hugh Cholmely*, who had the Government of *Scarborough* for the Parliament, declar'd for the King, and preſented himſelf at *York* with 300 men to the Q. for his Service: Sir *John Hotham* alſo and his Son, were at the ſame time inclin'd to deſert the Parliaments cauſe, but their intentions were diſcovered, and they were both ſeized upon at *Hull*, & ſent up to *London*, where they long remained Priſoners in the *Tower*, before the time of their Tryal and Execution.

General *King* lands with 6000 Arms.

The Queen lands with Arms and Ammunition.

Sir *John Hotham* and his Son ſent up Priſoners to the Parliament.

The Parliament having fortified *Glouceſter* with a good Garriſon, thought of inlarging their quarters towards *Oxford*, and had in order thereunto, drawn a great ſtrength into *Cirenceſter*, the King was not well pleaſed with this neighbourhood, but ordered Prince *Rupert* with 4000 horſe and foot, to take the Town, who marching by as if he intended to attempt *Sudeley Caſtle*, (which had been lately before taken by * *Maſſey*,) when they expected him not, turn'd his whole force upon them, and after about an hours reſiſtance made himſelf Maſter of the place, where he took eleven hundred Priſoners, and three Thouſand Arms.

* Governor of *Glouceſter*.

Cirenceſter taken for the King by Prince *Rupert*.

The King was not ſo exalted by theſe ſucceſſes to be well pleaſed with a War, that brought ſo much calamity to his people, and therefore he propoſed a Treaty to the Parliament, to which after many delaies they conſented, and about the beginning of *March*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir *William Ermine*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Bulſtrode Whitlock* attended him at *Oxford* with Propoſitions of Peace; but they were ſuch as rather did beſeem a conquering than a loſing ſide, yet the King was reſolved to treat upon them; howſoever, he found the Commiſſioners ſo ſtraitned in time, and ſo tyed to ſuch particular inſtructions as the Houſes had given them, that nothing could be yielded to which might conduce to the compoſing of the preſent diſtempers, ſo that after many Meſſages betwixt *London* and *Oxford*, the Parliament ſent to their Commiſſioners to return to *London* upon the 17th of *April*; upon which the Earl of *Eſſex* immediately advanc'd with his Army to beſiege *Redding* then a Garriſon for the King.

The Treaty at *Oxford* proves ineffectual.

1642.

The King upon the firſt notice ſent a ſupply of 700 Musketteers to the Town, and ſome ſtore of Ammunition, but all could not avail to the holding out of the Town againſt ſo great an Army, continually ſupply'd from *London* with freſh Men, Proviſions and Ammunition.

The King therefore after a while ſent a good body of Horſe and Foot to relieve the Town, who aſſaulted a quarter of the Parliaments Army at *Cauſum Bridge* within a mile of it, where many of the Kings Forces were ſlain, and forced to retreat, but thoſe in the Garriſon were thought to have failed in performance of their Duty, in not drawing out a ſufficient party to have made a diverſion at the ſame time, but the failer herein was imputed to Colonel *Fielding* then Lieutenant Governor for Sir *Arthur Aſton* the Governor, who was diſabled from ſervice by a bruiſe or wound he had received in the ſiege, ſo that within 16 days of *Eſſex* his firſt ſitting down before the Town, it was render'd to him upon Terms, but honourable enough, *viz.* All the Forces to march out in war-like manner with 50 Carts for carriage, free paſſage to *Oxford*, the Town to be ſav'd from plunder, and that whoſoever would, might have liberty to leave it within ſix weeks after.

Redding ſurrended to *Eſſex* by Col *Fielding* deputy Governor.

The Town of *Redding* was infected with a Peſtilential Feaver when *Eſſex* enter'd it, which cauſed a great ſickneſs and mortality amongſt his Souldiers, beſides which, they were much diſcontented for want of Pay, ſo that when he removed to *Cauſum* Houſe to avoid the Infection, many of his Souldiers unanimouſly disbanded and went away; but though he gain'd nothing by this Town, the murmur at *Oxford* was great for the loſing of it, and Colonel *Fielding* was accuſed of Treachery therein, and being found guilty by a Court Martial, was ſentenced to be ſhot to death, but by the Kings clemency he was pardoned.

About this time ſcarce any County of *England* was free from the War, and in moſt places the Kings parties were Victorious; in *Warwick-ſhire*, *Northampton-ſhire*, and *Stafford-ſhire*, many encounters paſſed betwixt the Kings Forces under Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Northampton* of the Kings ſide, and the Lord *Brooke*, Sir *John Gell*, and Sir *William Brereton* for the Parliament, by one of which the Earl of *Northampton* loſt his life, and the Lord *Brooke* was ſlain before the Town of *Litchfield*, which was afterward taken by his Souldiers, and again retaken by Prince *Rupert*.

The Earl of *Northampton* routing the Parliaments Forces is himſelf ſlain. *Litchfield* taken by Prince *Rupert*.

In *York-ſhire* and thoſe more Northern parts the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son did take ſome Towns, and do more than could be expected from ſo little force, but after a while, the whole Country was ſubdued by the Kings Arms, and they were forced into *Hull*.

York-ſhire ſubdued by the Kings Arms.

The greateſt part of *Wales* was for the King; but to prevent the increaſe of his good fortune, the Earl of *Stamford* was ſent with an Army into the Weſt, where Sir *Ralp Hopton*, with ſome Forces of the Kings, lay before *Plymouth* then a Garriſon for the Parliament, but upon the Earls advance, he drew from thence, and fought and defeated a great part of the Earls Forces; after this a Truce was made betwixt the Earl and Sir *Ralph*

The Earl of *Stamfords* Forces defeated by Sir *Ralph Hopton*.

1643. *Ralph Hopton* for twenty dayes, and in the mean time Sir *George Chudleigh* who had been very active and successful for the Parliament in *Devonshire*, began to reflect upon his past actions, and by considering the pretences of both parties, resolved with himself not to hazard his life and reputation, but upon what he thought a most just cause, and hereupon he quitted his side, and joyned with the Kings Forces; but to satisfie his friends with the Reason of his so doing, he publish'd a short declaration to this effect.

Sir *George Chudleigh's* Declaration, shewing the reason of his deserting the Parliament.

That Petitions of Right are commendable, and Remonstrances may be lawful, but Arms, though defensive, are very doubtful. My Lot (saith he) fell to be cast on the Parliaments side, by a strong opinion of the goodness of their Cause, which to my Judgement then appeared to be so; Religion and the Subjects Liberty seemed to me to be in danger, but the destruction of Kingdoms cannot be the way to save it, nor can the loss of Christian Subjects, nor the Subjects loss of their Estates by Plunder or Assessment concur with Piety, nor yet with propriety: as for Religion, which is the chief, his Majesty (whom God long preserve) hath given us unquestionable Security, I have cast my self at my Soveraigns feet, and implored his gracious pardon. I will contend no more in word or deed. And this my Resolution with the undisputable grounds thereof, I thought good to declare to my friends and Countrymen, that they may understand my change to proceed from no compulsion.

This addition of strength was very advantageous to the King; for shortly after in a Battel fought at *Stratton* in *Cornwal*, the Earl of *Stamford* was overthrown, and inforced to betake himself to the City of *Exeter*, whither Sir *Ralph* and Sir *George Chudleigh* with the *Devon-shire* and *Cornish* Forces followed him, and with part of their Troops so straitened it, that they had opportunity to imploy the main body of their Army in other Service, which with the conjunction of the Marquess of *Hartford* who had raised many Regiments, the greatest part of the West was reduced to the Kings obedience. *Bristol* was designed to be seized on for the King about the beginning of *May*, by one Mr. *Robert Yeomans*, late Sheriff of the City, and *William Yeomans* his Brother, with Mr. *George Bourchier*, and Mr. *Edward Dacres*, and some others of their friends, who had Commission from the King to list Forces, and possess themselves of the Town; and for the better enabling them thereunto, Prince *Rupert* hover'd thereabouts with a party of 5000 men, but the raising and lifting of Souldiers made the matter so communicative, that it was discovered to the Governor, who caused the four above-mentioned to be seized on, and tryed by a Court-Martial, who condemn'd them all, and *Robert Yeomans* and *Bourchier* were on the 30th of *May* executed; and the like fate hapned to some worthy Gentlemen and other Eminent Citizens of *London*, who intended to have contrived a mean to have put a period to the present War, by stopping the issues of it in the Fountain, by securing the City of *London*, and seizing several Members of Parliament. It was detected by one *Roe* a Servant to Mr. *Tomkins*, on the last day of *May*; The chief

The Earl of *Stamford* overthrown at *Stratton* in *Cornwal*.

Yeomans and *Bourchier* executed at *Bristol*, for endeavouring to seize the Town for the King. The like happened to several Gentlemen and Citizens of *London*, for a Design laid to seize it.

1643. Actors were, Mr. *Edmond Waller* a Member of the House of Commons, Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Chaloner*, Mr. *Hasell*, Mr. *White*, and Mr. *Blankorne*, who were to be strengthened in their endeavours by the Kings Commission of Array brought to *London* privately by the Lady *Aubigny*; but upon this detection, all was blasted, and the persons before named, were all tried by a Court-Martial at *Guild-Hall*, and condemned, whereof Mr. *Tomkins* and Mr. *Chaloner* were on the 5th of *July* executed; Mr. *Waller* after a years Imprisonment in the Tower, paid a fine of ten thousand pounds, and was for ten years banished into *France*.

Sir *William Waller* about the time of *Edge-Hill* Fight, had received a Commission to be Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, and had gained a great Reputation with the Parliament & the City of *London*, for some service he did that Winter with Colonel *Urrey*, Colonel *Brown*, and some others in the taking of *Chichester*, and hindring Levies for the King in *Sussex*, so that he was furnished with an Army this Spring, with which he did many acceptable Services to his party in *Wiltshire*, *Glocester-shire*, *Monmouth* and *Hereford-shire*, wherein he took many Towns possessed by the Kings Souldiers, and was very successful; but whilest he was active in those parts the Parliament pressed the Earl of *Essex* to march towards *Oxford* to straiten that Garrison, and take some order by the conjunction of the Forces of the associates, to hinder Prince *Ruperts* joyning with the Queen; In prosecution whereof, he march'd with his Army to those parts of *Buckingham-shire* which were neerest to *Oxford*, and setled his head quarters at *Thame*; upon his coming thither, the weather was very unseasonable and great rains fell, so that his Souldiers became very weak and sickly, and much mortality ensued, but to put a good face upon his condition, he frequently sent out parties upon several occasions, though little or no service was at any time performed by them, but about the sixteenth of *June*, intelligence came to *Oxford*, that a great party of Parliamenteers was then quartered at *Postcombe* and *Chimer* in *Oxford-shire* towards *Thame*, and Prince *Rupert* drew out a good party to attack them in their quarters, which he did, and took many prisoners, but upon the Alarm, Colonel *Hambden*, with *Sheffield* and others of *Essex* his Army, drew into *Chalgrove-Field*, with design to fight the Prince, where he drew towards them, and after a brisk charge or two, he routed them, and took many Prisoners, and Horses and Arms, and kill'd many, Major *Gunter* was shot dead upon the place, and Colonel *Sheffield*, and Mr. *Hambden* were both very much wounded, of which the last died three or four dayes after, it being observed, That he received his wounds in that field where he first executed the Parliaments Commission for the *Militia*, against the Kings Authority; upon this affront *Essex* draws his Army off to *Bristol*, with a purpose to recruit his Regiments with some Forces from the neighbouring Counties, but they were too much busied to spare any assistance. About this time (or a little before) the Parliament resolved upon a very extraordinary action, which was the making of a new great Seal, it had some opposition in the debate, but by a Majority of Voices in both Houses,

1643.

K. Tho. marches towards Oxford.

Hambden & Sheffield routed by Prince Rupert.

A new great Seal voted by the Parliament.

1643. Houses it was voted to be done; yet to put some colour on the enterprize, they passed an Order, That if the Lord Keeper *Littleton* upon summons did not return with the Great Seal within fourteen days, he should lose his place, and whatever should be sealed therewith by him after that time, should be null and void in Law. But this menacing Vote did not bring the Great Seal from *Oxford*; so that their new Great Seal was made, and some few months after the use of it authorized by Ordinance of both Houses.

The Queen marcheth with her Forces towards the King.

The Queen was now marching with six or seven thousand Horse and Foot, towards the King, but in the way she was so careful of *Lincolnshire* and *Nottinghamshire*, that she left twenty Troops of Horse and two thousand Foot with Arms for five hundred more, under the Command of Colonel *Charles Cavendish*, who did eminent service before and after in those Counties. About the 13th of *June* she came to *Newark*, and was there welcomed with a Victory obtained three days before over some of the Parliaments Forces, by the same Colonel *Cavendish* at *Dunnington* in *Lincolnshire*: after some stay at *Newark*, her Army marched to *Burton* upon *Trent*, which was taken by the Lord *Jermine* Commander in Chief of her Army, and from thence she went by easie marches to *Stratford* upon *Avon*, where Prince *Rupert* came to her with many Troops from *Oxford*; she had with her when he met her three thousand good Foot, and thirty Troops of Horse and Dragoons, with six pieces of Ordnance, two Mortar-pieces, and a hundred and fifty Waggons, which with those of the Prince made up a better Army than *Essex* could make to oppose them; for his men were wasted by sickness to a very inconsiderable number, and he drew them to *Kingston* and other places near *London*, to lie there till he could recruit. In the mean time the rent betwixt the King and Parliament became wider than ever, for now they proceeded to that height to draw up Articles of High Treason against the Queen; some of them were:

The Parliamentarians beaten at *Dunnington* in *Lincolnshire* by Col. *Cavendish*.

Articles of High Treason against the Queen.

1. *That she had pawned the Crown Jewels in* Holland.

2. *That she had favoured the Rebellion in* Ireland.

3. *That she had endeavoured to raise a party in* Scotland *against the Parliament; and that she had gone in the Head of a Popish Army in* England, for so they termed the Forces with her (though few or none of that Religion were amongst them) Divers other Articles were framed against her; upon which Mr. *Pym* carried up an Impeachment to the Lords: they were (or seemed to be) at first surprized at so extraordinary a matter, but after some time they agreed to the Charge.

The successes of Sir *William Waller* gave so great a reputation to his Army, that the King sent for his Western Forces towards *Oxford*, to hinder the progress of his fortune; for it was feared at *Oxford*, if he had not some check he might make himself master of *Ludlow* and *Worcester*, and so bring a great tract of Land and many considerable Garrisons into the power of the Parliament: Sir *Ralph Hopton* in pursuance of his Orders was marched into *Somersetshire*, and Prince *Maurice* with the Earl of *Carnarvan* and a good strength of Horse, were sent from *Oxford* to joyn with him. Sir *William Waller* was come to *Bath* with his Army, with whom Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *John Horner*, and Mr. *Strode* were joyned, and they marched towards Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and came so near him, that on the third and fourth of *July* some skirmishes had passed betwixt some parties of each side, and prisoners were taken of both parties, but on *Wednesday* the 5th of *July* the two Armies engaged, at a place called *Lansdown*, about eight miles from *Bristol*, and the fight was maintained betwixt them from two in the afternoon till one the next morning, at which time the Parliamentarians left the field, and the Kings party had gained a great Victory, if by accident their Ammunition had not blown up, whereby two Captains were slain, & above twenty wounded, whereof Sir *Ralph Hopton* himself was one, & in the battel Sir *Bevil Greenville* a person of great renown & integrity to the Kings Cause was slain, together with M. *Leak* a hopeful young Gentlemen, Son to the Earl of *Scarsdale*, who was found dead in the field with the Colours of the Enemy about his arm, as also one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, and 2 Captains; what Officers fell on the Parliaments side was not known, because the publishers of such actions were unwilling to be very particular in their relations, that they might not too much discourage their party.

1643.

Lansdown Fight.

Waller being advertised of what had happened, having got some fresh men from *Bristol* marched after *Hopton*, hoping to ingage him before he could get Ammunition to defend himself, so that he was forced to retire to the *Devizes* a Town in *Wiltshire*, and there he was by *Waller* block't up, and after a while he became so distressed, that he began to treat about the surrender of it, (for Prince *Maurice* was with the Horse retired towards *Oxford*) but immediately the fortune of War changed, for the King having notice of *Hoptons* condition, sent Commissary *Wilmot* with the Earl of *Carnarvan* and *Crawfords* Regiment of Horse and others to the number of fifteen hundred to relieve him; upon whose approach near to Sir *William Waller*, he drew off to a place called *Roundway-down*; where the Horse began the fight, but after a while both Horse and foot encountred each other, and *Wallers* Army was totally vanquished; and four brass Guns, and all the Ammunition and Baggage were taken, with nine Cornets of Horse, and eight and twenty Colours of Foot; Sir *Arthur Hasterigg* was wounded; and many other Officers, and a great number of Souldiers killed; and this Victory was obtained on the 13th of *July*, on the same day whereon the King and the Queen met at the foot of *Edgehil*, where the first Battel betwixt him and the Earl of *Essex* had been fought, as was before mentioned; their meeting after so long absence and on so sad an occasion was very joyful to each other; they went that night to Sir *Thomas Popes* house at *Wroxon*, where they lay all night, and the next morning they came with the Prince, the Duke of *York*, and their Army with the Carriages and Ammunition to *Woodstock*, and from thence to *Oxford*, where her coming was rather to a Triumph than a War.

Waller defeated at *Roundway-down*.

The King and Queen meet at *Edgehil*.

Mr's Abridgment fol. 100.

The

1643. The King being willing to profit himself of this good success to his Forces, ordered Prince *Rupert* to joyn himself with his Brother and the whole body of his strength in those parts, and to march immediately to *Bristol*. Before which place he came on the four and twentieth of *July*, and summoned it to be surrendred to him: Col. *Nathanael Fines* Son to the Lord *Say* and *Seal* was then Governour of the City, who made a shew of great resistance, but yet after three days it was surrendred upon the ensuing Articles:

Bristol delivered up to Prince *Rupert*.

1. *That none of the Citizens should be molested in their persons or goods.*
2. *That every Officer should march forth with his Arms.*
3. *That every Trooper should ride out with his Horse and his Sword.*
4. *That every Souldier should march away with his Sword, Bag, and Baggage.*
5. *That a safe Convoy should be allowed for twenty miles.*

A few dayes after the taking of this City, the King marched thither to see it and settle the Affairs of those parts, where presently after his arrival he received news of the surrender of *Dorchester* to the Earl of *Carnarvon*, and a day or two after *Portland*, *Weymouth*, and *Melcombe* submitted to his Forces, so that about this time the King was possessed of all the Western Counties, from the farthest part of *Cornwal* except some few Garrisons that were blocked up; and now or a little time after the Lord *Fairfax* and all his Forces were defeated at *Adderton Moor*, and he and they driven into *Hull* by the Earl of *Newcastle*: and from thence Northward even to the borders of *Scotland*, there was no Army in the field to hinder the King and his Forces from marching whither they pleased: *London* was then altogether unsatisfied, & many in it favoured the Kings cause, and most of the chief Gentry of the associated Counties were ready upon any appearance for the King to have secured those Counties to him, wherefore it was expected that in this conjuncture of affairs the King would have marched with his Army to *London*, and the Earl of *Newcastle* with his into the associated Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, whereby a sudden end would undoubtedly have been put to this Civil War, which was not only the opinion of those in the Kings Quarters, but many at *London* and in the Parliament were of the same mind, and some of them deserted the Party and submitted to the King, and others were on the point of quitting the Kingdom. But in the midst of these hopes, the King against his own judgement was at a Council of War over-ruled to go to besiege *Gloucester*; and a few days after the Earl of *Newcastle* sate down before *Hull*; To this fatal City of *Gloucester* the King in person with his Army marched in the beginning of *August*, and about the 10th. he sate down before it, and by two Heralds summoned the City to be surrendred to him; to which summons within 2 hours an answer was drawn and consented unto both by the Citizens and Souldiers, which was presented to the King by Major *Pudsey* and one *Toby Jordan* a Citizen of the place, in these words; 1643.

Several places in the West submit to the King.

The L. *Fairfax* defeated at *Adderton* Moor by the Earl of *Newcastle*.

Hull besieged by the Earl of *Newcastle*, and *Glocester* besieged by the King.

We the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Souldiers within this Garrison of Glocester, *unto his Majesties gratious Message return this humble answer, That we do keep this City according to Our Oaths and Allegiance to and for the use of his Majesty and his Royal posterity. And do accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament, and are resolved by Gods help to keep this City accordingly.*

The King received this Answer without any expression of choler or indignation, seeming only to wonder at their confidence, for in all appearance they could have no hope of relief, the whole number of Souldiers, Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, together with the Train-Bands, and those Horse and Dragoons, which they on a sudden got from *Berkely* Castle, amounted to few more than fifteen hundred, forty barrels of powder was all their store, with a very mean and slender Artillery for such a service, & the works were of a great compass and little more than half perfected: so that it was generally believed, the King would rather presently have attempted the Town by a storm, whilst they were yet in some consternation, than wasted his time and Souldiers by a Siege: but by all the intelligence he could get, the Parliament was in no condition to send any Forces to disturb him, and his Council of War thought it better to save his Infantry by a little expence of time, than by exposing the hazard of so many of their lives in an assault. So that a close Siege was made on all sides, though the first had been the wiser Counsel.

The Parliament were very much troubled at the news of this Siege, and used all the endeavours possibly to recruit *Essex* his broken Army for the relief of it; the first thing they did was to cause 2000 men to be pressed to strengthen some weak Companies, and upon a conference with the Committee of the Militia of the City of *London*, by consent of the Lord Major and Aldermen, they procured from thence two Regiments of the Train-Bands, three Regiments of Auxiliaries and a Regiment of Horse; nor were they less mindful of the North, for the Army from *Scotland* which they had invited to their assistance could not be ready soon enough to secure these parts, wherefore they passed an Ordinance for the speedy pressing of 20000 men to be raised out of the six Associate Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Cambridge*, *Hartford*, and *Huntington*, to be put under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*. In preparation whereunto Colonel *Oliver Cromwel* was very active, he had the year before the Command of a Troop of Horse, with which he secured the Town of *Cambridge*, and obstructed many Levies for the King in *Cambridgeshire*, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; but sometime before this he had a Commission to be a Colonel, and by authority thereof he raised a Regiment of Horse consisting of a thousand, with which he was imployed in several of the North-west parts of *England*, where he joyned as occasion

1643. cation offered with Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *John Gell*, the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, and others, and did very considerable service to his party; his great Design was by this new Army to attempt to change the whole Discipline of the Parliaments Militia, for having observed that the Kings Horse, who were his greatest strength consisted of Gentlemen, or the servants of such, and that these led on by a sense of Honour, did in most encounters worst their enemies, he believed if the Parliament Horse could be framed of the most zealous of their party, such as were perswaded by the Preaching of the Ministers that the Cause was Gods Cause, and that all their religious Liberties were at stake in it, and those that died therein died in the favour of God, and in assurance of Salvation, they might set this sense of Conscience against the other sense of Honour, and be in better hopes of success than before; and this method he put in practise as far as he could in the new raised Forces before-mentioned, whereof most of the Officers were very great zealots, and the Souldiers by degrees became of the same leven, and those were they that effected afterwards what he hoped for from them.

Essex Musters his Army at *Hounslow-heath.*

On the 24th of *August* the Earl of *Essex* drew all his Army together to *Hounslow*, where almost all the Members of both Houses of Parliament were present, the remainder of his old Army was well recruited, and he had got some additional Regiments of Horse, besides the Horse and Foot he had from the City, which made a gallant appearance. That night he marched to *Colbrook*, where he staid a day for some more men that were to come to him, and then he marched to *Beckonsfield*, and so forward to *Beerton*, where he cloathed his Army, and marched on.

The King thought it scarce credible that an Army could have been so soon got together; but since it was so, he sent out parties to obstruct their march, but they marched so close, and in so good order, that little obstruction could be given to his progress; so that by the fifth of *September* he came to *Presbury* Hills, where he drew up his whole Army in view of the City, and discharged four pieces of great Ordnance to give them notice of his approach, which was at a time when the Kings Forces were prepared ready for a storm, the besieged in want, and their Ammunition consumed to three Barrels of Powder: but upon consultation had by the King with the General Officers, it was resolv'd the Army should draw off, which was done, and all their Huts were set on fire. *Essex* marched thence to *Cheltenham*, and stayed there two dayes, and from thence on the eighth of *September* he went with his whole Army to *Gloucester*, where he staid two nights till he had furnished the City with Ammunition, Money, and other necessaries, and from thence marched to *Tewksbury*, staying betwixt the Kings Forces and that Garrison four days, to give them more time the better to furnish themselves with Victuals: whilest he stayed there he had advice, that a body of the Kings Army were then in *Cirencester* Castle, and there had laid in great stores of Provision; upon which advertisement, want of Victuals and necessaries increasing upon his whole Army, he made a long march with the Van-guard of his Troops

Gloucester relieved by *Essex.*

Cirencester taken by *Essex.*

to fall upon them, which he did about one of the Clock in the morning, sending in a party of Horse to seize upon the Centinels and Guards, whilest himself with the rest of the Horse begirt the Town, and a Forlorn-hope of Foot with his own Foot Regiment entred into it, and surprised two Regiments of Horse (belonging to Sir *Nicholas Crispe* and Colonel *Spencer*) here he found thirty load of Provision, which proved a great relief to his Army, then in extream distress for want thereof. Having proved successful in this encounter, he by short marches passed from thence to *Cricklade*, so to *Swinden*, intending to pass through *Hungerford*, but passing over *Oburn* Chace, Prince *Rupert* with the greatest part of the Kings Horse charged the whole Army by two commanded parties, one under the Lord *Jermyn*, and the other under Colonel *Urry*, who performed their duties so well, that many great Bodies of *Essex* his Horse and Foot were disordered, with little loss to the Kings Souldiers or Officers, save only to the Marques *de la Vienville*, a young *French* Nobleman, who was a very brave and Generous Cavalier, and unfortunately slain.

Prince Rupert with the Kings Horse disorders *Essex*'s whole Army.

Essex from thence marched to *Hungerford*, and the Prince sent an Express to the King then at *Wantage*, desiring him to advance with all haste to *Newberry*, the better to hinder *Essex*'s march to *London*, which was the thing he chiefly endeavoured. The King was glad of the advice, and in pursuance of it he marched away to *Newberry*, where he got before *Essex*; the next day the Parliament Army marched from *Hungerford* toward *Newberry*, but hearing the Kings Forces had possest the Town, they lay that night in the field, but the next morning by break of day *Essex* gave orders to march to a hill, called *Biggs-hill* near *Newberry*, which with some struggle he gained, but the Forlorn of the Kings Army by endeavouring to hinder him of so advantageous a place, did there begin the fight, which was very vigorously prosecuted on both sides till night came on, that both parties drew off. The next day *Essex* found his way open towards *Reading*, so that although the loss was equal to both Armies (saving that as the Quality of the Commanders were greater on the Kings side, more eminent Persons of that party were slain) yet the Victory was allowed to the Parliament Army, because they gained thereby their way to *London*, from which the King strove to hinder them. The number of the slain in this Battel is not recorded, Captain *Massey*, Captain *Hunt*, and divers other Officers of *Essex* his Army were killed, but not many of higher rank than Captains; three of the Nobility fell on the Kings side, the Earl of *Carnarvon*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord *Faulkland*. After this Fight the King marched to *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Essex* drew his Army to *Reading*, and from thence to the Towns and Villages near *London*: but the King on the third of *October* finding *Reading* free, placed a good Garrison in it.

The fight at *Newberry.*

The Gentlemen of *Norfolk* hearing the great success of the Marques of *Newcastle* in *Yorkshire*, did expect his march into that and the rest of the associated Counties, and in confidence thereof, they seiz'd on *Lyn*, and put a Garrison into

1643. into it for the King, but whilst the Marquess of *Newcastle* vainly thought to take in *Hull*, before he left *Yorkshire*, the Earl of *Manchester* with Colonel *Cromwel*, and what Forces they could hastily get together, marched into *Norfolk*, and besieged *Lyn*, which in desperation of relief after a few dates was yielded to them, and to save the Town from plunder, the Earl impos'd a fine upon the Inhabitants of 10^{s}. a man to every private Souldier, and a Months pay to every Officer, which amounted to 30000^{l}. and a while after, namely on the eleventh of *October*, Sir *John Meldrum* march'd out of *Hull*, with two bodies of foot under the command of Colonel *Lambert* and Captain *Rainsbrough*, and fell upon the Marquess of *Newcastles* quarters before the Town driving them from their Out-works and Trenches, where they kill'd fourscore of his Souldiers, and took 110 Prisoners, and 9 great pieces of Ordnance, and forced himself to retreat to *Beverley*, from whence afterward, all his Army march'd away and left the Town free: yet Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and those in the Town, were not in a condition to take the field, but *Meldrum* was dispatch'd to *London* to sollicite for Forces to be sent to *Hull* to make up an Army, but in the mean time, the Earl of *Newcastle* having received great quantities of Arms from *Denmark*, which were brought to *Scarborough*, used diligence to augment his Army to be able not only to oppose the *Scots*, which were very near ready to march into *England*, but to strengthen *Newark*, and the King's other Garrisons in the Northern parts, whereof *Lincoln* and some others had been taken by the Earl of *Manchester*, whilst the Earl of *Newcastles* Army lay before *Hull*, and others had been much distressed: But whilst these things were acted in the North, many considerable occurrences happened in other parts, which deserve to be mentioned.

Lyn fined 10^{s}. a man, and made a Gift of it for the King by the Norfolk Gentlemen. But besieged and taken by Manchester and Cromwel.

The Marquess of Newcastle beaten from Hull.

The King being moved with compassion of the sad condition of his Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, for want of relief and supply of money, Munition, Arms, Provisions, Cloaths, and all other necessaries: for the Parliament, who had undertaken the managery of that War, and raised great summs of Money for that end, imployed the greatest part of it in the War in *England* against the King, so that many of the *English* Souldiers, unable to endure the insupportable necessity that lay upon them, did many times seize on Ships, and force the Mariners to transport them to *England*, which being represented to the King, He in *July* this year, sent a Commission to the Marquess of *Ormond* then Lieutenant General of the *English* Army, to treat with the *Irish* for a Cessation of Arms for one year, which after some time, upon the 15th of *September* was agreed to by both parties, and whilst this Cessation was making in *Ireland*, the King's Armies in the Western parts of *England* were very prosperous; insomuch, that about the same time, or a little before, *Biddiford*, *Appleford*, *Barnstable* and *Exeter*, were surrendred to the King by the Victorious Arms of Prince *Maurice*, who from *Exeter* marched to *Dartmouth*, which place was on the sixth of *October* surrendred likewise to him, so that though the King was unfortunately prevail'd with to lose the opportunity of ending the War, by besieging *Gloucester* and *Hull*, yet was his condition at this time much better than the year before; for whereas a twelve month past, he had in all the West but the County of *Cornwal*, and in *Yorkshire* no more than that City and *Pomfret* Castle, and except at *Redding*, *Wallingford*, and *Abbington*, not a Souldier quartered out of *Oxford*, not a Ship nor Port except *Newcastle* and *Falmouth*, and as the Parliament themselves published, not ten thousand men in Arms, he had now five Armies in being, and was possessed of all the Western Counties and Garrisons therein, except *Plymouth*, *Lyn* and *Poole*, and of all *Yorkshire*, *Hull* only excepted, and in *Cheshire* none but *Namptwich* stood out against him, and *Wales* was wholly His; and though the Parliament got from him *Strafford*, *Warrington*, *Lyn*, *Lincoln*, and some other inconsiderable Garrisons, the King in lieu of those gained from them *Saltash*, *Cirencester*, *Burmingham*, *Leige*, *Lichfeild*, *Bradford*, *Hallifax*, *Wakefield*, *Dainton*, *Bristol*, *Bath*, *Dorchester*, *Weymouth*, *Biddiford*, *Barnstable*, *Appleford*, *Tenby*, *Haverford-west*, *Pembroke* and *Exeter*, and as to *Gloucester*, great care was taken to hinder excursions from that Garrison; Sir *William Vavasor* was sent with a strong party of Horse to engarrison *Hereford*, with Commission to raise Forces, and to command in Chief in that County and *Gloucestershire*; *Sudeley* Castle was garrisoned by the Lord *Chandois* for the King, which stop'd *Gloucester's* entercourse with *Warwick*, the only way of Commerce with *London*; *Berkley* Castle was for the King maintained by a *Scottish* Captain. Sir *John Winter* was strongly settled in the Forrest of *Deane*, a Garrison was likewise put into *Beverston* Castle, and indeed Garrisons there were in every corner of the County, beside several parties of the King's Army which lay abroad in the Fields about it; so that *Gloucester* was almost as much distressed as if it had been besieged, they being inforced to fight or skirmish for whatever they got. In the mean time, an additional supply of one thousand Foot, and one hundred Horse, under the command of Sir *William St. Leger* and Colonel *Min*, landed out of *Ireland* to the King's aid, and were with eight pieces of Ordnance ordered to advance to *Thornbury*, the more to distress the City of *Gloucester*.

1648.

Many places Garrisoned for the King, by Sir *William Vavasor* and others.

More Forces sent the King from *Ireland*.

The French King and the Queen Regent of *France*, seem'd very sensible of the King's condition, and sent the Count *de Harecourt* (a Prince of the House of *Lorrain*, and a great Souldier,) their Embassador into *England*, to offer the mediation of *France* to compose the differences betwixt the King and the Parliament; He came first to *London*, and addrest himself to both Houses for a safe conduct to *Oxford* to the King, which they granted, and on the 18th of *October* he made his entry into that City, and three daies after, he had publick audience in the great Hall at *Christs-Church*, where the King and Queen received him with great State and Magnificence; and whilst he staid at *Oxford*, he and his retinue were lodg'd in St. *John's Colledge*, but finding himself unable to effect any thing of his Embassy, after a few Months stay, he returned. Sir *William Waller* who had laid long in *London* to form an Army, had at last got together six thousand Horse and Foot, with which he was about this

The French King Ends an Ambassador to mediate between the King and the Parliament.

A Cessation of Arms agreed upon in Ireland.

Divers places in the West forrendred to the King.

1643. time lain down before *Basing-House*, where he met with no better success than the King had at *Gloucester*, but whilst he was there, the City prest the Earl of *Essex* to besiege *Reading*, but he found himself not in a condition for such a service, but march'd to *Uxbridge*, and so to St *Albans*, where he kept his head Quarters, and sent out parties to several places to oppose the King's Forces, which were very active in many places, though not always fortunate; for about this time the Lord *Widdrington* with Colonel *Henderson*, and a good party of Horse and Foot, were met near *Horne* Castle in *Lincolnshire*, by the Parliaments Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*, betwixt whom there was a sharp Fight, wherein Sir *Ingram Hopton* an Officer of the King's, had once unhorsed Colonel *Cromwell*, but he was again quickly mounted, and the King's party put to the worst, and Sir *Ingram Hopton* and some few others were slain. The King shortly after this misfortune, was recompenced with the good news of 4000 *English* Foot landed in *North-Wales*, out of *Ireland*, under Sir *Michael Erneley*, who immediately after their Landing, took in *Hawerden* Castle near *Chester*, and might afterwards have proved more serviceable than they were to the King, had they not been divided as they were into several parts of his Armies, but been kept together under their old and known Commanders.

Lord Widdrington worsted by Manchester in Lincolnshire.

The *Scots* promised to the Parliament (from whom Commissioners were sent to *Edenburgh* about that business) that they would bring into *England* to their assistance, an Army consisting of one and twenty thousand Horse and Foot, towards the charge of raising whereof, the Parliament sent 100000*l.* into *Scotland*, and great Levies of men were made for this Army, which was now near drawn together, but some at *Oxford* had so good an opinion of the *Scots*, that they would hardly be brought to believe they would invade *England*, till they saw them in the bowels of the Nation; for General *Lesley* with great imprecations upon himself, as hath been before exprest in this History, protested never to draw his sword against the King, but the ruling party in *Scotland* to facilitate the raising of this Army, had raised a report that the King was deserted by most of his Nobility.

The Scots raise an Army for the Assistance of the Parliament.

The King reposing great trust in the Duke of *Hamilton*, had written to him to use all his power and interest to keep his Country-men at home, which had not been difficult for one of his credit in that Nation; but he by some secret Arts did more inflame them, and to cover his deceit, pretended to fly from *Scotland* to *Oxford*, where he came about the last of *December*, pretending to seek a shelter there for his Loyalty, but the King had so good information of his practices in *Scotland*, that as soon as he came thither, he and the Earl of *Lanerick* his Brother, were both forbidden the Court, whereupon *Lanerick* got privately out of *Oxford*, and went to *London*, where he was well received, which increased the King's ill opinion of his Brother, and he was sent prisoner to *Pendennis* Castle.

The Duke of Hamilton sent prisoner to Pendennis Castle.

The King had on the 22*d* of *December* summoned the Members of both Houses, who had deserted those at *Westminster* to assemble at *Oxford* on the 22*d* of *January* following, where accordingly they met in the great Hall at *Christs-Church*, and after the King had made a short Speech to them, he dismist them to their Seats. The Lords sate in the upper Schools, and the Commons in the Convocation House, and for their better welcom, he advanced Prince *Rupert* to the Titles of Duke of *Cumberland*, and Earl of *Holderness*, and created *James* his second Son, Duke of *York*, by which name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his Birth, that they might sit and vote amongst them. After they had sat awhile, by a letter they mov'd the Earl of *Essex* to endeavour Peace, and did also declare against the Invasion of the *Scots* by another letter sent to them, in which they acquainted them with the falseness of their reports concerning the King, and shewed how inconsiderable a number of Lords were with those that invited them in; the King himself writ also to them to put them in mind of their several ingagements to be quiet, but before those Letters could come to *Scotland*, and indeed some daies before the Parliament had assembled at *Oxford*, the *Scots* Army was marched into *England*, but when the Letters came to the ruling party at *Edenburgh*, with a strange unheard of insolency, they commanded them to be burnt by the hands of the Hangman, but the dishonour of that Nation was in a great measure repaired by the gallantry and faithfulness of the Marquess of *Montross*, who about the time of this their Invasion, was made General Governour of *Scotland*, and with an incredible Industry by small numbers of Men won many Battels, and overthrew well formed Armies, whereof some relation shall be made hereafter, and had he not been betrayed by those he trusted, he had forc'd that people to Justice and quietness. Upon the entry of the *Scotch* Army into *England*, a Letter was writ from *Berwick* in the name of the Committee of both Kingdoms, subscribed by the Marquess of *Argile* and Sir *William Armine*, to Sir *Thomas Glenham*, who then lay at *Anwick* with 16 Troops of Horse, two Regiments of Foot, eight Drakes, and twenty pieces of Ordnance, which was to be communicated to the Gentlemen of *Northumberland*, wherein it was signified, *That they came into* England *to prosecute the ends of the Covenant, namely, the Preservation and Reformation of Religion, the true Honour and Happiness of the King, and the publick Peace and Liberty of his Dominions, hoping that things of so great and considerable consequence would find with him and them such entertainment as might answer the weight and importance of them: Adding, That if misinformation, or any other unhappy grounds should so far prevail with him and the rest, as to reckon them in the number of their Enemies; and if instead of that concurrence with them which they wished and hoped to deserve, they found opposition and acts of Hostility, the Law of Nature and their own reason, might tell them what they were to expect.* Sir *Thomas* returned an answer to this Letter, to this purpose.

1643.

The King Summons a Parliament at Oxford.

Prince Rupert made Duke of Cumberland, and James the King's second Son Created Duke of York.

The Scotch Army enters England.

The Marquess of Montross made General Governour of Scotland.

A Letter to Sir Thomas Glenham, shewing the reasons of their Armies march into England.

That there being none with him but Officers, he could not return an answer so suddenly by their Trumpeter, but he said he would send to the Gentlemen of the County to give him a meeting, and thereupon they should receive an answer by a Trumpeter

Sir Thomas Glenham's Answer to the Letter.

1643. petter of his own, and by this means he gained time to draw his forces and Artillery to *Newcastle*, for *Berwick* was not tenible, and many of the Gentlemen of *Northumberland*, especially such as were allied to my Lord *Grey* of *Wark*, either for fear of the *Scots*, or affection to their cause, were very backward in their opposition to them, but *Newcastle*, *Tinmouth Shields*, and such other places as were Garrisoned by the King's forces, did so obstruct their march, that they passed not *Tyne* till the second of *March*, and when they did, the Marquess of *Newcastle* and General *King* marched so near them, that they could not advance Southward, but got into *Sunderland*, where they lay, till the Lord *Fairfax* and the rest of the Parliament forces made a diversion able enough to give them opportunity to descend into *Yorkshire*, as hereafter will be shewn.

The Scotch Army descend as far as *Yorkshire*.

Sir *John Meldrum*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, Sir *Will. Constable*, and Col. *Lambert*, had out of *Lincolnshire* and the associated Counties got many men together, and made such impressions upon the Marquess of *Newcastles* Quarters, that they became very well able to keep a Body together in *Yorkshire*, and Sir *John Meldrum* marched into *Nottinghamshire*, where he joined with some Troops of the Earl of *Manchester*, and the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* to the number of 8000 horse and foot, with which they besieged *Newark*.

Newark besieged by *Meldrum*.

The King was much concerned at the news of this Siege, and was resolved at any hazard to relieve the Town, in order whereunto the King sent an Express to Prince *Rupert*, which came to him on the 12th of March to *Chester*, wherein he commanded him to draw what forces he could together to raise the Siege of *Newark*; upon this advice he made hast to *Shrewsbury*, speeding away Major *Legg* (General of the Ordnance) before to chuse out so many commanded Musquetteers of the *English* (of late come out of *Ireland*) as might be well spared out of that Garrison. These were a thousand Musquetteers of Colonel *Broughton's* and Colonel *Tillier's* Regiments, with a hundred and twenty of Colonel Sir *Fulk Hunks*. All these sent down by the *Severn*, met the Prince at *Bridgenorth* on *Friday*. Of horse he took along his own Troop, and Regiment, with twenty of Major General *Urrey's*; with these Forces he drew along three field pieces. At *Wolverhampton* next day was his Army recruited by a hundred horse, and 200 foot of Colonel *Leveson's*. On Munday night he had notice at *Ashby de la Zouch*, of two thousand two hundred enemies under Sir *Edward Hartop*, sent out by *Meldrum* to the pass and Bridge over the *Sore*, a mile from *Loughborough* in *Leicestershire*. Their purpose was either to intercept General Major *Porter*, or to prevent his joining with my Lord *Loughborough*: for thither with four Regimens of Horse, and a thousand commanded Musquetteers of my Lord of *Newcastle's* men, was *Porter* now come from about *Newark*, to hinder the farther inroads into *Leicestershire*. Daily slight Skirmishes here passed. For *Meldrum* not able to force the passage, and hearing of my Lord of *Loughborow's* drawing out, stole away. *Porter* thus disingaged, was the next day together with my Lord *Loughborow's* Forces conjoined to the Princes. That night they all quartered in a Close by *Bingham*, eight miles short of *Newark*,

An express sent by the King to Prince *Rupert* to raise the Siege.

About two of the Clock, the Moon then well up, the Drums beat, and all marched. Hitherto had the marches been so speedy, as fame it self was prevented; for by *Meldrum's* own Letter sent to the Lord *Fairfax*, which was intercepted the night before; they had no more but an uncredited Rumour of Prince *Rupert's* coming. On this daies march the Prince had notice by his espials, how the enemies were busied all that morning in sending away their Cannons; which proved no other, than their drawing them off their Batteries into their Chief work at the *Spittle*, or *Exeter*-House, a little more than Musket-shot from the Town; for into that one Quarter had they this morning drawn all their Regiments and Ammunition. The Prince having intelligence of their amassing themselves thus into one body, which he supposed a preparation to march off suddenly; advanced his Van of Horse upon the spur to overtake them: the rest of his Horse had order to keep along with the Foot, Cannon and Ammunition. Coming near the *Bacon-hill*, a mile short of *Newark*, he perceived some Horse of the Enemies, who upon his approach, drew down the other side to their own Grose. The Prince thus easily gaining the hill, was earnest to pursue his good fortune, upon his apprehension of having many advantages upon a retreating Enemy: whereupon he gave order to charge them with all the Horse then with him, to ingage them till the Reer and Foot should be marched up to him. Trooping thus to the Edge of the Hill, he perceived the most of the enemy in Battalia, (Horse and Foot) near the *Spittle*: all except four great Bodies of Horse, who expected him at the very descent of the Hill. The Prince thus ordered his own few Forces; first himself with his own Troop of Life-Guards undertook to attaque that Body on the left hand, appointing my Lord *Loughborough's* Troop to second him, and Colonel *Charles Gerard's* Troop to be as a Reserve a little on my Lords right hand. The Princes Regiment was cast out into five Divisions, two Troops to each Division: in the first and very right-hand of all, were Captain *Gardiner*, and Captain *Richardson*; then Captain *Cobb*, and Captain *Martin*; then the Lord *Grandison* and Sir *Thomas Dallison*; next them the Troops of Sir *Lewis Dives*, and the Lord *Dillon*; Major *Legg's* and Lieutenant Colonel *O Neal's* Troops being next unto the Life-Guards; this Regiment was seconded by Major General *Porter's* Regiment: the Field-word, was, *King and Queen*; theirs *Religion*. The fight began about nine a Clock, and after a while it grew fierce, especially on the Princes his right wing, the other doubling their Files from three to six deep, and charged two utmost Troops upon the Flanks so hard, that Capt. *Martin* came timely in to help to beat them off; the Prince himself having pierced deep into the Enemies, and being observed and known, was dangerously at once assaulted by three sturdy Persons, whereof one fell by his own sword; a second being pistoll'd by Master *Mortaign* one of his own Gentlemen; the third now ready to lay hand on the Princes Collar, had it almost chopt off by Sir *Will. Neale*; he thus disingaged with a shot only in his Gauntlet, with Sir *Richard Crane* and his own Troop, charged quite thorow the Body, pursuing them in a Rout home to their

1643.

The fight at Newarke.

1643. Works at the *Spittle*, presently after this, his Regiment with their seconds likewise routed the three other bodies, four of the Troops charging even into the Work, and bringing away a Captain prisoner; *Loughborow* also deported himself honourably, some of his shrunk at the second Charge, but he himself rode back to rally and bring them up again: Colonel *Gerard* was shot in the arm in this encounter, and being by the fall of his Horse much bruised, was taken prisoner.

After a little pause both sides began to make ready for a second Charge; the Prince to make impression, and they to receive it: and though for a good while they disputed it roughly, yet by fine force were they and all the rest driven quite out of the field beyond their own work, Foot and Cannon at the *Spittle*; divers of them hasting by a Bridge of Boats over that branch of the *Trent* into the Island: four other Troops, with as many foot Companies hasted up to *Muskam-bridge* upon the other side of the Island, and main stream of the River, about three quarters of a mile both from *Newark* and the *Spittle*: here they stayed till towards evening; when breaking the Bridge behind them, and throwing one piece of Cannon into the *Trent*, they hasted to *Nottingham*. In both these stiff bouts, the Prince took five Cornets, and ninety Prisoners, whereof three Captains, some Gentlemen, three Cornets, besides other Officers, and two Cannoniers. And now as if an universal Truce had been agreed upon, there was some half an hours silence, excepting that the enemies Cannon disturbed it. As for the Prince he now staied for his Foot and the Reer of his Horse, both left full two miles behind, when his Van began to double their march to overtake the enemy; anon came up his Foot, all that day commanded by Col. *Tillier*: these resting themselves a while upon the hill, the first division being part of those that came from *Shrewsbury*, were led on by the Colonel, these marched down in the face of the enemy, booting at their Cannon, and flanked with some Horse, they were wheeled to the right into a Meadow; at their coming, the enemy drew all their Horse and Foot within their *Spittle*-work, and coming up against this place, both sides saluted one another at too far a distance with a short volley; but Col. *Tillier* was not to stay here, as being by his Orders to march up to the very Rivers side, to recover the Boat-bridge from the enemy; but this being too well guarded, he was glad to go off, making a stand without reach of Cannon. In this time were divers more bodies brought down into the field, who charged up to the enemies work, and killed many: *Loughborow*'s men being left upon the Hill for a reserve. Thus was the valley bespread with the Princes Battalions: and in this posture stood the Army. Sir *Richard Byron* Governour of *Newark* likewise before this, had sent part of his Garrison both (Horse and Foot) into another ground on the South-East side of the Town. And by this time had the Prince notice given him by a Prisoner, and by one of theirs that came over to him, how they were so distressed for want of Victuals, that they were not able to live there two daies. Whereupon he began to resolve upon other

Prince Rupert beats them out of the field.

Counsels, esteeming it cheaper to block up their trenches than to storm them. And blockt up they were already in a very narrow room, no more being free than the backside of the *Spittle* towards the River. Besides which they were on all sides surrounded by his forces. On the South-side by the Town; on the East by the Prince; and on the North by Colonel *Tillier*. Into the Island on the West, had the Prince sent five hundred Horse, besides 200 of the *Newark* Troopers. Thus the late blockers found themselves now besieged, and without much hope of sudden relief or safe means for sally: for so well had the Prince ordered them, that had they sallied forwards, he had then fallen on upon their first issuing out, both in front, and flanks with his Army, and the Town had charged them upon their Reer. Had they offered to escape over their Boat bridge, those in the Isle had disturbed their passing, and others entertained their coming over. By this time had the Prince commanded Sir *Richard Byron* with his own, and Sir *Gervase Eyres* Horse Regiment with 800 of Sir *John Digbyes* foot, to advance so high into the Island, as to put in betwixt the enemies two Bridges. By which interposition was all intercourse cut off, betwixt their greater Body at the *Spittle*, and those at *Muskam-Bridge*: upon this those eight Colours at the Bridge retreated, as aforesaid. Under favour of these Town-forces too, was the Prince resolved to cast up a Redoubt that night betwixt the Bridges, but going to view the Ground, the enemy sent out a Trumpet to desire a Parley. To make way for this, and the more to sweeten and oblige the Prince, had Sir *John Meldrum* some hours before sent home Colonel *Gerard*, yet upon the Parole of a Souldier and a Gentleman, to return himself a Prisoner when ever he should be called. They having sent out to Parley quit their Bridge, which the Prince presently possessed by 100 Musqueteers. For the Parley on the Prince his part was appointed Sir *Richard Crane*, Captain of his Life-Guards, with Sir *William Neale*, Scout-Master-General, the other sending Sir *Miles Hobard*, and Sir *John Palgrave* two Colonels of *Norfolk*, on their part. The Prince his Horse were so over-marcht, and the Foot so beaten off their Legs by long marches, that he found his men not very able to engage a new, and the enemy were more than was believed; so that he was willing to give them good conditions, and the rather, for that (as by intercepted Letters it appeared) the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas*, being commanded by the Council of State to march, other places might ere long have need of his presence, so that (at length) he condescended to these Articles.

1643. The Prince blocks up their Trenches.

The Prince grants them these Articles.

1. *That all Match, Bullet, Powder, Cannon, and all other fire Arms belonging to the Artillery be delivered.*

2. *That all Souldiers march away with their Swords by their sides, and Colours and Drums.*

3. *That all Officers march without molestation, with their Arms and Horses for themselves and Servants, and all Bag and Baggage, Money, and what soever doth truly belong to themselves.*

4. *That all Troopers and Dragoons march with their Swords, Horses and Colours.*

5. *That*

5. *That His Highneſs ſend a Convoy to protect us from any injury two miles from the utmoſt of His Highneſs quarters.*

Dated *March* 22. 1643.

The Parliamentarians quit their Garriſons in *Lincolnſhire.*

Upon this Victory of the Prince, the Garriſons of *Gainsbrow*, *Lincolne* and *Sleeford*, were quitted by the Parliamentarians, and *Sterne* Caſtle in *Staffordſhire* was ſurrendred to Sir *Gilbert Gerard* for the King; but four daies after the action at *Newark*, The King's Forces under the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* received a conſiderable loſs at a place called *Hilton*, where for two or three daies ſeveral skirmiſhes were made betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Armies, and on the 25th of *March* they came to a pretty cloſe engagement, wherein the *Engliſh* Foot were much diſordered and one Brigade of the Horſe routed, and about two hundred Horſe and men were taken, but not without great loſs to the *Scots*, though their numbers were increaſed with 3000 *Engliſh* Seamen and others which came to them in *Sunderland* from *Hull*, and upon this diſorder the Marqueſs inlarged his quarters Southward, but the *Scots* did not yet advance much farther.

1644.

The Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* receives a loſs at *Hilton.*

Arundel Caſtle taken by Sir *William Waller.*

Sir *William Waller* having taken *Arundel* Caſtle in *Suſſex*, and procured a Commiſſion from the Parliament leſs dependent on *Eſſex* than that he had before, marches into *Hampſhire* againſt the Lord *Hopton*, who was then very fortunate there, having taken *Warder* Caſtle, and many other places. At *Brandon Heath* near *Alresford*, both parties met on the 30th of *March*, and there was a very hot diſpute betwixt them, but *Waller* having the advantage of the ground, and a covert of Trees and Hedges to ſhelter his foot, did thereby great execution on the King's Party, who preſſing too eagerly to gain a Victory, loſt it; yet it was not an intire Conqueſt, for my Lord *Hopton* retreated to *Wincheſter* with all his Cannon, except two heavy pieces which were plunged, and could not eaſily be drawn off; but Sir *John Smith* and Col. *Butler*, and ſome other Officers of leſs note, of his Army, were ſlain, and 200 common Souldiers, and many others wounded, amongſt which the Lord *Steward* Brother to the Duke of *Richmond* was one, who died three or four daies after at *Abington*, of his wounds: He was a young Noble-man of great courage and generoſity in all his actions, and very debonaire and affable in his behaviour towards all; on the Parliament ſide many Officers and Souldiers were killed and wounded, and of the wounded, Colonel *Thomſon* who loſt his leg, and Colonel *Dalbie*, were the moſt remarkable; after this Fight, the Town of *Wincheſter* was yielded to Sir *William Waller*, but the Caſtle continued long after a Garriſon for the King. The news of the affront lately given to the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle's* Army by General *Leſley*, animated *Fairfax* and the Forces in *Yorkſhire*, to draw what Troops they could together to endeavour to join with the *Scots*, who were now upon their march, and in purſuance of this deſign, the Lord *Fairfax* marched out of *Hull* with twenty Troops of Horſe, and joined with his Son Sir *Thomas* and Colonel *Lambert*, who made up about Sixty Troops more, beſides a good body of Foot under Sir *John Meldrum*, making up in all to the number of ſeven thouſand Horſe and Foot, and with this little Army they made as if they intended to march to *York*, but on the 11th of *April*, when they came near *Selby* (where Colonel *Bellaſis* lay with a good body of Men, as a reſerve to the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*) they drew before the Town, and about eleven of the Clock they aſſaulted it in three places, and after two hours fight, made themſelves maſters thereof, wherein they took Colonel *Bellaſis* the Commander in Chief, Governour of *York*, with moſt of the reſt of the Officers, and ſixteen hundred common Souldiers, a Drake, and a Saker, ſeven barrels of Powder, ſixteen bundles of Match, great ſtore of Bullets, and two thouſand Arms; immediately upon this ſucceſs, the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* retreated to *York*, to re-inforce that Garriſon, in caſe any attempt ſhould be made upon it; and *Fairfax* marched to meet the *Scots*, and joined his Army with theirs at *Wetherby*, from whence they diſpoſed them to quarters till a reſolution ſhould be taken for further action: In the mean time, the Queen being great with Child at *Oxford* and ſomewhat apprehenſive of a ſiege there by the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *William Waller*, which was the common intelligence of that time, to prevent the inconveniences thereof, ſet out from *Oxford* on the 17th of *April* towards *Exeter*, where ſhe ſafely arrived ſome time after; and two daies after her departure from *Oxford*, the Parliamentary convention at *Oxford* were by the King prorogued to the eighth of *October*, and that prorogation was afterward inlarged to the ninth of *November* by Proclamation. Prince *Rupert* was very active in *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, and *Lancaſhire*, to make an Army ſufficient to relieve the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, who was ſomewhat ſtraitned in *Yorkſhire* by the Parliament Forces, where he had done very good ſervice in taking many Garriſons from the Enemy, as *Longford* Houſe, and *Tonge* Caſtle in *Shropſhire*, *Stopford* in *Cheſhire*, and *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, beſides the relief of *Latham* Houſe, (which had been 18 weeks defended by the Counteſs of *Derby* againſt a cloſe ſiege) and the defeat of many parties that encountred him or his Forces at ſeveral times, but we ſhall leave him for a while to ſpeaks of the King's condition at this time.

Waller defeateth the Lord *Hopton* at *Brandon-Heath.*

Wincheſter yielded to Sir *William Waller.*

1644.

Selby taken by the Lord *Fairfax.*

Fairfax joins his Army with the *Scots.*

The Queen upon apprehenſion of danger, removes from *Oxford* to *Exeter.*

The Parliament at *Oxford* prorogued.

Latham Houſe defended 18 weeks by the Counteſs of *Derby*, relieved by Prince *Rupert.*

The Parliament having formed two Armies, whereof the Foot were far the moſt part made up of *London* Trained-Bands and Auxiliaries, one under the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the other under Sir *William Waller*; both Armies Randezvouz'd on the 24th of *May* at *Blewbury* in *Berk-ſhire*, and kept their head-quarters that night at *Abington* within five miles of *Oxford*, where they continued five or ſix daies, and *Eſſex* marched from thence to *Iſlip*, with purpoſe to diſtreſs *Oxford* on the North part, and left Sir *William Waller* at *Abington* on the South part.

The Parliament forms two Armies under the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *William Waller.*

The King perceiving the Parliaments intention to beſiege *Oxford*, was reſolved to endeavour to prevent it, by giving their Armies ſome diſtant diverſion, or at leaſt to remove his perſon from the incommodities of a ſiege: The place reſolved to go to, was *Worceſter*, which he kept ſo private, that ſcarce any knew of it but himſelf, and

to

1644. to amuse the enemy, on the third of *June*, he sent a party of five or six hundred Horse, under the Command of the Earl of *Cleaveland*, to alarm *Abington*, who bravely entred the Turnpike and if he had had more forces, might have carried the Town, but having done his business, he retreated with his Party to *Oxford*, whilst *Waller* drew his Troops about *Abington*, expecting the King's march that way, but He that evening appointed his Randezvouze at *Northly*, about eight miles from *Oxford* where he drew up his Army, consisting of about 7000 Horse and Foot, 12 Drakes and 60 Carriages, and having refreshed himself at one Mr. *Parrets* House there, from whence he marched to *Burton on the Water*, a Village between *Burford* and *Ston on the Wold*, and there lodged at Dr *Temples* the Parson there.

The King removes with his Army from Oxford to Worcester.

From *Burton* the King went to *Parshore*, and from thence to *Worcester*.

Essex and *Waller* having notice of the King's march 18 hours after he was gone, pursued him two several waies; *Essex* was in some trouble to know what to do, considering that fighting would not so much waste his men, as tedious marches after the King's light Army, when his was incumbred with a heavy train of Artillery, so that he thought it more prudent to put *Waller* upon this service, and to stay for him at *Burford* to consult about the prosecution of it. At *Burford* it was resolved that *Essex* should march Westward, to bring those Counties into the obedience of the Parliament, whilst *Waller* should get what Forces he could together, to join with him in pursuit of the King, who was yet at *Worcester*, from whence on the 11th of *June* he sent a party out to relieve *Dudley* Castle that was besieged, and having intelligence that the Parliament Armies were now severed, and hearing that *Waller* came nearer by tedious and hungry marches, the King advanced to *Budely*, where he staied four daies, and *Waller* imagining his intention to be to march towards Prince *Rupert*, hastned into *Staffordshire* to get before him, but the King turns back with resolution to be furnished with more men and ammunition from *Oxford*, and in order thereunto on the 18th of *June* he come to *Witney*, where he staid till some forces came to increase his Army, and being as well provided as he could in so short a time; He marched towards the Parliaments associated Counties, and on the 22d of *June* he came to *Buckingham*, where he received the joyful news of the Queens safe delivery of the Princess *Henrietta*.

Essex marches Westward. Waller pursues the King to Worcester.

The King marches to Buckingham, where he receives the news of the Birth of the Princess Henrietta at Exeter.

Waller to recruit his Army from the Garrisons of *Glocester*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, *Northampton* and *Kenelmworth* Castle, had on the 26th of *June*, a Randezvouze in *Keinton* field, whereof the King having notice turned his march towards him, and quartered that night at *Brackley*; two daies after the King coming before *Banbury*, he found *Waller* drawn up in Battalia Westward from the Town on the side of *Crouch-hill*, taking advantage of the Hills, Boggs and Ditches, so that the King marched to *Daintry*, leaving a guard of Dragoons at *Cropredy-bridge*, to secure his pass over the River, and thereupon the Army marched over, and the Musqueteers that guarded the Bridge, were gone off, when *Waller* greedily apprehending to make some advantage upon the King's Rear, puts over 2000 Horse, with a great body of Foot, and 14 pieces of Cannon, sufficient as he thought to disorder it; the King's Rear consisted of the Earl of *Cleaveland*, and the Earl of *Northampton*'s Brigades of Horse, and Sir *Bernard Ashley*'s *tertia* of Foot: These fac'd about, and routed all the Enemy that had p ssed the Bridge; and the Earl of *Northampton* seeing some of *Waller*'s Horse indeavouring to ford the River, charged and repulsed them: In this fight 300 of *Waller*'s Souldiers were slain, and *Weems* their General of the Ordnance was taken prisoner, with two Lieutenant Colonels, three Captains, two Lieutenants, four Cornets, with other Ensigns and Officers, 180 common Souldiers, five Gunners, and fourteen great Guns. There was slain on the King's part, Sir *William Butler*, and Sir *William Clark*, the Lord *Wilmot* General of the Horse, was twice Prisoner, but rescued once by Sir *Frederick Cornwalis*, and the second time by Mr. *Robert Howard*, who was Knighted for the service of that day. Colonel *Nevil* was also hurt, and some other Officers and others were taken Prisoners, but there were not above twenty slain. 1644.

Sir William Waller routed by the Kings forces at Cropredy-bridg.

The King marched to *Evesham* after this fight, from whence he sent a message to the Parliament to invite them to a Treaty of Peace, and from thence he went on to *Bath*; Sir *William Waller* was not in a condition to follow him, but after some time, he went to *London* to sollicit recruits, whilst the King march'd after *Essex* into the west. In the beginning of this Month, Prince *Rupert* marched out of *Lancashire* with a considerable Army for the relief of *York*, wherein the Marques of *Newcastle* had been besieged two months by three Armies, under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*, the Lord *Fairfax* and General *Lesley*; they all upon approach of the Prince, drew off their Army, and thereupon the Prince and the Marques of *Newcastle* marched after them to a plain called *Marston-Moor*, where on the third of *July*, a terrible Fight began, in which the Prince at first had much the better, taking their Ordnance, and many of them Prisoners, insomuch that General *Lesley* and the Lord *Fairfax* thinking all had been lost, fled many miles from the place where the Battel was fought, and never came to the remainder of their Army, till two daies after the Fight; but in conclusion, by a wonderful and an unexpected fatality the fortune of the day turned, and the Parliament Forces recovered their lost Ordnance, and took some of the Princes Baggage, and with it Sir *Charles Lucas*, Colonel *Porter*, and Colonel *Tilliard* Prisoners. In this Battel were slain on his Majesties part, the Lord *Cary*, Sir *Thomas Metham*, Colonel *Eure*, Colonel *Towneley*, with some others of note, and about 1500 common Souldiers. On the Parliaments part were slain Sir *Charles Fairfax*, with many other of their Commanders, and at least 3000 Souldiers.

The King sends a Message to the Parliament about a Treaty of Peace.

York besieged by *Manchester*, *Fairfax* and *Lesly*, is relieved by Prince *Rupert*.

Marston-Moor Fight, wherein the King's Party was at last defeated.

After this Battel the Parliament Army sate down again before *York*, and Prince *Rupert* marched away with about 6000 Horse and Dragoons into *Lancashire*, and from thence to *Chester*, but the Marques of *Newcastle*, and his two Sons, General *King*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Lord

1644. Lord *Widdrington*, Earl of *Carnwarth*, Bishop of *London-Derry*, Lord *William Carnaby* General Pay-master, Sir *Edward Widdrington*, Colonel *Carnaby*, Colonel *Basset*, Colonel *Mozen*, Sir *Wal. Vavasor*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Fra. Mackworth*, and Sir *Charles Cavendish*, did all take Shipping at *Scarborow*, and were from thence transported to *Hamborough*.

The sudden departure of the Marquess of *Newcastle*, and so many other considerable persons at this time, was thought to be occasioned by a general Dissatisfaction among the Officers, concerning the Abilities and Integrity of *King*; whose direction had a great Influence upon the Action of that day; but however it came to pass, so it was, that being a *Scotch* Man he was very hardly spoken of among the Northern Commanders, as neither so great a Souldier as the World believed him, nor so zealous in the Cause, as perhaps he would have been, if it had not been against his own Country-men.

The Parliament Army had now lain twelve daies before *York*, since their last approach to it, and preparation was made for a Storm; but Sir *Thomas Glemham* the Governor sent a Trumpeter out late at night for a Parley, for his Provisions and Ammunition was much wasted, and he had not above 1000 Souldier's besides those that were sick and wounded, to defend the Town: So that upon the 16th of *July* the City was Surrendred upon very honourable Terms, amongst which the two or three first were, *That all Officers and Souldiers should march out with their Horses and Arms, flying Colours, Drums beating, Matches lighted, Bullets in Mouth, with Bag and Baggage, and a Convoy to* Skipton, *and that no Souldiers shall be plundered*: But the Souldiers that were to guard them, in violation of these conditions plundered many of the Waggons, at which the Earl of *Manchester* and *Cromwel* were so much displeased, that many of them were censured at a Court Martial, but little restitution was made, and most of them that were accused, agreed in one excuse, *viz.* That they never heard it was any part of the agreement, that they should march away, and be protected with their Bag and Baggage, and that many of Sir *Thomas Glemham*'s Souldiers set them on to plunder, discovering to them which were the Waggons of Papists, in rifling whereof they assisted and got their share.

York surrendred to the Parliament.

Having endeavoured hitherto in the actions of this year, to apply them to the times whereon they were acted, we must now return to describe the motions of the Earl of *Essex* and the King in the Western parts, which for some weeks together administred the greatest matter for Story.

Whilst the King was at *Bath*, he received advice that *Essex* was about the 16th of *July*, march'd from *Teverton* in *Devonshire* towards *Plymouth* to raise the Siege, which Sir *Richard Greenvil* had at that time before *Plymouth*, and disperse his Forces, which was the result of a Council of War then had, when two other Questions were proposed, either to march back to meet the King's Forces, or to besiege *Exeter*, but neither of those were approved, and they were not very earnest to attempt *Exeter*, now they knew they had frighted the Queen from thence, who about the 15th or 16th of *July* safely arrived at *Brest* in *Britanny*, where she was very well received, though she got not thither without much hazard, having 100 great shot made at her; and those few small Vessels of her Guard by a Squadron of the Parliament Ships that lay to intercept her.

1644. The Queen leaves *Exeter*, and Arrives at *Brest* in *Britanny*.

As soon as the King heard of *Essex*'s advance towards *Plymouth*, he march'd with his Army into *Somersetshire*, and at *Kingsmore*, he summoned the Gentry of the County, and recommended to them the Care of that County in his absence, and not to suffer themselves to be drawn away from his service: and hearing that upon the March of *Essex* his Army towards *Plymouth*, Sir *Richard Greenvil* had raised his Siege thereof, and was march'd into *Cornwal*, with his own Regiment, and the Regiments of Colonel *Fortescue*, Colonel *Carew*, and Colonel *Acklland*, and that *Essex* was marching after him with his Army, he immediately advanced with all his Forces towards *Cornwal*, but before he could get thither, *Essex* had much distressed *Greenvil*, having almost inclosed him with three Regiments of Horse, and a Company of Dragoons under Colonel *Bear*.

The King marcheth with his Army into *Somersetshire*.

Sir *Richard Greenvil* distressed by *Essex*.

On the first of *August* the King entred *Cornwal*, passing over the *Tamar* at *Polton-bridge*, and he marched directly to *Liscard*, where for some time he settled his head-Quarters; the County was very cordial to him, insomuch that not any of *Essex* his men could straggle from their Quarters without danger to be killed or taken Prisoners by the Country people, which made him (who then Quartered at *Lestithiel* about 8 miles from *Liscard*) keep his Army very much together, and call back those he had sent to attempt on Sir *Richard Greenvil*; but all his care did not prevent the loss of some of his chief Officers; for Quarter Master-General *Dalbeir*, Colonel *Allured*, Lieutenant Colonel *Carleton*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Bartley*, with some other Officers being at the Lord *Mohun*'s House at *Boconock* at Dinner, were all, except *Dalbeir*, surprized by a party of the King's Horse, and brought Prisoners to *Liscard* on the 4th of *August*.

The King enters Cornwal and marcheth by *Liscard*.

Many of *Essex* his Officers surprised and brought Prisoners to *Liscard*.

The King by the addition of Prince *Maurice* his Army was much increased in strength, and in all appearance likely to give himself (as it after happened) a conquest over *Essex*, but the tenderness he always had towards his Subjects, made him try rather (according to his custom) first to seek Peace before he proceeded to the rigour of War, in order whereunto he writ from *Liscard* a Letter to *Essex*, dated *August* the 6th which he sent to him by his Nephew, the Lord *Beauchamp*, but no return was made to it, and a day or two after another Letter was writ to him by the Officers of the Army, to which he sent a negative answer to the Earl of *Forth*, importing, *That he had received a Letter from his Lordship, and some other Commanders, by which a Treaty was desired with him for a general Peace, which he could not admit of without breach of the Trust reposed in him by the Parliament, having no power by his Commission to Treat in a matter of such Importance.* During this conjuncture of affairs, an unhappy accident fell out in the King's Army, for in the consultation amongst the Officers of the Letter to be sent to *Essex*, a very earnest debate

Prince *Maurice* joyns his Army with the King's.

The King sends a Letter of grace to *Essex*.

1644. was had of the matter of it, and the manner of the addreſs, and ſome expreſſions uttered by the L. *Wilmot* therein, of making the Prince of *Wales* Mediator in the buſineſs, which by ſome diſaffected to that Lord was improved to his prejudice, as if he intended to make a diviſion in the Army; and thereupon the King was perſwaded to ſecure him, and ſend him away with a Guard to *Oxford*; which cauſed a great conſternation in the Army, for he was very well beloved of the Souldiers, and if great care had not been uſed to temper the minds of many of them, great inconveniencies might have enſued; but nevertheleſs the King loſt hereby the counſel and conduct of one of his beſt Officers, who by all the actions of his Life before and after gave ſuch evident marks of his Loyalty, that even his enemies were aſhamed and ſorry for their apprehenſions of him: General *Goring* was at the inſtant of his remove put into his Command, and the King began to uſe all poſſible means to diſtreſs the Enemy by almoſt encompaſſing them with his Forces, he himſelf and Prince *Maurice* Quartered at *Boconnock*, *Greenvil* faſtned himſelf at *Lanhetherock* three miles Weſt of the King, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Leprin*-Bridge a mile above *Liſtithiel*, to which place the tide flowed up from *Foy*, ſo that it was not fordable but at one paſs between that and the Sea; the King's Army incamped between *Boconnock* and a Heath that parted his Quarters and the Enemy, and placed Guards on all places on the River leading from his Quarters at *Liſtithiel* to *Foy*, poſſeſſing a Houſe of the Lord *Mohun's* over againſt the Town, and a Fort that commanded the mouth of the Haven; ſo that *Eſſex* had no place for relief by water but at a ſmall Creek *Mumbilley*, and St. *Blaſſe* his Bay, but neither ſafe for Ships, but they retained a large ſpace of ground Weſtward, whereupon *Goring* was ſent with moſt of the Horſe, and Sir *Thomas Baſſet* with 1500 Foot to thoſe parts to ſtop all proviſions coming in at St. *Blaſe*, by which means *Eſſex* and his Army were reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that Sir *William Belfour* with five and twenty hundred of their Horſe broke away before day in the morning on the 31 of *Auguſt*, between the Quarters of his Majeſty and Prince *Maurice*, as they lay Encamped, and got to *Saltaſh*, and the ſame night *Eſſex* himſelf and the Lord *Roberts* deſerted the Army, and got away in a Boat to *Plymouth*.

Lord Wilmot ſecured at Oxford.

General Goring put into his command.

Eſſex is blocked up by the King's Forces in Cornwal.

Eſſex forced to deſert his Army.

The next day *Skippon* with the Foot endeavoured to march to *Foy*, but the King having notice of their motion marched ſoon after them, and that day took five of their Ordnance, falling into their Rear within two miles of *Liſtithiel*, the next morning they made a ſtand, and with their remaining Horſe regained ſome fields from whence they had been forced before, whereupon the King ſent Captain *Edward Breet* with the Queens Troop, who in his view forced them to retire, regained the loſt ground, and got more, and returned in good order with the loſs only of four of his men, and himſelf ſhot in the arm; for which good ſervice the King immediately Knighted him. In the evening their men were ſo haraſſed, they could ſcarce be made to ſtand to their Arms, and in that their condition Lieutenant Colonel *Butler* came to deſire a Parley of the King, which was granted, and a Treaty followed, by which on the firſt of *December*, the following Articles were accorded betwixt Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Brainford* on the one part, and Major General *Philip Skippon* and Colonel *Chriſtopher Whitcot* on the other part.

Captain *Breet* Knighted for his good ſervice.

1644. A Treaty betwixt Prince Maurice and Major General Skippon.

1. *That all the Officers and Souldiers Horſe and Foot on this ſide the River* Foy, *ſhall to morrow being the* 1. *of* Septemb. *at* 11. *of the Clock deliver up their own Quarters, all their Cannon, Train of Artillery, Carriages, Arms Offenſive and Defenſive, both of Horſe and Foot, Powder, Bullet, Match and Ammunition unto ſuch Officers as the General of his Majeſties Artillery ſhall appoint, except Swords and Piſtols of all Officers above Corporals.*

2. *That all Officers and Souldiers, both Horſe and Foot of the ſaid Army ſhall march out of their Quarters to* Liſtithiel *with Colours, Trumpets, and Drums, and that all Officers above the degree of Serjeants, ſhall have their Servants, not exceeding the number of fifty.*

3. *That they ſhall march from* Liſtithiel *to* Pool *and* Wareham, *and not touch any Garriſon by the way.*

4. *In caſe they march from* Pool, *that they ſhall not bear Arms, till they come to* Portſmouth *and* Southampton.

5. *That all ſick and wounded ſhall lie at* Foy *till they be cured.*

6. *That they ſhall have in their march all the money they can procure from* Plymouth, *and all other accommodation they can obtain from thence.*

7 *That there ſhall be no inviting of Souldiers, but ſuch as come voluntary to his Majeſties Service.*

And according to theſe Articles, the King had delivered up to him all the Train of Artillery, conſiſting of 49 Braſs Pieces of Ordnance (with thoſe taken before) two hundred and odd Barrels of Gun-powder, with Match and Ball proportionable, 700 Carriages, and betwixt eight and nine thouſand Arms; and many of the Common Souldiers deſerted their Officers, and voluntarily offered their Service to the King; but this Victory did not leſſen the King's inclination to Peace, inſomuch that on the 8th of *September* he ſent a ſecond Meſſage to the Parliament from *Taveſtock*, though this, as that before, had no anſwer; nor was any Treaty agreed on till *January* following, as will be hereafter mentioned. But in ſtead of this Meſſage, if he had gone with his Army towards *London*, in all probability he might have made an end of the War, the Army of *Eſſex* being thus broken, and that of *Manchester* not returned from the Northern ſervice.

The King ſends a ſecond Meſſage to the Parliament for Peace.

About this time the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* was very victorious for the King in *Scotland*, having obtained a great victory over the Covenanters upon *Newbigging*-Moor, and taken *Perth*, and within fourteen daies after this he gained another victory near unto *Aberdeen*, and ſoon after took that City, and marched from thence into the Earl of *Argyles* Country, which he waſted with fire and ſword, and did many great ſervices, even to admiration, conſidering the ſmalneſs of his be-

The ſucceſs of *Montroſs* in *Scotland*.

1644. beginning and the little assistance he had from *England*; but we shall leave a while the narrative of his fortune, to return to the Transactions in *England*, which were the remaining part of this year prosecuted in several places with various success: In the West after the great Victory over *Essex* his Army, *Ilford-Comb*, *Barnstable*, and *Saltash* submitted to the Kings Arms, and *Basing*-house that had been eighteen weeks besieged, was relieved by a party from *Oxford* under Sir *Henry Gage*, and a little after he with the Earl of *Northampton* raised the siege of *Banbury*-Castle, which had been a Month beleaguer'd by Colonel *John Fines*, and slew and took many of his men, and one piece of Ordnance: but the good fortune of the Parliament in several parts ballanced this success with advantage, *Monmouth* was in *September* taken by Colonel *Massy*, and the Town and Castle of *New-Castle*, which had long endured the utmost force of the *English* and *Scotch* Armies, was taken by storm with great loss to the Assailants on the 27th of *October*, and a while after *Liverpool* in *Lancashire* was surrendred to Sir *John Meldrum*, but the great businesses that concluded this year were, the Battel of *Newberry*, and the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which will come next to be related, interwoven with some other of the most remarkable Occurrences that then hapned.

The King has good success in the West.

The Parliaments success in divers parts.

The Earls of *Essex* and *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller*, had drawn a great Army together, with a resolution to hinder the Kings March to *Oxford*, but he not believing that *Essex* could have so soon appeared at the head of an Army, sought or was willing not to decline engagement. *Essex* and *Manchester* on the 23th of *October* rendezvouz'd their Army in *Aldermaston* Park, and the next night came privately over the water at a Ford near *Padworth*, and next morning to *Bucklebury* heath near *Newberry*, where the King then was, and about 12 of the Clok drew down their whole Army between *Thatcham* and *Shaw*, and skirmished with the Kings Horse; On *Saturday* both Armies plied one another with their great Ordnance, but without much hurt done. Then some of *Manchesters* Troops and *London* Trained bands crossed the River *Kennet* between the hill and *Newberry*, and did some execution upon those that kept the Pass against them: But Sir *Bernard Ashley* coming to their rescue, forceth the other over the River. Again, in the afternoon 4000 of *Essex* and *Wallers* Horse and Dragoons with 500 Pikes, charged the Royal Army on the West side of *Newberry*, where were the Cornish foot, & the Duke of *Yorks* Regiment, with 5 field pieces, and Prince *Maurice*'s Brigade of Cornish Horse, all which having not unmanfully sustained the rough charge of the Parliamentarians, were yet forced to retreat back in some disorder, and here some of the Kings field-pieces were taken. The Essexians following their success, advanced with 500 Horse, and a sufficient strength of Musquettiers betwixt *Newberry* and *Spine* upon the Kings Life-Guards, and Sir *Humphrey Bennet's* Brigade, whom they overpowered, and had much more endamaged, if the Lord *Bernard Stewart* had not come up to their assistance, and secured their Retreat on the East-side of *Spine*; the Parliamentarians having settled three bodies of foot in certain inclosures, advanced over a ditch with a great body of Horse to break through the Kings Guards, but first they were obliged to fight with General *Goring* and the E. of *Cleavelands* Brigade (who charged stoutly and beat back the Enemy, but pursuing disorderly were repulsed with loss.)

The Battle at *Newberry*.

1644.

Upon the North-East of *Newberry* stood the Lord *Ashley*, with Colonel *George Lisle*, against whom the Earl of *Manchesters* Horse and Foot, with the Trained Bands of *London* came down the Hill, and worsted Colonel *Lisles* Guards. But Sir *John Brown* Lieut. Colonel of the Prince of *Wales* his Regiment of Horse, charged the Foot, and stopt them, and then received a charge of 1000 Horse, and was forced to retreat.

Manchester in the next place forces his way to charge the Reserve commanded by Colonel *Thelwel*, and after a smart dispute beat them out of the field and gains their Colours, and two pieces of Cannon: In this Battel on the Kings part were slain, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, Lieutenant Col. *Leak*, Lieutenant Col. *Topping*, and Capt. *Catlin*; the Earl of *Cleaveland*, and some few were taken; the Earl of *Brainford* and *Forth*, Sir *John Greenvill*, Sir *Richard Campfield*, Major *Alford* and Captain *Walgrave* and others were wounded, many private Souldiers slain and taken prisoners. The fight endured till eight of the Clock at night, and was ended to the advantage of the Parliamentarians; for the King perceiving that most of his Brigades were shattered, and fearing a total overthrow if the Battel should be renewed, marched away secretly to *Dennington*-Castle, and there left behind him his great pieces of Ordnance, and so hastened to *Willingford*. General *Essex* lodged himself in *Newberry*, and having in vain summoned and assaulted *Dennington*-Castle, he marched away on the 29th of *October*, committing the care of that Siege to a party which he left behind him.

The Kings party worsted at *Newberry*.

The King after this fight made what haste he could to recruit and refresh his Army, that he might relieve *Dennington*-Castle, which was not sufficiently provided, and bring from thence the Ordnance, Ammunition & Baggage which he left there, and that he might also succor *Basing*-house, which was again besieged, & therefore on the 6th of *Novemb* he had his Randezouze at *Bullington-Green* betwixt *Wallingford* and *Oxford*, and from thence, he marched two days after to *Dennington* but upon his approach to the Castle, the Enemy drew off their Forces, and he put into the Garrison a supply of such things as they wanted, and then drew off the Train of Artillery, and other Carriages which he had left there: and hearing Sir *William Waller* was with an Army about *Hungerford*, he marcht thither to ingage him, but they would not venture an encounter, and from thence Sir *Henry Gage* was sent with a Party to relieve *Basing*-House, but before he came, the besiegers drew off, and left the work very easie to him. After these performances the King returned to *Oxford*, and disposed his Army to Winter Quarters, and there he was attended by the Earl of *Denbigh*, and some of the House of Commons as Commissioners from the Parliament, with Propositions for a Peace, which produced an overture for a Message to be sent from him to the Parliament by the Duke of *Richmond*, and the

The King returns to *Oxford*, and receives Propositions for a Peace

1644. Earl of *Southampton*, which was agreed to, and from thence a Treaty was had at *Uxbridge*, which began about the first of *February* after, of which we shall make further mention in its place.

About the end of this Moneth, Sir *Alexander Carew* who was Governor of St. *Nicholas* Island at *Plimouth*, was tryed by a Court Martial for endeavouring to deliver up the Island to the King, and sentenced to be beheaded, which sentence was a few dayes after executed upon him on *Tower-Hill*, and by the same Court Martial Sir *John Hotham* and his Son were in like manner arraigned, found guilty, and executed for designing to quit their party, and by some service to ingratiate a return to their allegiance to the King: concerning whose misfortunes, the King amongst other reflections thereon in his excellent * Book, expres'd him thus,

Sir *Alexander Carew* beheaded. Sir *John Hotham* and his Son executed.

* Eikon Basilik. pag. 5. &c.

Sir John Hotham *unreproached, unthreatned, not cursed by any language or secret imprecation of mine, only blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldest Sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward than thus, to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.*

Nor is it strange that they who imployed them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not find mercy enough to forgive him, who had so much promerited of them: For Apostasie unto Loyalty, some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn; the cutting off one head in a Family, is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weale. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Country; Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

In this heat, *Roger L'Estrange*, the Son of Sir *Hamond L'Estrange* of *Norf.* was Condemned to dye by the same Court, being taken with a Commission for the Reducing of *Lyn*. He was betrayed by on *Leman*, and *Haggar*, under the horridest Oath of Secresie imaginable: He was Sentenced by a packt Committee unheard: and upon his appeal to the Lords, Reprieved in order to a Hearing, which he expected almost four years, in *Newgate*, and came off at last without it.

By this severe and sanguinary way of proceeding, the Parliament made themselves very terrible especially to their own party, against whom any particular Crimes could be objected; but where the offences were general, and the persons of great interest in their Army, they were more cautious in their methods; and it happened at this time, that they were much perplex'd at the ill conduct of their Armies, in suffering the King to make that progress he lately did in the relief of *Dennington* and *Basing*-House; for by his appearance there, the quarters of the Parliaments Army on that side, were at *Redding*, *Henly*, *Abington* and *Farnham*, and the Kings Troops were quarter'd at *Basing*, *Odiam*, *Newbury*, *Blewbury* and *Malborough*.

Dennington and *Basing* House relieved by the Kings Forces.

Essex began to be suspected as careless or discontented, and Colonel *Norton* writ a Letter that he had received a Warrant from a Chief Commander of the Army to withdraw from *Basing*: And the Earl of *Manchester* made a long Relation in writing concerning the carriage at *Dennington*, wherein he made his own defence, but accused Colonel *Cromwel*. Upon this the House of Commons fell into consideration of the slow proceedings of their Armies, alledging that many of their Officers were deficient in not prosecuting advantages, which tended to the Prolongation of the War, and that the differences amongst their Commanders were commonly most where the command is greatest; which produced this Resolution, (viz.) *That no Member of either House of Parliament shall (during this War) injoy or execute any Office or Command Military or Civil, which hath been granted or conferred on any Member of either House, or by any authority derived from either House, and that an Ordinance be brought in to that purpose.*

1644.

The House of Commons vote, That no Parliament man shall execute any command Military or Civil.

This Vote and the ordinance thereupon was very much opposed by the Peers, but Petitions from the City and severaly Counties were framed and presented to move their compliance, which in the end prevailed upon them; In the mean time, though it was now Winter, and not ordinarily a time of Action, the War went on in several places, and several new Garrisons were made by both parties, to the miserable spoyl and destruction of the Country. Sir *Jacob Ashley* possessed himself of *Cirencester* with three Brigades of Foot and four Regiments of Horse, and became so formidable, that he commanded Contribution to the very Gates of *Glocester*; nor were the Garrisons in *Worcester*, *Hereford*, and *Bristol*, less active and *Monmouth* that had been before taken from the King, was regain'd by the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*, but in the midst of this good Fortune on the Kings side, a Garrison was form'd at *Abington*, a Town within five miles of *Oxford*, by order from the Two Houses of Parliament, under the command of Colonel *Brown*, the King and Council looking on, and suffering the Intrenchments to be made, the Works to be raised, and the Ordnance to be planted on the same. * It cannot be denied, but that Sir *Henry Gage*, and many of the chief Commanders which were then in and about *Oxford*, offered their service to the King, and earnestly desired leave to prevent that mischief which by the Intrenchments of this Town must needs fall upon them. But the Lord *George Digby*, not long before made Principal Secretary of State, had perswaded the King unto the contrary, upon assurance that he held intelligence with *Brown*, and that as soon as the Town was fortified and furnished with Victual, Arms and Ammunition, at the charges of the Houses of Parliament, it would immediately be delivered into his Majesties hand. In which design he was deluded, and exposed to some loss of Reputation: For *Brown* having brought his project to the highest round of the ladder (as himself expressed it) thought it high time to turn it off, and to declare himself for the two Houses against the King; printing not long after all the Letters which passed between him and the Lord *Digby* upon this occasion.

Monmouth regained by the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*.

Abington made a Garrison for the Parliament under *Brown* command.

* *Heylin's* short view of the Life and Reign of King *Charles* fol. 109.

But

1644. But now when it was too late, Sir *Hen. Gage* was sent with a commanded party out of *Oxford* and *Wallingford* to raise a Fort at *Cullam* Bridge within half a mile of *Abington*, but the design being discovered he was prevented, and in the attempt unfortunately received a shot, whereof within two hours he died, and with him Lieutenant Col. *Lower* the Deputy Governor of *Wallingford*, and Major *Green* of that Garrison, with several others of great Courage and Reputation.

Arch-Bishop Laud beheaded on Tower-hill.

On the same day, or the day before, *William Laud*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, after he had been kept four years a Prisoner in the *Tower*, his Rent sequestred, and his Books, Papers, and all his Goods seiz'd; his Charge was, *a constructive Treason under several heads, reducible into two particulars*;

1. *For endeavouring the subversion of the Laws of the Land.*
2. *And a like endeavour to overthrow the Protestant Religion.*

His Tryal was at the Lords Bar, and Mr. *William Pryn* of *Lincolns-Inn*, his profest enemy, was made his Prosecutor, wherein nothing was omitted to aggravate his offences, though when all that could be, was said, nothing that did amount to Treason could be proved against him, but the *Scots* who were at that time very prevalent, would not be satisfied, unless he were put to death, to manifest thereby their zeal against the Episcopal Hierarchy, to usher in the Presbyterian Government at the approaching Treaty, so that by an Ordinance of Lords and Commons, he was adjudged guilty of High Treason, though at the passing thereof in the House of Peers, there were but seven present, (*viz.* * the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Bullingbrook*, and the Lords *North*, *Grey*, and *Bruce*.)

* Merlins History of the Life of King Charles I. pag. 113.

He ended his Life with such a modest confidence and so much piety, that his greatest Enemies then present, who came to behold the Execution with hearts full of joy, returned back with eyes as full of tears.

The Treaty at Uxbridge &c.

In pursuance of several Messages from the King for a Treaty, it was assented to by the Parliament, and at *Uxbridge* Commissioners met on the 30th of *January* for the King, on one part, and for the Parliament of *England* and the Parliament of *Scotland* on the other.

The Commissioners for the King, were,	Commissioners for the Parliament, were,
Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*	Earl of *Northumberland*,
Marquess of *Hertford*.	Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*.
Earl of *Southampton*.	Earl of *Salisbury*.
Earl of *Kingston*.	Earl of *Denbigh*.
Earl of *Chichester*.	Lord *Wenman*.
Lord *Capel*.	Mr. *Pierpoint*.
Lord *Seymour*.	S. *Henry Vane Junior*.
Lord *Hutton*.	Mr. *Crew*.
Lord *Culpepper*.	Mr. *Whitlock*.
Sir *Edward Nicholas*.	Mr. *St. Johns*.
Sir *Edward Hide*.	Mr. *Prideaux*.
Sir *Richard Lane*.	
Sir *Thomas Gardner*.	Lord *Lowdon*.
Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*	Sir *Chr. Erskein* } Scotch
Mr. *Jo. Ashburnham*	Mr. *Douglas*. } Commissioners.
Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*.	Mr. *Brackly*
Doctor *Stuard*.	Mr *Henderson*.

1644.

The first things to be treated on, were,

The matters of the Treaty.

1. Religion.
2. The Militia.
3. *Ireland.*

The first paper at the opening of the Treaty was concerning Religion, which was delivered from the Kings Commissioners to the others, in these words;

1. *That Freedom be left to all persons of what Opinion soever in matters of Ceremony, and that all the penalties of the Laws and Customes which enjoyn these penalties, be suspended.*

2. *That the Bishops shall exercise no Act of Jurisdiction, or Ordination, without the consent and counsel of the Presbyters, who shall be chosen by the Clergie of each Diocess, of the Learnedst and gravest Ministers of that Diocess.*

3. *That the Bishop keep his constant Residence in his Diocess, except when he shall be required by his Majesty to attend him on any occasion; and that if he be not hindered by the infirmity of old Age or sickness, he Preach every Sunday in some Church within his Diocess*

4. *That the Ordination of Ministers shall be alwayes in the publick and solemn manner, and very strict rules observed concerning the sufficiency and other qualifications of those men who shall be received into Holy Orders: And the Bishop shall not receive any into Holy Orders without the Approbation and consent of the Presbyters, or the Major part of them.*

5. *That competent Maintenance be established by Parliament to such Vicarages as belong to Bishops, Deans and Chapters, out of the Impropriations according to the value of the several Parishes.*

6. *That no Man shall be capable of two Parsonages or Vicarages with cure of Souls.*

7. *That toward the settling of the publick Peace, 100000. l. shall be raised by Parliament, out of the Estates of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, in such manner as the King and Parliament shall think fit, without the Alienation of any of the said Lands*

8. *That the Jurisdiction in causes Testamentary, Decimals and Matrimonials, be setled in such a manner as shall seem most convenient by the King and Parliament: And likewise that Acts to be passed for regulating of Visitations, and against immoderate Fees in Ecclesiastical Courts, and abuses by frivolous Excommunications, and all other abuses in Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions as shall be agreed upon by King and Parliament.*

And if the Parliaments Commissioners will insist upon any other things which they shall think necessary for Religion, the Kings Commissioners shall very willingly apply themselves to the consideration thereof.

The Parliament Commissioners after they had perused this paper, delivered one of theirs to the

1644. Kings Commissioners, which was as followeth.

That a Bill be passed for abolishing of all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. according to the third Proposition.

That the Ordinances concerning the calling and suting of the Assembly of Divines, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That the Directory for Publick worship already passed both Houses, and the Propositions concerning Church-Government annexed and passed both Houses, be Enacted, as a part of Reformation of Religion and Uniformity, according to the first Proposition.

That his Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the Covenants be enjoyned to be taken according to the second Proposition.

To this was annexed the following paper.

That the ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for edification, is by the respective bounds of their dwellings.

That the Minister and the Church Officers in each Congregation shall join in the Government of the Church, as shall be established by the Parliament.

That many particular Congregations shall be under one Presbyterial Government.

That the Church be governed by Congregational, Classical, and Synodical Assemblies, to be established by Parliament.

That Synodical Assemblies shall consist both of Provincial and National Assemblies.

These papers were debated on three dayes without any determination on any one controverted point, and on the 4th of *February*, The Parliament Commissioners delivered in the following proposals concerning the Militia.

We desire that the Subjects of *England* may be Armed, Trained and Disciplined as the Parliament shall think fit; and that the like be for *Scotland*, as the Parliament there shall think fit: And that his Majesty give his Royal assent to the Acts following.

1. *An Act for settling the Admiralty, and all Forces at Sea, and moneys thereto for maintenance, to be as the Parliament shall think fit. The like for* Scotland.

2. *An Act for settling all Forces by Sea and Land in Commissioners to be named by Parliament, to be such as both Kingdoms shall confide in, with power to suppress all powers and forces contrary thereto, and to act as they shall be directed by Parliament.*

And so for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

That the Militia of the City of London, *and the Parishes without* London, *and the Liberties within the weekly Bills of Mortality, be in the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-Council.*

That the Tower of Lond. *may be in the Government of the City, and the chief Officers thereof nominated, and removable by the Common-Council.*

That the Citizens or Forces of London *may not be drawn out of the City without their own consent, and the example of drawing them out in these distracted times, may be no Precedent for the future.* 1644.

These Papers were likewise debated three days, and then the Parliament Commissioners presented a paper concerning *Ireland*, to this effect.

That his Majesty give his Royal assent to an Act to make void the cessation of Ireland, *and all Treaties of the Rebells without consent of Parliament, and to settle the Prosecution of the War of* Ireland *in the Parliament, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, and his Majesty to assist, and to do no act to discountenance or molest them therein.*

The Kings Commissioners in the debate of this Proposition, did lay open the eminent and inevitable necessity which caused the King to make the *Irish* Cessation, which he was in honour obliged to make good; nevertheless they offered to condescend to any thing for the security of the Kings Protestant Subjects: but the Parliament Commissioners were so bound up by their instructions, that they could admit of no alteration of what they offered.

The matter of Religion was then resumed, and that was to be concluded before they proceeded to any other proposition. But so many difficulties occurred in the debate thereon, that no accord could be made; for the Parliament to endear the *Scots* to them, had caused every Member of each House to take the *Scotch* Covenant, *whereby they bound themselves to the preservation of the Religion of* Scotland, *in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government: and, To endeavour the extirpation of Episcopacy, and the Reformation of Religion in* England *and* Ireland, *according to the example of the best Reformed Churches.* Whereby they could mean nothing less than to bring them to the discipline of *Scotland*, because they had sworn to the preservation of the Religion there. Moreover, they had sworn in this Covenant against detestable indifferency and neutrality (to keep their own words) whereby it seemed apparent, that though at first the contrivers of this Oath pretended only for liberty of Conscience, they now would allow none to any: wherefore the Kings Commissiones were at a stand; for the King took himself bound by the Oath of his Coronation, not to alter the government of the Church, and they were bound by their instructions to insist thereon, so that the Treaty became desperate upon this account, though on the Kings part it was offered, That if the Articles proposed by them, did not give satisfaction, that then so great an alteration as the total abolishment of a Government established by Law, might (for the imparlance of it, and any reformation in doctrine for the scandal of it) be suspended, till after the disbanding of all Armies, when the King should be present with the Parliament, and calling a National Synod, might receive such advice both from the one and the other, as should be necessary; and as any Reformation thus calmly made, would needs prove for the singular benefit; so whether the contrary, that is an alteration even to things though in themselves good, could

The *Scotch* Covenant taken by both Houses.

by

1644. by the principles Christian Religion, be enforced upon the King or Kingdom.

The Treaty proves ineffectual. This would not be admitted, and the time allowed for the Treaty being but twenty day, nothing was effected therein; for the Parliament were resolved to have no peace but on their own terms, believing all the Kings propoſals for peace, to proceed either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the weakneſs and irreſolutions of his Council.

Shrewsbury taken. After this followed the taking of *Shrewsbury*, a place of very great importance to the King, as the Gate which opened into *Wales*, ſituate on a riſing ground, and almoſt encompaſſed about by the River *Severn*; that part which is not invironed by water, being wholly taken up and made good by a very ſtrong Caſtle. By the loſs of which Town, the Kings former intercourſe with his Loyal Subjects of *North-Wales* was not only hindred, but a preſent ſtop was given to an aſſociation which was then upon the point of concluding between the Counties of *Salop*, *Flint*, *Cheſter*, *Worceſter*, &c. to the great prejudice of the Kings affairs in thoſe parts of the Kingdom.

But to make a recompence in ſome meaſure for this great loſs, about the beginning of *March* this year, *Pomfret* Caſtle in *York-ſhire* was relieved by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who there defeated the Lord *Fairfax*'s Army that lay before it, and in his going thither, he defeated a great Party of the Parliament Forces commanded by Colonel *Roſſiter* near *Melton-Mowbray* in *Leiceſter-ſhire*.

Pomfret-Caſtle relieved by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, & the Lord *Fairfax*'s Army defeated.

The Prince of *Wales* ſent into the *North* to perfect the Aſſociation. The King at this time thought fit to ſend the Prince of *Wales* into the Weſt, to perfect the aſſociation which had been begun in the end of the laſt Summer, and in thoſe Countreys to advance ſuch further Forces as might not only ſerve for the defence of themſelves, but give ſome reaſonable increaſe to his Army; ſo that upon the fifth of *March*, He ſet forwards toward *Briſtol*, accompanied by the Lord *Culpepper* and Sir *Edward Hide*, as his principal Counſellors, and ſome of the chief Gentry of the Weſt, who were of moſt authority in their ſeveral Countreys.

The King having adviſed with ſuch of the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, as had aſſembled at *Oxford*, from their laſt meeting in *November* after their Prorogation, to the tenth of *March*; He then being reſolv'd for action, diſmiſt them to their ſeveral Countreys.

1645. And now both ſides prepare for action, in order whereunto, the Parliament had paſſed their Ordinance which they called ſelf-denying, wherein all and every the Members of either Houſe were to be diſcharg'd of all their Command Military or Civil, and in purſuance thereof, they elected Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be General of their Army, which they now modell'd out of their other Armies, conſiſting of 11 Regiments of Horſe, and 10 Regiments of Foot. *Oliver Cromwell*, though a Member of the Houſe of Commons was particularly excepted out of the Ordinance, and ſo was *Skippon* the Major General, and *Ireton* the Commiſſary General of the Horſe; and to make way for theſe Officers, the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Manchester*, and *Denby*, ſurrendred their Commiſſions in the Lords Houſe, and the Earl of *Warwick* alſo ſurrendred his Commiſſion of Admiral.

The Parliament paſs their ſelf-denying Ordinance.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* made General of their Army.

Cromwel, *Skippon*, and *Ireton*, excepted out of their Ordinance.

Eſſex, *Manchester*, and *Denby*, ſurrender their Commiſſions and *Warwick* his Admiralſhip.

April the third Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ſets forth for *Windſor*, where he applies himſelf to the gathering together of his Army, to which place Lieutenant General *Cromwell* came to him, and was immediately ordered to march towards *Oxford*, with a Brigade of 1100 Horſe and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of Horſe, which Prince *Rupert* had ſent from *Worceſter* to fetch off the King from *Oxford* with his Train of Artillery, and ſome foot with intention to take the field; and at *Iſſelip*, *Cromwell* falls upon them, which after ſome diſpute he routed, and took divers Priſoners, and about 200 Horſe, and from thence he purſued ſeveral of them that eſcaped to *Blechingdon* Houſe, where Colonel *Windebank* kept a Garriſon for the King, which was ſurrendred to him upon the firſt ſummons, but the Colonel was ſoon after condemned by a Court of War at *Oxford*, and ſhot to death for parting ſo eaſily with the place. A few days after *Cromwell* marches to *Farringdon*, and aſſaulted that Garriſon, but was repulſed with the loſs of near 200 men, beſides many that were wounded and taken priſoners. The King perceiving that *Fairfax* intended to beſiege *Oxford*, ſent for Prince *Rupert* and General *Goring* to march to him thither, and theſe about the beginning of *May* came to *Oxford*, and fetcht off the King, who quickly increaſed his Army, & advanced with it towards the relief of *Cheſter*, but *Goring* returned to the Siege of *Taunton*, from whence he had been called to this ſervice.

1645. *Fairfax* goes to *Windſor*, to gather up his Army.

Cromwell rout Capt. Horſeſon to Convoy the King from *Oxford*.

Col. *Windebank* ſhot to death at *Oxford*.

Cromwell repulſed at *Farringdon*.

Prince *Rupert* and Gen. *Goring* come to *Oxford* & fetch off the King.

Fairfax in commiſeration of the diſtreſt condition of *Taunton*, marched with his Army to the relief of it as far as *Blanford*, but upon ſecond thoughts he ſends Colonel *Welden* with near two thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, and 5000 Foot to *Taunton*, and returns to *Newberry*, where he receives an expreſs to march to *Oxford* and lay cloſe Siege to it: in the mean time *Welden* makes haſte to *Taunton*, and the Kings Forces before the Town being informed it was the whole Army, reſolved to give one furious aſſault, and if that took not effect, to quit the place, which was performed, and they entered the Town, and fired two Streets, but the Governour retired to the Caſtle, and they could not force that, wherefore they drew off, and ſuffered Col. *Welden* to enter the Town, but *Goring*, *Greenvil*, and *Barkley*, uniting their forces together did ſo preſs upon *Welden*, that they beſieged him and the Town again. By this time the King had relieved *Cheſter*, and from thence marched to *Leiceſter*, and taken it by aſſault, wherein were many Priſoners of note, and good ſtore of Arms and Ammunition, and from thence he went to *Daventry*. *Fairfax* having intelligence as he lay at the Siege of *Oxford*, of this fortunate progreſs of the Kings Arms, was reſolved to raiſe his Siege, and march directly towards him, with an intent to give him Battel, and in purſuance hereof on the 5th of *June* his Army randezvouzed at Great *Brickhil*, and from thence he marched to *Gilbrough*, within four miles of *Northampton*, and five miles of *Brough-hil*, which was one of the quarters of the Royall ſts.

Fairfax lays cloſe Siege to *Oxford*.

The King relieves *Cheſter*, and takes *Leiceſter* by aſſault.

The King hereupon drew off from *Brough-hil*, minding to march Northward to the relief of *Pomfret*, which was again beſieged, but *Fairfax* being eager to engage, ſent *Ireton* with a flying

party

1645. party of Horſe, who fell in to *Naſeby* Town, and took many priſoners, giving ſuch an Alarm to the whole Army, that the King at midnight left his own Quarters, and for ſecurity haſtned to *Harborough*, where he raiſed Prince *Rupert*, & called a Council of War, where it was reſolved to give Battel, and becauſe *Fairfax* had been ſo forward, they would not ſtay for him, but ſeek him out, & at a place near *Naſeby* in *Northampton-ſhire*, the two Armies met on *Saturday* the 14th of *June*.

The fight at *Naſeby*.

The King himſelf commanded the Main Body, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* the Right Wing, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left, the Earl of *Lindſey*, and the Lord *Aſhly* the right-hand Reſerve, the Lord *Bard* and Sir *George Liſle* the Left. Of the Parliaments Army, *Fairfax* and *Skippon* commanded the Main Body, *Cromwel* the right Wing, with whom was *Roſſiter*, who came with his Forces but a little before the fight, and *Ireton* had the Left. The Reſerves were brought up by *Rainsborow*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*. Prince *Rupert* charged the Parliaments left wing, commanded by *Ireton*, who made notable reſiſtance, but at laſt was forced to give ground, *Ireton* himſelf being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, his Horſe ſhot under him & himſelf taken Priſoner. For a while Prince *Rupert* follows the Chaſe almoſt to *Naſeby* Town, and in his return ſummoned the Train, who made no other anſwer but with their Fire-locks: but in the mean time *Cromwel* charged furiouſly on the Kings left wing, and got the beter, forcing them from the Body, and proſecuting the advantage, quite broke them and their Reſerve; during which the Main Bodies had charged one another with incredible fierceneſs, often Retreating and Rallying, falling in together with the But-ends of their Muſquets, and coming to handy-blows with their Swords. But *Fairfax*'s his Foot coming up ſeaſonably to the Horſe, and *Cromwel* coming in with his Victorious right Wing, they all charged together upon the Kings main Army, who maintain'd the fight, till over-born with freſh Numbers, and being out of Condition to diſpute it any longer, retired out of the field toward *Leiceſter*, in the greateſt diſorder and confuſion imaginable: leaving (as Heaven would have it) a compleat Victory to the Parliamentarians, who purſued them within two miles of *Leiceſter*, and the King finding the purſuit ſo hot, leaves that Town, and haſtes to *Litchfield*. This Battel was exceeding bloody, both Armies being very couragious and numerous, not being five hundred odds, fought in a large fallow field, on the North-weſt-ſide of *Naſeby*, about a mile broad, which ſpace of ground was wholly taken up. On the Parliaments ſide were wounded and ſlain, above a thouſand Officers and private Souldiers: Major General *Skippon* (who was an old experienced Souldier, and was ordered to draw up the form of the Battel) fought ſtoutly that day; and although he was ſorely wounded in the beginning of the fight, and the General deſired him to go off the field, he anſwered, he would not ſtir ſo long as a man would ſtand and accordingly ſtayed till the Battel was ended. *Ireton* (as is ſaid before) was dangerouſly hurt and taken priſoner for a while, after he had done his part, but in the confuſion of the fight got looſe again, and ſaw the Victory atchieved. The General and Lieutenant General performed their work with ſufficient reſolution (had their Cauſe been as good) and by their own examples infuſed valour into their followers, ſo likewiſe did the other Officers of whom divers were wounded. 1645.

The Victory obtained by the Parliamentarians.

The King eſcapes to *Lancaſter*.

On the other ſide, the King ſhewed himſelf that day a couragious General, keeping cloſe with his Horſe, and himſelf in perſon rallying them to hot encounters, the Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord *Aſhley*, Colonel *Raſtol*, and others were wounded, 20 Colonels, Knights, and Officers of note, and 600 private Souldiers ſlain: but much more was the damage that the King ſuſtained, by what was taken, viz. ſix Colonels, 8 Lieutenant Colonels, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, and 70 Lieutenants, 200 Enſigns, and other inferiour Officer, 4500 Common Souldiers, and many women, 13 of the Kings houſhold Servants, four of his Footmen, 12 Pieces of Ordinance, 8000 Arms, 40 Barrels of Powder, 200 Carriages, all their Bagg and Baggage, with ſtore of rich Pillage, 3000 Horſe, the Kings Standard, one of the Kings Coaches, and his Cabinet of Letters and Papers, which were after publiſhed by the Parliament (with leſs decency and civility than became ſuch an Aſſembly) Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* haſted away the ſame night to *Newark*. The next day General *Fairfax* ſent up Col. *John Fines* to *London*, with the Priſoners and Colours taken in the fight.

The King having ſaved himſelf by flight, gathered together ſome part of his ſcattered Forces, but never was able to make head againſt the Conquerors, loſing this year one Garriſon after another, till his whole ſtrength was almoſt reduced to *Oxford*; I ſhall take notice only of ſome of the principal, namely, *Leiceſter*, *Carliſle*, *Pomfret*-Caſtle, *Bridgwater*, *Scarbrough*, *Briſtow*, *Hereford*, and *Weſtcheſter*, on which ſo great a part of his affairs did moſt eſpecially depend. Several Garriſons of the Kings taken

On the 16th of *June*, *Fairfax* ſat down before *Leiceſter*, and ſummoned the Governor the Lord *Haſtings* to deliver up the Town; which he refuſing, Warrants were iſſued for the Country to bring in Ladders & other neceſſaries for a ſtorm, and *Haſtings* continuing yet obſtinate, he aſſailed it in ſeveral places, and at the *Newark* ſide, he made ſo wide a Breach, that the Governor deſired a Parlee, which was granted, and thereupon a ſurrendring enſued upon very fair Terms. There were in the Town 14 pieces of Ordnance, thirty Colours, 2000 Arms, 500 Horſe, 50 Barrels of Powder, and Ammunition proportionable, and about a week after Sir *Thomas Glemham* Governor of *Carliſle*, having been long beſieged by the Parliament Forces, and deſpairing of ſuccours yielded up the Town. The low condition of Col. *Welden*, & the Town of *Taunton*, cauſed the Committee of both Kingdoms to order Gen. *Fairfax* to march thither, which he readily obeyed, but upon his approach to the Town, General *Goring* on the tenth of *July*, drew off from *Taunton*, and retreated to *Langport*. The next day *Fairfax* being at *Long-Sutton* within two miles of *Langport*, he drew out his Forces early in the morning in *Sutton* field, *Goring* likewiſe drew forth at that time, and took a paſs leading to *Bridgwater*, and lined the way to it with Muſquettiers; *Fairfax* ſent Major *Bethel* *Leiceſter* and *Carliſle* ſurrendred up to the Parliament.

to

1645. to force the pass, but he was repulst; then *Desbrough* was sent with 200. Horse, who prest so hard upon the Royallists, that they were put to a disorderly retreat into *Langport*, setting one end of the Town on fire, that the smoke thereof might hinder the enemies pursuit of them; but Lieutenant General *Cromwel* with some Troops prest through, and pursued them within two miles of *Bridgwater*.

In this fight *Goring* lost about 200 of his men, who were slain, and about 1400 taken prisoners, of which Colonel *Brettrige*, and Colonel *Slingsby* were the Chief. On *Fairfax*'s side, Colonel *Cook*, Colonel *Butler*, and Major *Bethel* were wounded, and a Captain of *Butlers* slain, and about 100 of the Souldiers killed and wounded.

Sir John Digby died of his wounds at Bridgwater.

Sir *John Digby* who was Major General of the Horse to *Goring*, was shot in the elbow, and carried into *Bridgwater*, where shortly after he died of his Wound, and was very much lamented by his party, he was about forty five years of age at the time of his death, and in all his Life was scarce ever heard to swear or seem angry; he had very great courage and conduct in Martial affairs, and was competently learned also in many Sciences. *Goring* after he had refresht himself for some time in *Bridgwater*, marched away to the North of *Devonshire*: Sir *Thomas fairfax* presently thereupon sits down before *Bridgwater*, and summons the Town, but being resolutely denied by Sir *Edmond Windham* the Governor, he stormed the lower part thereof, which is divided from the rest by a Bridge, and gain'd it, and the next day he shot hot steel plugs into the Town, by which means, and by some intelligence he had with the Town, most of the houses that were thatcht were fired, whereby the Townsmen were so distracted that they left the Works, and flung down their Arms to endeavour to save their Houses. In the midst of this consternation, *Fairfax* sent a Trumpeter in to the Governor, whereby he acquainted him, that he purposed to assault the Town, but in compassion to the women and Children therein, he offered to permit as many of them as desired it, to go out of the Town; upon this there was so great a distraction in the Garrison, that the Governor was forced to yield to a Treaty; and thereupon on the 23. of *July* the Town was surrendred, upon condition only of fair quarter, but all except Townsmen that were in Arms to be prisoners at war, of which there were a thousand Officers and Souldiers, and in their Stores they found 44 Barrels of Powder, and 400 weight of Match; and in the Town 44 pieces of Ordnance, and 1500 Arms; and two days before, *Pomfret*-Castle after three moneths Siege was delivered up to Major General *Pointz*, upon condition for the Officers and Souldiers to march away with their Arms, Drums beating, and Colours flying, and bullet in mouth, with 6 shot of Powder, and bullet proportionable: and on the 25th of *July* the Castle of *Scarbrough* had the like fate it being then surrendred by Sir *Hugh Cholmley* the Governor, to Sir *Matthew Boynton*, who commanded the Forces before it, upon very honourable conditions, amongst which it was provided, that the Governor and all his Officers and Souldiers should have a safe Convoy to *Newark*, and from thence after six days notice, as many as desired should have a pass to go into *Holland*, or any other place abroad, and none were to be plundered or forced to take up Arms against their wills, but have Passes to go home if they desired them. They had kept this Castle so well, that at the delivery thereof, many of the Officers and Souldiers were so sick and weak, that they were brought out in sheets: there were about 35 pieces of Ordnance in the Castle, besides many Arms, but very little Victual or Ammunition.

Bridgwater yielded up to Fairfax.

Pomfret-Castle delivered up to Gen. Pointz.

Scarborough Castle surrendred to Sir Mathew Boynton.

1645.

Bristow stormed by Fairfax.

Bristow comes next, a place conveniently seated for the Trade of *Spain*, the River capable of great ships, and the Port well guarded: At the taking of this City by the Kings Forces, to such strengths as before it had, there was added a Fort Royal, then conceived impregnable. Into this City Prince *Rupert* had put himself at the present; and was besieged not long after by General *Fairfax*, who came before it on the 25th of *August*. The Prince made several sallies, and did some execution upon the Enemy, but not without considerable loss to his own party, amongst which Sir *Bernard Ashley*, and Sir *Richard Crane* died of wounds they received in one of them.

Fairfax had intelligence that the works in many places were very weak and imperfect, and withall he heard that the King did purpose to joyn with *Goring* to raise the Siege, but first expected that they should weary themselves so long before the Town, till he should be able to draw together a force sufficient for such an enterprize: upon consideration whereof a Council of War was called, and Resolution taken to storm the City, which was done in this order; Colonel *Forteseue* with four Regiments on *Somersetshire*-side, Colonel *Montague* with the like number on both sides of *Lawford*-Gate, and Colonel *Rainsborough* on this side the River *Froom*, from the Sally-port to the Fryers-port, and other Regiments were disposed in several stations, to second the assailants and enter the Lines; *Forteseue* fail'd in his attempt, but *Montague* and *Rainsborough* effected their business, and *Rainsborough* possest himself of Fryers-port, and all the other Forts, except the great Fort, were taken; the way being thus made by the Foot, the Horse entred the Town, and the Princes Horse hastned to get themselves into the Fort-Royal, but the Parliamentarians from the Fryers-port did so command the Gate and Entrance into the great Fort, that none could go in or out, so that the next day a Parley was had, and Articles concluded on for the surrender thereof; and in the place they had above 200 pieces of Ordnance, 8000 Arms, 200 Barrels of Powder, 80 Tun of Beer, and great store of other Provisions. In the storm on the Kings side Major *Price*, Major *Williams*, and ten other Officers were slain, and many Soulders, and Colonel *Taylor* wounded. On the Parliaments side, Lieutenant Colone *Purefoy*, and Captain *Hill*, and Major *Cromwel* with 30 more Officers were killed; and Major *Bethel*, Major *Gethings*, with some others of less note were wounded, The Prince on the 11th of *September* marched out of the City with eight Lords in his Company, 500 Horse, and 1400 Foot, the Foot marched with their Muskquets & other Arms, but when they came within

20 miles

1645. 20 miles of *Oxford*, they were to lay them down.

Fairfax marches into the West to the Prince of Wales.

Briſtow being thus reduced, *Fairfax* marched into the Weſt, towards the Prince of *Wales* (who was now in the middle parts of *Devonſhire*) intending to take in *Exeter*, but there were ſo many blocks in his way, that it was a long time after before he gained that City, as will be hereafter related.

The quick ſurrendring of *Briſtow* did much trouble the King, for he thought that City, (ſo well fortified and furniſht with Victual, Arms, and Ammunition) would rather have given a turn to his affairs, by the ruine of the Parliament Army againſt it, than otherways; but the line being ſo very large, they had hardly men enough to man the works, eſpecially being kept by frequent alarms upon continual duty, ſo that in the end, partly out of wearineſs, and partly out of diſcouragement to ſee the Parliament carry all before them, the Prince was neceſſitated to deliver it up, for the People would ſtand by him no longer. Soon after this diſaſter, Col. *Legg* was removed form his Government of *Oxford*, and Sir *Thomas Glenham* appointed in his ſtead.

Hereford next followed the ſame fortune of *Briſtol*, which having been beſieged by the *Scots* from the 13th of *July* to the firſt of *September*, (at which time they were forced to draw off, upon news that their help was required in their own Kingdom, where *Montroſs* was very prevalent, having defeated an Army imployed againſt him in a Battel fought in *Kelſyth* field near *Glaſcow*:) the Town was ſuddenly ſurprized by Colonel *Birch* and Colonel *Morgan* (the laſt then Governor of *Glocester*) on the 18th of *Decemb.* The King a little before this time had got a ſmall Army together in *Wales*, and ſeeing *Briſtol* loſt, was very deſirous to free *Cheſter* (a City of very great importance in thoſe parts of the Kingdom) from the Siege then before it by Sir *Will. Brereton*, Col. *Jones*, and others; to effect which he march'd with his Army conſiſting of about 5000 men, and moſt Horſe to relieve the Town; but in his march towards it, he was fought by General *Poyntz* at *Routon-Moor* within 2 mile of *Cheſter*, where being out-power'd with numbers, his Army was worſted, & amongſt others, the L. *Bernard Stuart* (Brother to the Duke of *Richmond* then newly made Earl of *Lichfield*) was ſlain; he was a young Nobleman of great hopes, and therefore was his loſs very much lamented by the King; upon this diſcomfiture, the King drew his broken Army towards the North-eaſt, and commanded the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* to march for *Scotland*, and to joyn with the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, who was very ſucceſsful there, and only wanted Horſe to enable him to reduce that whole Kingdom to the King Obedience. Theſe in obedience to their order march'd Northward, and at a Village called *Sherborne*, they ſurprized ſeven hundred of the Parliament Foot, with their arms and baggage, but ſtaying there for carriages, ſome of General *Poyntz* his Forces commanded by Colonel *Copley*, Colonel *Lilborne*, and Colonel *Allured*, fell upon them, and routed them, killing and taking about a hundred Officers, three hundred common Souldiers, ſix hundred Horſe, with their furniture, and the Lord *Digby*'s Coach and Horſes, and therein his Cabinet of Letters, out he, with his remains of his ſhatter'd Brigade, making towards *Scotland*, was a ſecond time met upon *Carliſle* Sands, and utterly defeated, he himſelf eſcaping to the *Iſle* of *Man*, from whence he got a paſſage into *Ireland*: The King was get to *Newark* when this misfortune hapned to the Lord *Digby*, but ſo great was the diſcontent he found there, that he was put to much trouble thereby; Sir *Richard Willis* was a little before removed from the Government of the Town, and the Lord *Bellaſis* made Governor thereof in his place, which alteration cauſed great heats among ſeveral Noble Perſons, as they ſtood ſeverally affected to either party; in ſo much that indecencies of Language and behaviour, paſſed even in the Kings preſence; and the feud, in all probability, had proceeded further, if his Majeſty had not interpoſed with his Royal Authority to compoſe it. But all this was not yet ſufficient to extinguiſh the Animoſities which were contracted upon this diſpute; although for the preſent they were ſo far pacified, and allayed, as not openly to break out into any Notorious Act of violence or miſchief. This matter hath been reported ſeveral ways, and all with ſo great uncertainty, that I have rather choſen to deliver the truth in Generals, than to run the hazard of a miſtake in a more particular Relation. In the cloſe of this affair, the two Princes, *Gerard*, the Lord *Hawley*, and Sir *Richard Willis*, with ſome others of their friends, retired to *Norton-Houſe* fourteen miles from *Newark*, from whence they ſent to the Parliament for a paſs to tranſport them out of the Kingdom, and obtained it.

1645.

Scots raiſe their ſiege from *Hereford*.

Mr. Leſley Victory in *Kelſeth* fild near *Glaſcow*.

Hereford ſurpriſed by Col. *Birch* and *Morgan*.

The King comes to *Newark*.

Sir *Richard Willis* removed, and the Lord *Bellaſis* made Governor of *Newark*.

The two Princes, *Gerard*, Lord *Hawley*, and *Willis* depart the Kingdom.

Theſe traverſes were accompanied with unwelcome intelligence from moſt places; for about this time, the King received the ill news of the taking from him of *Baſing-Houſe* by ſtorm, (the defendants not having a ſufficient number to man their works) and therein the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* (who had long and gallantly defended his houſe) taken priſoner, with about two hundred others, and about a hundred were ſlain in the defence of the place; and as one misfortune is commonly followed by another, he had notice about the ſame time of the loſs of *Shelford-Houſe* taken by ſtorm, wherein the Governor Colonel *Stanhop*, a Son of the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, and near two hundred more, were kill'd after the Houſe was entred.

Baſing-houſe taken by ſtorm and in it the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*.

Shelford. Houſe taken by ſtorm, and Colonel *Stanhop*, with many others ſlain.

Newark at this time became ſo in-ſecure, that the King thought it inconvenient to continue longer therein, & therefore with a guard of three hundred Horſe, he got ſafe to *Oxford* on the third of *November*, and thither the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice* came to him from *Worceſter* after a ſerious reflection upon themſelves for their miſcarriages towards him, and were perfectly reconciled to his favour.

The King leaves *Newark*, and comes ſafe to *Oxford*, whither the two Princes came to him and regain his favour.

The Kings Forces in moſt parts became very much leſſen'd, and though by the endeavours of the Queen, and ſome of his Miniſters abroad, foreign aid was promiſed him againſt the next Summer, yet the King in affection to his people, was rather inclined to try all other ways than accept of thoſe ſuccors, and to that purpoſe from the 15th of *December* to the 23d of *March* following, he ſent nine or ten Meſſages to the Parlia-

Foxton-Moorſkattel wherein his Majeſties Army was worſted, and the Lord *Bernard Stuart* Earl of *Lichfield* ſlain.

Lord *Digby* defeated at *Sherborn* in *Yorkſhire*, and himſelf compelled to fly into *Ireland*.

1644.

The King sends offers of Peace to the Parliament, but they would not hear of anaccommodation.

Parliament with offers of Peace, and for the better accompliſhment thereof, he propoſed to have a perſonal treaty with them, but they would not conſent to any other terms of accommodation, than to have all their demands drawn up into Bills to be preſented to him for his aſſent; yet in the mean time the King omitted not to uſe all ways in his power to relieve his Garriſons, and the Prince of *Wales* in the Weſt was very active, but the ſpirits of men became ſo much depreſſed by the vigorous Progreſs of the Parliaments Troops, that nothing ſucceeded.

Dartmouth ſurrendred to *Fairfax.*

The ſiege of *Plymouth* was raiſed by *Fairfax*, and two dayes after *Dartmouth* was ſurrendred to him by Sir *Hugh Pollard* the Governour thereof, and from thence he marched to *Exeter*, and ſummon'd it, and there he left Sir *Hardres Waller* to block up the City, whilſt himſelf with the reſt of his Forces went to find out the Prince his Army then commanded by the Lord *Hopton*, he himſelf being gone into *Cornwall* to raiſe the Trained-Bands, and what other Souldiers he could to ſtrengthen his Troops; whilſt theſe things were acting in the Weſt, the King at *Oxford* was again intent upon the relief of *Cheſter*, and for that ſervice ſeveral Forces were by Sir *William Vaughan* drawn out of the Garriſons of *Hereford Ludlow*, *Worceſter*, and *Bridgenorth*, who with ſeven hundred Horſe, and ſeven hundred Foot, advanced to its relief; but the enemy drawing out a party of a thouſand four hundred Horſe, and a thouſand Foot encountered, and utterly routed him, ſo that after this attempt, all hopes of relief failing, on the ſame day the City was delivered up to Sir *William Brereton* upon theſe conditions, *viz.* That the Lord *Byron* and all Noblemen, Commanders, and Officers and Souldiers, ſhould depart the Town in all their apparel whatſoever; The Lord *Byron* with Horſe and Arms, and ten men alike accompliſhed to attend him; his Lady, and Servants, with Coaches, in each four Horſes, with ſuch other Ladies and Gentlewomen as he thought fit, and with his Books, Evidences and Writings in his poſſeſſion: but all of them with not above fourty pounds in money, and twenty pound in plate; the reſt of the Noblemen with their Ladies anſwerable to their honour with not above thirty pounds in money, and ſo every one in their degrees to the common Souldiers, who were to march away with 20 *s.* each. Nor were the Conditions for the Citizens leſs reaſonable, which were the eaſier condeſcended to by Sir *William Brereton*, though he knew their diſtreſs, becauſe of the deſire he had not to ruine the City, the chief of his County, and of which he hoped to be Governour.

The Kings Forces ſent to the relief of *Cheſter* routed, and the City delivered up to Sir *William Brereton.*

Belvoir Caſtle ſurrendred to the Parliament.

And on the ſame day *Belvoir* Caſtle was by Sir *Gervaſe Lucas* ſurrendred to General *Poynts* upon Conditions, and the Governour and his Lady, with the Officers and Souldiers, were with a Convoy conducted to *Litchfield*. At *Torrington* in *Devonſhire*, *Fairfax* found the Lord *Hopton* with his Army; which he reſolved to ingage; *Hopton* having the leſſer number, drew up his men into ſeveral cloſes, and *Fairfax* preſſed upon him very hard, but a great part of the time was ſpent in Skirmiſhes by ſeveral parties, till both retired; at length the forlorne-hopes of both Armies engaged; that of the Parliaments, with its Reſerve, was at firſt beaten back to the main body of their Army, but that advancing, the Fight began about eight a clock at night, nigh the Town, to which the Royaliſts retreated, and there they maintained the charge ſo reſolutely, that had not *Fairfax*'s Souldiers been heartened with freſh ſupplies, they had given it utterly over; but the other overpowered by their freſh numbers, gave back, whereby the Enemy gained the Town; which being entred into, the Magazine in the great Church was fired by a train, and deſtroyed *Fairfax* more men than he had loſt in the Battel; for there was no leſs than eighty Barrels of Powder: upon the firing of the Magazine Sir *John Digby* took advantage of the Enemies amazement, and gave them a reſolute Charge, in which he did ſome execution, and ſo fell off, and marched with the reſt of the Forces into *Cornwall*; whither *Fairfax* followed with ſo much ſpeed, that he compell'd the Royaliſts in diſorder to quit *Launceſton*, whereupon the Prince of *Wales* marched away towards *Pendennis* Caſtle, accompanied with the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Culpepper*, and Sir *Edward Hide*, and took ſhipping there on the firſt of *March*, and arrived ſafely at *Scilly*; the Lord *Hopton* ſoon after finding it in vain to make reſiſtance with his broken Army, being ſummoned by *Fairfax* to disband, conſented to it upon very honourable conditions; but having experienc'd how ill Articles had been obſerved, and being likewiſe ſenſible of the ill effects of the Kings gracious Propoſals for Peace; He choſe rather than to go to *Oxford* (whither by Articles he might have been conveyed by fifty of his own, and fifty of the Parliaments Horſe) to tranſport himſelf to *France*.

1645.

The Lord *Hopton* beaten and *Launceſton* taken by *Fairfax.*

Launceſton quitted by the King.

The Prince of *Wales* takes ſhipping, and arrives at *Scilly.*

Lord *Hopton* accepted of conditions for diſbanding his Army, and tranſports himſelf to *France.*

After the diſbanding of theſe Forces, all the Kings Garriſons and Forts in *Cornwall* yielded, except *Pendennis* Caſtle, and St. *Michales Mount*, and General *Fairfax* return'd to the ſiege of *Exeter*.

All theſe miſchances thus happning on the neck of one another, all the Kings hopes and expectation reſted upon the coming of Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, (created Lord *Aſtley* of *Redding* two years ſince:) Who having kept together ſome Remainders of the Kings Forces ſince the Fight near *Cheſter*, and increaſing them with the acceſſion of ſome freſh ſupplies, marched towards the King, and was to have been met upon the way by Sir *John Campſfield*, with the *Oxford* Horſe. But either through the want of Intelligence, or the neceſſity of fate, or ſome occaſional delayes, it was ſo long before *Campſfield* was upon his march, that the news came of the Lord *Aſtleys* being vanquiſh'd by Colonel *Morgan* at a place called *Donnington* near *Stow* on the *Wold*, on the 21th. of *March*: In which fight himſelf was taken priſoner, and with him all the Kings hopes were loſt of preſerving *Oxford*, till he could better his condition.

Lord *Aſtley* defeated near *Stow.*

The King having often ſent to the Parliament (as hath been ſaid) to invite them to a Treaty of Peace, offering to come to *Weſtminſter* in Perſon, had on the thirtieth of *March* a meſſage from the Parliament, wherein they told him, That it would be unſafe for him or them to return to *Weſtminſter*, untill he had aſſented to the Propoſitions which they were framing, &c. And to pre-

1646.

The Parliament vote against the King's coming into London in order to a Treaty.

vent his coming to *London* without their knowleged and consent, they voted, That if the King should come, or attempt to come within the Lines of Communication, that then the Committee of the Militia of *London* should have Power, and were thereby enjoyned to apprehend and secure such as should come with him, to prevent resort unto him, and to secure his Person.

Exeter surrendred to Fairfax.

Exeter was at this time so much distress'd, and without possibility of relief, that the City was on the 13th of *April* surrendred to *Fairfax* upon very good conditions; Sir *John Berkley* the Governour was to march out with his Souldiers both Cornish and others, in the height of Honour, with Drums beating, Colours flying, Bullet in mouth, Matches lighted, &c. The first into their Country, and the others to *Oxford*. The Princess *Henrietta* youngest daughter to the King, (who ever since her Birth had continued in this City under the care of the Lady *Dalkeith*) was sent up to *London*, there to be disposed of by the Parliament, till soon after she was by her Governess conveyed privately to her Mother in *France*. To the fortune of *Exeter*, *Barnstable* Town and Fort, St. *Michaels Mount*, *Dunston* Castle, *Woodstock*, and many other Garrisons soon after submitted; so that *Fairfax* his victorious Army having cleared the West, was now resolved to march up to a close beseigueringof *Oxford* (which had some time before been extremely straitned by the continual Alarms of *Fleetwood* and *Rainborough*) which made the King begin to think of some way for his safety; and at last on the 27th of *April* the King disguised, departed out of *Oxford* accompanied only with Mr. *Hudson* a Minister, and Mr. *John Ashburnham*, and few or none else were acquainted with his design, so that though many knew that he was gone, yet various were the opinions whither; some said to *Wales*, others to *Montrose* in *Scotland*, but the most general opinion was, that he was come up and lay in *London* concealed; to discover which the Parliament passed an Order, *That whatsoever person should harbour or conceal, or know of the harbouring or concealing of the Kings Person, and should not immediatly reveal it to the Speakers of both Houses, shall be proceeded against as a Traitor to the Common-wealth, forfeit his whole Estate, and dye without mercy.* But contrary to all mens expectations, he is at length heard of at the *Scots* Camp before *Newark*; many wondred how he durst truft his Person with them; but the Parliament having notice of it, immediately ordered that the Commissioners, and the General of the *Scottish* Army, should be desired, *That his Majesties Person might be disposed of as the Two Houses should desire and direct, and that he be thence disposed of, and sent to* Warwick *Castle*, and *that* John Ashburnham *and the rest that came with him into the Scots Quarters, should be sent for as Delinquents by the Sergeants at Arms, and that the Commissioners of the Parliament residing before* Newark *should make a Narrative of the K. coming thither and present it to the House*; But these Votes were scarce past, when came a Letter from the General and Commissioners of the *Scottish* Army to the Committee of both Kingdoms, to be communicated to the Parliament, acquainting them, *That the earnest desire they had to keep a right understanding between the two Kingdoms, moved them to acquaint them with that strange providence wherewithhey were surprized, together with their carriage and desires thereupon; That the King came yesterday into their Army in so private a way, that after they had made some search for him upon the surmises of some Persons who pretended to know his face, yet they could not find him in sundry Houses; That they believed their Lordships would think it was matter of much astonishment to them, seeing they did not expell him to come into any place under their Power; They conceived it not fit to inquire into the Causes, but to endeavour that his being here might be improved for procuring the work of Uniformity, for setling Religion, and attaining of Peace according to the League and Covenant, and Treaty, by the advice of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, and their Commissioners authorized for that effect; That trusting to their integrity, they were perswaded that none would so far misconstrue them, as that they intended to make use of this seeming advantage, for promoting any other ends than were expressed in the Covenant, and had hitherto been pursued by them with no less Conscience than care; That for further satisfaction they did ingennously declare, That there had been no Treaty nor Capitulation betwixt his Majesty and them, nor any in their names, but that they left their wayes and means of Peace to the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, and so far as concerned them, as they had a witness in Heaven, they were confident to make it appear, That there was nothing more in their desires than in all their resolutions and proceedings to adhere to the Covenant and Treaty; That their greatest thoughts should be taken up in studying, and their utmost abilities imployed in acting those things which most advanced the publick good and common happiness of both Kingdoms, wherein by the help of God they should labour to use so much tenderness and care, that they hope it shall soon appear, their actions were the result of honest and single intentions; That they could not in a matter of so deep consequence and common interest, but seek their Lordships advice; for which effect they had also written to the Committee of Affairs in* Scotland, *with intentions to move joynt consents and resolutions, that after a seed time of Afflictions, we might reap the sweet fruits of Truth and Peace.*

The Princess *Henrietta* is conveyed privately to her mother in *France*.

This was the account given by *Leven* the General, and the Commissioners in the Army to the Committee of both Kingdoms at *Westminster*. In the mean time the Garrison of *Newark* (which had been for a long time valiantly defended by the Lord *Bellasis* both against the Scots and *English* Forces, and had made many fortunate Sallies upon the Besiegers) was upon the 4th of *May*, the day before the King came into the *Scotch* Camp, entred upon a Treaty, and on the 9th was agreed to be surrendred upon condition, *That the Garrison, with all the Ordnance, Arms, and Ammunition, should be delivered up to the Commissioners for the Parliament of* England; *That the Lord* Bellasis *Governour, with all Officers, Gentlemen, and Clergy, to march away with their Horses and Swords unto any Garrison of the King's not besieged, or to their own Houses; the Souldiers to have staves in their hands, and their own goods, and all of them*

Newark surrendred.

The Parliaments Order against his concealment.

The King comes to the *Scots* Camp before *Newark*.

The Parliament sends to the *Scots* for the delivery of the King's Person.

The *Scots* General and Commissioners Letters to the Parliament.

1646. them to have three Months time to make their peace with the Parliament; or that failing, to be allowed Paſſes to go beyond Sea. About this time alſo was *Banbury* Caſtle ſurrendred, and not long after *Carnarvon* Town and Caſtle were delivered up upon Articles by the Lord *Byron*; and the *Scots* having conveyed the King from *Southwel* to *Newcaſtle*, for the more ſure poſſeſſion of him, He on the 10th of *June* by their advice, publiſhed a direction to Sir *Thomas Glemham*, Sir *Thomas Tilſely*, Col. *Waſhington*, and Col. *Blague*, Governors of *Oxford*, *Worceſter*, *Latchfield*, and *Wallingford*, and to all other Commanders of any Towns, Caſtles or Forts within the Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, giving them an account of his Reſolutions to comply with the deſigns of his Parliament in every thing that might be for the good of his Subjects, and leave no means unattempted for the removing of differences betwixt them; and the more to evidence the reality of his intentions therein, he required them upon Honourable Conditions to quit the Towns and Forts intruſted to them, and to diſband all the Forces under their ſeveral Commands; which ſome of them however demurr'd upon, in regard of his Majeſties reſtraint: But before notice hereof came to *Oxford*, the Governor and Lords there had come to a Treaty, to begin at *Heddington* the 17th of *May*, between Sir *John Mounſon*, Sir *John Heydon*, Sir *Tho. Gardner*, Sir *George Binion*, Sir *Richard Willis*, Sir *Stephen Hawkins*, Col. *Goſvell*, Col. *Tillier*, Dr. *Zouch*, *Tho. Chichely*, *John Dutton*, *Geffrey Palmer*, and *Robert Mead*, Eſquires, for the beſieged; and Lieutenant General *Hammond*, Commiſſary General *Ireton*, Col. *Lambert*, Col. *Rich*, Scout-Maſter-General *Watſon*, Major *Desbrough*, Major *Harriſon*, Mr. *Herbert*, and Mr *Waller*, for the Parliament. And after a tedious Treaty continued to the 25th of *June*, without any Ceſſation of Arms, it was delivered upon Conditions ſufficiently Honourable, had they been as honourably performed; The whole number of the Garriſon was ſuppoſed to amount to 7000 Souldiers and Scholars in pay, who all marched out; but many of the Nobility and Gentry had leave to tarry for Paſſes; the Chief of whom were the Duke of *York*, the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, the Earls of *Dorſet*, *Hertford* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Cottington*, *Dunſmore*, Secretary *Nicholas*, and others. The Duke of *York* was conveyed to *London*, and at S. *James's* committed with the reſt of the Royal Children to the Tuition and Care of the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Lady. The two Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice* had Paſſes granted them to go beyond Sea; but before their departure, by the Parliaments leave, they had a Viſit made to them by their Brother the Prince Elector.

Two dates after the ſurrendry, all the Seals of Eſtate were ſent up from the General to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, to wit, the Great Seal of *England*, carried by the Lord Keeper *Littleton* to the King in the year 1642. The Privy-Seal, Signet, King's-Bench, Exchequer, Court of Wards, Admiralty, and Navy-Seals, together with the Sword; the Seals were immediately voted to be broken in pieces, which was accordingly performed by a Smith in the Houſe of Lords, the Commons ſtanding by, and the broken Silver given in reward to the two Speakers, but the Sword was laid up ſafe in the Wardrobe. All other Garriſons were ſoon after ſurrendred according to the King's Order; *Ragland* Caſtle was one of the laſt held out in *England* or *Wales*, which the Old Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, a man of Fourſcore and four years of age, delivered up on very good Conditions, when the King had neither Field Army, nor ſcarce a Garriſon beſides it in *England*.

1646.

Ragland Caſtle ſurrendred.

The King's Children were not long kept together under that Reſtraint the Parliament put upon them, the Princeſs *Henrietta* being in a ſhort time after conveyed into *France* by the Lady *Dalkeith*, and the Duke of *York* after, as will be related hereafter.

The *Scots* deſirous to haſte home in ſafety with that ſpoil and plunder which they had gotten in their marching and re-marching betwixt *Tweed* and *Hereford*, were impatient at the caution of the King's Governors (as aforeſaid,) and therefore preſt his Majeſty to reiterate his Orders; but that which they moſt earneſtly importuned, was, That the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* ſhould lay down his Commiſſion, who having twice beaten the Marqueſs of *Argile* out of the Field, followed him home, and waſted his Country with Fire and Sword: And having vanquiſh'd *Baily*, one of the beſt Souldiers of the Faction (commanding over a well formed Army) in a ſet Battel fought between them; and followed his blow ſo well, that he made himſelf Maſter of the City and Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, releaſing divers of his Friends who had been ſeized and impriſoned there when he firſt took Arms, was at laſt (for want of Supplies) totally overthrown by *Leſley*, with 6000 men out of *England*. And yet about this time he was beginning to make head again, and in a hopeful way of proceeding, till he received his Majeſtie's Command to Diſband; which he immediately did, and took Shipping, and put himſelf into a voluntary Exile.

Montroſs Army broken by *Leſley*.

Montroſs diſbands by the King's Command.

Whilſt the King was at *Southwel* he had written to the Parliament for a Treaty, which after many Debates, was ſo far complied with, as to ſend Propoſitions to him by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*, Mr. *Godwin*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Hippeſley*, and Mr. *Robinſon*, but they were ſo high both in relation to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and tending to the change of Religion eſtabliſhed, that he could not conſent to them; but to give them ſome ſatisfaction therein, On the firſt of *Auguſt* the following Meſſage was ſent to them.

C. R.

The Propoſitions tendered to his Majeſty by the Commiſſioners, &c. (to which the Houſes of Parliament have taken twice ſo many months for deliberation, as they have aſſigned daies for His Majeſties Anſwer) do import ſo great alterations of Government both in Church and State, as it is very difficult to return a particular and poſitive Anſwer, before a full debate, wherein thoſe Propoſitions, and the neceſſary explanations, true ſenſe and reaſons thereof be rightly weighed and underſtood, and that his Majeſty upon the full view of the whole Propoſitions, may know what is left, as well as what is taken away or changed. In all which he finds (upon diſcourſe with the ſaid Commiſſioners) that they are ſo bound up from any capacity, either to give reaſons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to ſuch deſires as His Majeſty

The King's Meſſage to the Parliament.

1645. *is to propound, as it is impossible for him to give such a present Judgement of, and Answer to these Propositions whereby he can Answer to God, that a safe and well-grounded Peace will ensue (which is evident to all the World can never be, unless the just Power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the Subject, with the just liberty and priviledges of the Parliament, be likewise settled) to which end His Majesty desires and proposes to come to* London, *or any of his Houses thereabouts upon the publick Faith, and security of the Two Houses of Parliament, and the* Scots *Commissioners, that he shall be there with freedom, honour and safety, where by his Personal Presence he may not only raise a mutual confidence between him and his People, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained unto him, which he now conceives to be destructive to his Just Legal Power, if he should give a full consent to these Propositions as they now stand. As likewise that he may make known to them such his reasonable demands, as he is most assured will be very much conducible to that Peace which all good men desire and pray for, by the settling of Religion, the just priviledges of Parliament, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject. And His Majesty assures them, that as he can never condescend unto what is absolutely destructive unto that just power, which by the Laws of God and the Land he is born unto, so he will chearfully grant and give his assent unto all such Bills on the desire of his Two Houses, or reasonable Demands from* Scotland, *which shall be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own particulars, (much less any bodies else) in respect of the happiness of these Kingdoms: Wherefore His Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as Men who desire to leave a good Name behind them, that they will so receive and make use of this Answer, that all issues of blood may be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably settled; and upon assurance of an Agreement, His Majesty will immediately send for the Prince his Son, absolutely expecting his perfect obedience to return to this Kingdom.*

His second Speech at a Conference Oct. 6. 1646.

This Message did not prevail, and there past many Debates about disposing of His Majesties Person. *If any such course shall be taken,* (says *Lowden*) *or any demand made for rendring of his Person, which cannot stand with his Honour and Safety; or which cannot consist with our Duty, Allegiance, and Covenant, nor with the honour of that Army to whom (in time of his extream danger) he had his recourse for safety; it cannot be expected that we can be capable of so base an Act.* And again, *If it be contrary* (say the *Scotch* Commissioners) *to the Law, and Common Practice of Nations, to deliver up the meanest Subject fled to them, though it be for the greatest Crimes; how much more would the World abroad condemn our Army for a base, dishonourable Act, if they should deliver up their Head and Sovereign, (having cast himself into their hands) to be disposed of at the Arbitrement of another Nation.*

Answer to the Vote of Sept. 24. 1646.

But alas! these difficulties only stuck till the Summ was agreed upon, and then they delivered him up, not only foreknowing, but foretelling the Consequences of that Action. *If your Majesty* (which God forbid) *shall refuse* (says the Chancellor) *to assent to the Propositions, you will lose all your Friends; lose the City, and all the Country; and all* England *will join against you as one man: and (when all hope of Reconciliation is past) it is to be fear'd they will process, and depose you and set up another Government.* The Propositions that then stood in Competition with the King's Freedom, Life, and Dignity, and the honour of the *Scottish* Covenanters, were to this following effect:

1646.

First, For His Majesty to Justifie and Confirm the Proceedings of Parliament.

2. *To settle the Militia of* England *and* Ireland *in the hands of the* Parliament *for Twenty years, giving them power to raise Men and Moneys, &c.*

3. *To swear and sign the Covenant, and Command the taking of it throughout the Three Kingdoms; abolishing* Episcopacy, *and settling Religion as both Houses shall agree.*

4. *That all Honours since* 1642. *be made null and void, and that no Peers be admitted for the future to sit and Vote in Parliament, but by consent of the Two Houses.*

5. *That all great Places, and Offices of Honour in* England *and* Ireland *be disposed of by consent of Parliament.*

Upon His Majesties Refusal to sign these Propositions, the *Scots* declared, That *there would be a joint course taken by both Kingdoms concerning the disposal of his Person*; (And a little after) *with respect had to the safety and preservation of His Royal Person, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms, according to the Covenant.* Explaining themselves afterwards, upon a Debate at *Edenburgh*, That *the Clause in the Covenant for Defence of the* King's Person, *is to be understood, in defence and safety of the* Kingdoms; by which construction it appears, that they knew what would become of the King before they parted with him.

Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland, Jan. 16. 1646.

But before the *Scots* entred upon this Treaty about the Person of the King, they had agreed with the Parliament upon terms for their marching out of *England*, by which agreement they were to have Two hundred thousand pounds paid in present upon their delivery of *Barwick*, *Carlisle* and *Newcastle* to the Parliament of *England*, and two hundred thousand more secured to them upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdom.

The first payment of this money was made at *Newcastle* according to the compact, and thereupon they delivered the King to the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Denbigh*, the Lord *Montague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Cook*, Mr. *Crew*, and Major General *Brown*, who were Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to receive him, and with these on the 8th of *February*, the King set forward towards his House at *Holdenby* in *Northamptonshire*, where he arrived on the 16th of the same month; The *Scots* two daies before the King's departure marched from *Newcastle*, which was possest by a Garrison of *English*, and a few daies after, they also put *Barwick* and *Carlisle* into the Parliaments hands, and marched quietly home to *Scotland*.

The *Scots* deliver up the King into the power of the Parliament.

The King at *Holdenby* was kept so close, that none of his domestick Servants that had attended him since he left *London*, nor any of his Chaplains were suffered to have access unto him; nor so much as a Common Prayer-Book allow'd him for

The King close Prisoner at *Holdenby-House*.

1646. for his private use. And the Parliament having now the King in their possession, and all his Armies and Garrisons subdued by their Forces, they began to be much divided amongst themselves, under the names of Presbyterians and Independents.

Presbyterians described.

The first whereof who were the major part in both Houses, were those who in compliance with the *Scots* thought themselves obliged by the Covenant to set up the Presbyterian Discipline of *Geneva*, as it was exercised in *Scotland* under the Government of Congregational, Classical, Provincial and National Assemblies (to whom the City of *London* very much adhered) but the others disliked that sort of Government as too rigorous, imperious and concluſive, holding that Churches should not be subordinate as Parochial to Provincial, and Provincial to National, but co-ordinate, without superiority; and from hence they were called Independents: whereof the first eminent appearance was in the Assembly of Divines, which met in the year 1643. at *Westminster* to consult about matters of Religion; for the major part of these being Presbyterians, were in consideration of a Directory and Model of that Government to be proposed to the Parliament, when five of their Members, *viz. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jeremiah Burroughs*, and *William Bridge*, made some opposition, and desired Toleration to be indulged to them, that they might not be concluded by the Votes of the Assembly; but the rest of the Members opposed their Toleration, and some moved their ejection out of the Assembly, except in convenient time they would comply therewith, whereupon the Dissenters appealed from the Assembly, and presented an Apologetical Narrative to the Parliament, wherein they petitioned for some favour to them, whose Consciences could not join with the Assembly in all particulars; concluding, That they pursued no other interest or design but a subsistance in their own land, as not knowing where else with safety, health, and livelihood to set their feet on earth.

The rise of Independents.

An Assembly of Divines sit at *Westminster*.

Upon this Petition they found such favour, that they were secured from further trouble; and from this beginning they grew to so great an increase, that they had the best preferments left in the Church, and opened and shut the door of preferment to others.

Lieutenant General *Cromwel* and Commissary General *Ireton*, and the greatest part of the Army, consisting now of men of several Sects of Religion, did much favour these Independents, who to ingratiate themselves with them (though in their Confession of Faith and Doctrine they wholly agreed with the Presbyterian) held out a Liberty of Conscience to all other Sects in the profession of their Faith and exercise of their Religion.

This inclination of the Army to the Independents made the Presbyterians, who were the major part of the Parliament, very watchful over their actions, and observing that the Army at their Courts of War laid hold on all pretences of scandals and crimes to disband and cashier Presbyterians, that Independents might be put in their places, resolved to disband all of them except five thousand Horse, a thousand Dragoons, and five Companies of fire-locks, for which they wanted

1647. not a good pretence, that the people might be eased thereby of a great part of the Taxes imposed upon them for their maintenance, and that some of them might be sent into *Ireland*, where there was a want of *English* Souldiers. And for this purpose they borrowed two hundred thousand pounds of the City of *London*. The head-Quarters of the Army was at St. *Edmunds-bury* in *Suffolk*, when these matters were debated in Parliament; but by the intelligence they kept at *Westminster* nothing thereof was concealed from them, and by the Independent party in the House (as it was commonly said) they were so practised on, that they were resolved not to disband; yet when something of this was suggested in the House of Commons, *Cromwel* with his hand upon his breast, said, *In the presence of God before whom he stood, that he knew the Army would disband and lay down their Arms at their doors whensoever they should command them.* Upon this assertion, Orders of both Houses for disbanding were sent to the Army with instructions for determining the Accompts of the Souldiers, but instead of obedience to these Orders, a Council of Officers met at St. *Edmunds-bury* to consider thereof, began to debate of the matter with much dissatisfaction, and two Souldiers out of each of sixteen Regiments of Horse and Foot, as Agitators or Agents of their respective Regiments, were allowed to meet also in a kind of Council on the same Business, and both of these Assemblies agreed upon the same things in substance, namely, against disbanding; and in a Petition to the General, they desired the Army might be speedily drawn to a Randevouze, and that he would use his utmost to endeavour that it be not disbanded till publique Grievances should be redressed, and all such persons called to accompt who had been intenders, contrivers, or promoters of their destructions (for so they termed those of the Parliament that voted them to be disbanded.) These requests of the Officers and Souldiers produced a General Randezvouze of the Army at *Newmarket* on the fourth of *June*, and the Agitators the day before privately sent Cornet *Joyce* with a party of Souldiers to seize on the King (as will be mentioned hereafter) and at this Randezvouze they associated themselves together as a kind of distinct body from the rest of the Kingdom, and subscribed a solemn Ingagement of their resolution, wherein they to this purpose expressed themselves, (*viz.*)

Agitators of the Army chosen.

We the Officers and Souldiers of the Army subscribing hereunto, do hereby declare, agree, and promise, to, and with each other, that we shall not willingly disband nor divide, nor suffer our selves to be disbanded or divided, until we have security, that we as private men, as other the free born people of England, *shall not remain subject to the like oppressions and injuries as have been attempted, and shall have such satisfaction and security as shall be agreed upon by a Council to consist of those General Officers of the Army, who have concurred with the Army in this resolution* (for many moderate men upon these discontents left them) *with two Commission Officers and two Souldiers for each Regiment, of such likewise as subscribed to this Agreement.* But whilst these contrivances were acted at the head-Quarters, there was a large Petition framed in the County of *Essex* against the

The Armies Ingagement.

Army:

The Army resolve to disband the Presbyterians.

1647. Army: upon this *Cromwel* goes to *Walden* where the head-Quarters of the Army then was, on pretence of quieting the distempers thereof, but nothing was effected; and in the Month of *May*, they presented a Petition to their General, wherein they desired to be satisfied, not only for their pay as Souldiers, but that a Provision might be made for their Indempnity, and several other things relating to Publick settlement: of which Petition great complaint was made by the Presbyterians; yet they rested not here, but were very active in framing another to be presented to the Parliament. But the Parliament shewed their high dislike of that Petition, and their approbation and esteem of their good service who first discovered it: but declared, if the Subscribers would forbear to proceed any further therein, they should be retained in the Parliaments good opinion, and that those who shall continue in the present distempers, shall be proceeded against as enemies to the State.

The King brought from *Holdenby* to the Army by Cornet *Joyce*.

These and some other alterations wrought at last so far, that on the 4th of *June* a party of Souldiers commanded by Cornet *Joyce*, came somewhat late to *Holdenby*, and desired to speak with the King, which being granted, he told him, he was come by command of the Army to remove him from that place; and so the next day after Dinner he carried him towards the Army. But on the 6th of *June* the General sent a Letter to the Parliament, pretending that he knew nothing of the Party that attended the King, professing that his remove was without his consent, or his Officers about him, but the Party that did it, told him that the reason thereof was from an apprehension of some strength gathered to take him away, thereby to make a new War, the plot and plotters whereof they were able to prove when called thereunto: when this was known, it was ordered by both Houses of Parliament,

1. *That the King should reside at* Richmond.

2. *That he should be attended by the same persons that he was at* Holdenby.

3. *That* Rossiter's *Regiment should guard him.*

The Armies Representation to the Parliament.

But the Army in stead of complying herewith, sent a Representation to the Parliament, wherein they proposed,

That the two Houses might be speedily purged of such as ought not to sit there.

That such who abused the Parliament and Army, and endangered the Kingdom, might be speedily disabled from doing the like or worse.

That some determinate period of time might be set to this and future Parliaments, according to the Act for Triennial Parliaments.

That provision might be for succeeding Parliaments not to be adjournable or dissolvable by any power, but by their own consent during their respective period, and then to determine themselves.

That the freedom of the people to present grievances by Petition to Parliament may be vindicated.

That the exorbitant power of Country Committees may be taken away.

That the Kingdom may be satisfied in the Parliaments accompts for their vast summs received, and also in divers other things wherein the Common-wealth have been long abused.

1647. *That after such Delinquents as have been of the King's Party have compounded for their Delinquencies and paid their Compositions, an Act of Oblivion may be passed.*

And immediately after this Representation, there was brought to the Parliament from the General and his Council of Officers, an Impeachment against eleven Members of the House of Commons, (*viz.*) *Denzel Holles*, Esq; Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *John Maynard*, Major General *Massey*, Mr. *Glyn* Recorder of *London*, *Anthony Nicols*, Esq; Colonel *Edward Harley*, and Colonel *Water Long*, for things done for the most part in the House, whereof one of the chief was, *That by their power in the House, they caused the Ordinance for disbanding the Army to pass.* The impeached Members declared themselves ready to answer any crime that could be objected against them, but the Officers of the Army requested that they might be forthwith suspended from any longer sitting and acting as Members: but this was denied as a thing judged at this time too high, and too much against the priviledge of Parliament; but when the Army iterated their desire, those accused Members by leave of the House made a voluntary secession for six Months. Concerning that Order of Parliament, That the King should go to *Richmond*, the General desired to be excused, intreating them not to command that till things were more quiet, and that they would appoint no residence for the King nearer to *London*, than they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be: after which the King was conveyed to *Royston*, thence to *Hatfield*, not long after to *Causam* while the Army Quartered at *Reading*, from whence when the General with his Army marched to *Bedford*, the King went to the Earl of *Bedford*'s House near *Ouborn*, and during all this time he was received with all possible demonstrations of love and duty, and some of his Chaplains were licensed to repair to him, and read the Book of Common-Prayer, as in former times, and the way was open to all those of his own party who desired to see him.

Eleven Members impeached by the Army.

The City of *London*'s Militia as it was settled by Ordinance of the 4th of *May*, was in the managing of Presbyterians, who were very active and industrious in compleating their Companies both of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, which was rumoured by the Independents as a very dangerous Conspiracie against the Army, and the General in a Letter to the Parliament of the 10th of *June*, requested, *That the Militia of the City might be put into the hands of persons better affected to the Army:* Upon which Letter, the Commons upon the 22d of *July* Voted the repealing the said Ordinance of the 24th of *May*, and a new Ordinance for reviving the old Militia was presently passed.

The Petition of the City against the Vote for taking the Militia out of their hands.

The unexpected news of this changing their Militia caused the City to meet in Common-Council, where because the repealing the former Ordinance was upon no other ground than the Armies desires, they resolved to Petition the House of Commons against it, which they did on the 26th of *July* by the Sheriffs and some of the Common-Council; but so it happened, that about a thousand Apprentices came down two or three hours

1647. hours after with another Petition, therein complaining, *That to order the Cities Militia was the Cities Birth-right, belonging to them by Charters confirmed by Parliament, for defence whereof they had adventured their lives as far as the Army, and desired the Militia might be put again into the same hands in which it was put, with the Parliament and Cities consent by Ordinance of the 4th of May.* Upon reading of which Petition, the Lords revoked the Ordinance of the 23d of *July*, and renewed that of the 4th of *May*, by a new Ordinance of the 26th of *July*, which they presently sent down to the Commons for their consents, where some of the Apprentices in a childish heat were over-clamorous to have the Ordinance passed, refusing to let some Members pass out of the House, so that at last it passed in the affirmative about three in the afternoon, and most of the Apprentices departed; but after this some disorderly persons when the House was rising, took the Speaker and thrust him again into his Chair, detaining both him and the rest of the Members, until they enforced from them a Vote, *That the King should come to* London.

After this disorder the two Houses adjourned for four daies, and many private Cabals were held what to do, and those that favoured the Army went thither, so that on the fourth day both the Speakers being absent, new Speakers were chosen, the Lord *Hunsdon* for the Peers, and Mr. *Henry Pelham*, a Barrister, for the Commons, by whom it was that day voted,

The Speakers and divers Members fly to the Army.

1. *That the King should come to* London.

2. *That the Militia of* London *should be authorised to raise forces for defence of the City.*

3. *That power should be given to the same Militia to chuse a General for those Forces.*

It was likewise Ordered, *That the aforesaid eleven Members impeached by the Army should return to their seats in Parliament.* The Citizens armed with these Orders, presently proceeded to the raising of Forces, which were to be under the Command of Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Massey*, and Colonel *Poyntz*, who were each of them busie in listing of Souldiers; but *Waller* who was a person of good experience and foresight, seeing great numbers of Reformed Officers and Souldiers lately disbanded flocking to them, advised that they should immediately seize on all the serviceable Horses in and about *London*, to the number of six thousand, and bring them in Tuttle-fields, where Saddles, Bridles, and Arms might be provided ready, and they would then have quickly Souldiers to mount them, and in four and twenty hours time they might have a Body of Horse to join with the City Regiments, strong enough to oppose the Army if they should attempt any thing against the Parliament and the City: and of this the Army were in great fear, but some of their friends in the Common Council did so distract their consultations, that it appeared impossible for them suddenly to raise any forces to withstand the Army, who by this time upon intelligence hereof made their approaches towards *London*, whereupon the Aldermen and Common Council were so terrified, that they sent to the General for a pacification, which by the consent of the Members of Parliament then with him, was granted to them upon these conditions:

1647. The City submits to the Army.

1. *That they should desert the Parliament now sitting, and the eleven impeached Members.*

2. *That they should recall their Declaration lately divulged.*

3. *They should relinquish their present Militia.*

4. *They should deliver up to the General all their Forts, and the Tower of* London.

5. *They should disband all the forces they had raised: And do all things else which were necessary to the Publick tranquillity:* all which things none of them daring to deny, were presently ratified.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons who had left *London*, consulting with the General and chief Commanders of the Army, made an Order, That all Acts and Decrees that had passed on the 26th of *July* and since, should be accounted null and void, and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the General and Council of the Army. It was likewise decreed, that the General with his Army should march to *London:* and on the sixth day of *August* he with his Army came to *Westminster*, and with him the Speakers of both Houses, together with the rest of the Lords and Commons, whom he restored all to their former Seats. Both the Speakers in the name of the whole Parliament, gave solemn thanks to the General, and made him Commander of all the Forces in *England* and *Wales*, and Constable of the Tower of *London:* and a Months pay was likewise given as a gratuity to the Army. The next day General *Fairfax*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Major General *Skippon*, and the rest of the Commanders with the whole Army marched through *London* from the Western part thereof to the Tower, and at the Tower the General made Colonel *Tichburn*, an Alderman of the Independent faction, to be Lieutenant of the Tower; and to humble the City, the Militia's thereof were by Order of Parliament divided, and authority given to *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the Hamlets about the Tower, to exercise and command their own Militia's.

The General comes with his Army to *Westminster*.

The Members of Parliament in this manner restored, and the Militia of *London* settled to the Armies good liking, the General marched out of *London*, and Quartered his Army in the Towns and Villages adjacent, only leaving some Regiments about *Whitehall* and the *Mews* to guard the Parliament, his head-Quarters being at *Putney*; and the King about the middle of *August* was brought to the most stately of all his Palaces, *Hampton-Court*.

The King brought to *Hampton-Court*.

But now the Members that were brought in by the Army, thought it necessary for the strengthning of their factions to proceed against all such of both Houses of Parliament, and others that were in any measure active in the late troubles, and therefore Serjeant *Glyn* was outed of his Office of Recorder of *London*, and one *Steele* a Barrister of *Gray's-Inn* admitted in his place, and *Hollis*, *Waller*, *Clotworthy*, *Long*, *Massey*, and *Nicols* were summoned to attend the House on the 16th of *October*; and the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Suffolk*,

1647. *Suffolk*, and *Middlesex*, with the Lords *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Barkley*, *Hunsdon*, and *Maynard*, were impeached of Treason, and committed to the *Black-rod*, and Sir *John Maynard* of the House of Commons, and Sir *John Gray* Lord Mayor of *London*, with four Aldermen, *Adams*, *Langham*, *Culham*, and *Bunch*, were also impeached and committed to the Tower, where we shall leave them for some time, and look to the affairs of *Ireland* during these occurrences.

Several Members and Citizens committed for acting in the late troubles.

The Affairs of *Ireland*.

The *Irish* when the cessation of Arms was concluded with them at *Singiston* in the year 1643. seemed very desirous of a peace, but by their ill observation of the articles of cessation, their reality therein was much suspected; for they were so far from ceasing from acts of hostility during that short term of a year as they had agreed to, that they often pillaged and plundred the English, imprisoning or murdering their persons, and particularly at the Castle of *Wicklow*, which they surprized, and put all the men, women and children therein to the sword; yet after this Treaty, they had the confidence to send Commissioners to the King to supplicate, that before the expiration of the cessation, a peace might be concluded with them; but he referred them back to his Lieutenant *Ormond*, and he considering the necessity of the Kings affairs, and his present inability to prosecute that War, would willingly have reduced things to a pacification; but the *Irish* having correspondence with the Spanish and French upon the interest of the Romish Religion, spun out all Treaties with tedious delaies, in hopes of supplies of men and money to be sent to them, so that in two years nothing was effected therein; and moreover at the same time when they were in treaty with the Lord Lieutenant, they were likewise agitating under-hand, an agreement elsewhere, pretending the Kings Commission to Authorise the proceeding: which his Majesty utterly disowned, with expressions of much indignation, that his name should be made use of to so odious a purpose, as the advancement of the Popish Religion, and the discouragement of the English Clergy in that Kingdom. While these things were transacting, matters went still worse and worse with the *English*, so that in conlusion, all the strong places in the Province of *Lemster*, except *Drogedah* and *Dublin* were possessed by the Irish. One of the principal Actors in this affair was seized and taken into custody by Order of the Lord Lieutenant, who strugled as far as in him lay, to prevent further inconveniencies: but about the time that the King went to the *Scots* Army near *Newark*, he was forced to conclude a Peace with them, and upon conditions very advantageous to the Natives; but nevertheless, all of them would not submit to it: For the Popes Nuntio had drawn a great party of the most zealous of their Religion to protest against it, as a peace wherein there was not sufficient security for the free exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion. *Ormond* thought to profit himself of that division, and made himself ready to joyn with those that adhered to the peace to suppress the others, not doubting upon his success herein, to be master of such a force as might make the Kings tearms in *England* easier to him: But in the midst of all these hopes, when he was ready with a party to march to *Kilkenny* to joyn with his new friends, he was inform'd of a design against his person, which was related to him with such circumstances, that he was confident of the truth thereof, and if he had not retreated to *Dublin*, he and his party had been lost; In this extremity he thought it better to put *Dublin* and the Forts yet in English hands, in the Parliament of *England*'s power, than suffer them to be possess'd by the *Irish*, and brought under a forein jurisdiction, in order whereunto, he sent to two Captains of the Parliament Ships then riding near *Dublin*, and imparted to them his desires of complying with the Parliament, if the King would give his assent thereunto, and obtain'd of them ammunition and powder for his present supply; and in further prosecution of that overture, having the Kings commands for so doing, he capitulated with the Parliament Commissioners, and yielded up *Dublin*, and what remained under his Government to their authority; who immediately sent thither Colonel *Jones* with 1450 Horse and Foot, who on the 17*th*. of *June* took possession of *Dublin*, and from that time such supplies were sent to re-inforce the *English*, that every week produced news of Victories over the Irish.

A Peace concluded in *Ireland* by the Marquis of *Ormond*.

1647.

Dublin put into the hands of the Parliament of *England*.

Whilst the King remained at *Hampton Court* he seemed not at all a restrained man, but as a Prince living in the splendor of a Court, so freely to his presence were all sorts of people admitted to kiss his hands, and do all obeisances whatsoever; nor did the people from *London* only and the adjacent Towns resort to the King, but his Chaplains and such of his Servants who by order of Parliament had been forbidden, as Mr. *Ashburnham*, and Sir *John Barkley*, now by permission of the Army had safe recourse to him: The Marquess of *Ormond* likewise attended him there with an account of the *Irish* affairs, and was with much kindness received by him, and about the beginning of *October*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, and the Lord *Seymour*, repaired to him; but the Paliament were displeased at this liberty, whereupon those Lords being told of it after two days stay at *Hampton-Court* returned to their Houses: On the seventh of *September* Propositions agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament (the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland* concurring also) were sent to the King at *Hampton-Court*, to which they requested his Answer in six dayes; The Commissioners appointed for this business by the Parliament of *England* were, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Mountague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Cook*, Sir *John Holland*, and Major General *Brown*; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Lawderdale*, and Sir *Charles Erskins*. Two dayes after their arrival the King gave the Commissioners a Message in writing to the two Houses of Parliament, in answer to the Propositions, which was to this effect, (*viz.*)

Propositions sent from the Parliament to the King at Hampton-Court.

That having perused the Propositions now brought to him, he found them the same in effect which were offer'd to him at Newcastle, *to some of which as he could not consent without violation of his conscience and honour, so neither can he agree to other now; conceiving them in many respects more disagreeable to the present*

The Kings answer to the Propositions.

1647. condition of affairs, than when they were formerly presented to him, and having seen the proposals of the Army to the Commissioners from the two Houses, residing with them, to which as he conceives, they are no strangers, so he believes they will think with him, that they much more conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, and may be a fitter foundation for lasting peace than the propositions at this time tendered to him, and therefore he propounds that Commissioners may be sent from the Parliament and the Army for a personal treaty upon them, and such others as he shall make, that a firm peace may be setled.

This answer was not very pleasing to the Parliament, and it was by many thought, though the Armies proposals had the consent of the General and his Council of Officers, yet the agitators who influenc'd the body of the Souldiery, were not assenting to them, nevertheless, the *Scotch* took great offence at them, and affairs were thereby much perplexed more than before; but for the better understanding of these affairs we shall relate such of the Armies proposals as were of most consequence, and most acceptable to the King.

The Armies Proposals to the King.

1. That an Act be passed to take away all coercive Power, Authority, and Jurisdiction of Bishops, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers whatsoever, extending to any civil Penalties upon any, and to repeal all Laws whereby the Civil Magistracy hath been, or is bound upon any Ecclesiastical censure to proceed (*ex officio*) unto any civil penalties against any persons so censured.

2. That there be a repeal of all Acts or Clauses in any Act, enjoyning the use of the Common Prayer, and imposing any penalties for neglect thereof, as also of all Acts or Clauses in any Act imposing any penalties for not coming to Church, or for meeting elsewhere, for prayer, or other religious duties, exercises or ordinances, and some other provision to be made for discovering of Papists, and Popish Recusants; and for disabling of them and all Jesuits and Priests from disturbing the State.

3. That the taking of the Covenant be not enforced upon any, nor any penalties imposed upon the refusers, whereby men might be constrained to take it against their judgement or consciences; but all orders or ordinances tending to that purpose to be repealed.

4. The things here before being provided, for setling and securing the Rights, Liberties, Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, his Majesties Person, his Queen, and Royal Issue may be restored to a condition of safety, honour and freedome in this Nation, without diminution to their personal Rights, or further limitation to the Exercise of the Regal Power than according to the particulars before going.

5. That a lesser number out of the persons excepted in the two first qualifications of the Parliaments late Propositions to the King, not exceeding five for the English (being nominated particulary by the Parliament, who together with the persons in the Irish Rebellion in the third qualification) may be reserved to the further Judgement of the Parliament, as they shall find cause. All other excepted persons to be remitted from the exceptions, and admitted to composition. 1647.

6. That the rates of all future compositions may be lessened and limited not to exceed the several propositions hereafter expressed respectively: That is to say, 1. For all persons formerly excepted not above a third part. 2. For the late Members of Parliament under the first branch of the fourth qualification in the propositions, a fourth part 3. For other Members of Parliament in the second and third branches of the same qualification, a sixth part. 4. For the persons nominated in the said fourth qualification, and those included in the tenth qualification, an eighth part; and that Real debts either upon Record, or proved by Witnesses, be considered, and debated in the valuation of their Estates in all the cases aforesaid.

7. That those who shall hereafter come to compound, may not have the Covenant put upon them, as a condition without which they may not compound; but in case they shall not willingly take it, they may pass their composition without it.

8. That the Persons and Estates of all English not worth two hundred pounds in Lands or Goods, be at liberty and discharged, and that the Kings menial Servants, that never took up Arms but only attended his Person, according to their Offices, may be freed from composition, or to pay (at most) but the proportion of one years Revenue or a twentieth part.

9. That in order to the making and perfecting of compositions for delinquency at the rates aforesaid, the Rents, Revenues, and other dues and profits of all sequestred Estates whatsoever (except the Estates of such persons who shall be continued under exception as before) be from henceforth suspended and detained in the hands of the respective Tenants and Occupiers, and others from whence they are due, for the space of six months following.

10. That the faith of the Army, or other Forces of the Parliament given in Articles upon surrenders to any of the Kings party, may be fully made good, and where any breach thereof shall appear to have been made, full reparation and satisfaction may be given to the parties injured, and the person offending being found out, may be compell'd thereunto.

18. That there may be a General Act of Oblivion to extend unto all (except the persons to be continued in exception as before) to absolve from all trespasses, misdemeanors, &c. done in prosecution of the War, and from all

1647. *trouble or prejudice, for or concerning the same, and to restore them to all priviledges belonging to other Subjects.*

The resentment of the *Scots* at these Propositions, which was touched at before, was chiefly manifested in a Remonstrance about this time made by the Commissioners of the General Assembly met at *Edenburgh* the 13th of *October*, to their Committee of Estates; wherein amongst other things they declared;

The Scots Remonstrance.

That his Majesty waving the Propositions of both Kingdoms, and pressing the Proposals of the Army, to be the subject of a Treaty, doth much increase the danger of Religion, seeing those Proposals, as they omit and abandon the former desires of both Kingdoms in point of Religion, so they cannot accord (as the words stand) the continuance of Prelacie, the toleration of Heresie and Sects, and the taking away the Ordinance in joyning the taking of the Covenant.

And a little further they thus express themselves;

These dangers of religion we have insisted on as being most proper for us to speak to, but not as if we were insensible of the great danger of the Kings Person, and of Monarchical Government, for preserving of which, according to our Covenant, our prayer and best endeavours shall not be wanting: and now the danger of Religion is so great, and the grounds of our Fears and apprehensions so regnant, we earnestly beseech and humbly obtest your Lordships in the bowel of Jesus Christ, and by the Vows of God which are upon you, that as your Lordships desire God and your own Consciences and posterity, may not afterwards charge upon you the Ruine of Religion, King, and Kingdoms, so your Lordships may be very tender and conscionable that no such design be entertained or get place amongst you, as tendeth to the disabling of this Church and Kingdom from an effectual prosecuting and promoting the ends of the Covenant, or to the strengthning and enabling the enemies thereof by affording them the opportunity which they wait for to disturb the peace and destroy the present Reformation: these and no better effects can be looked for, if the Army in this Kingdom, which hath been so blessed of God, and so faithful to you, shall be disbanded before this cause of God, which so much concerneth his Glory, the reformation and defence of Religion, the peace and safety of the Kingdom, the honour and happiness of the King, be setled upon a firm foundation.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* attended the King at *Hampton*-Court, and gave him full information of all these matters, and so far represented to him the uncertainty of his condition in reference to the Army, which became now by the practises of some busie men very ungovernable, that he began to incline rather to the *Scots*; and the Commissioners of *Scotland* residing at *London* sent Letters to the Parliament dated *November* the 5th in which they pressed very much that the King might come to *London* and treat personally with the Parliament about the things controverted; urging for reasons thereof, because the King had been taken from *Holdenby* against his will, and without the consent of the Parliament, by the violence of the Souldiers, and still remained under the power of an Army, not in that freedom which was thought fit for a King, treating about a business of so great moment; but if it might not be thought convenient for his coming to *London*, that he may continue at *Hampton*-Court so he be not under the power of the Army, but in such a condition that the Commissioners of both Parliaments might have a free recourse to him.

The Scots Commissioners Letter to the Parliament.

The Agitators were much alarmed at this interposition of the *Scots*, and their keeping up their Army in *Scotland*, and from hence they became more violent than before in their practises against the King, which they expressed in several proposals to the General Council of Officers: and about this time in one of their debates at a General Council at *Putney* it was proposed,

Whether it were safe either for the Army or the people to suffer any power to be given to the King: and in the discussion of this, it was said openly in the Council,

That they had gone about to wash a Blacka moore white whether he would or not, and to set up a Power which God would destroy; that the power of Kings was a burthensome stone that would destroy whosoever should fall upon it:

Monstrous passage against the King at a meeting of the Officers at Putney.

That the reason of their distractions in Councils was from a compliance to save that Man of Blood (meaning the King) *and those principles of Tyranny which God from Heaven by his many successes had manifestly declared against.*

Cromwel and *Ireton* (who yet wished well to the King) did what they could to oppose these proceedings, but the stream was too strong against them; and the King having from time to time notice of these agitations, thought it not imprudent to provide (ere it should be too late) for his own safety, and by advice of Sir *John Berkely*, Colonel *Legg*, and Mr. *Ashburnham* (whom he then much trusted) he resolved to attempt to get to *Jersey*; and for the effecting thereof, a Ship was provided somewhere about *Southampton* for his transportation; but before he took this resolution, he thought fit to retract an Engagement made by Mr. *Ashburnham* on his behalf not to depart from the Army without their consent, which we shall relate in Mr. *Ashburnhams* own words:

Ashburnhams Letter from Carisbrook to the Speaker dated November 29. 1647 Printed for R. Royston.

When the differences of the Army grew great, and an active and powerful party thereof daily menacing violence to his Majesty's person, his Majesty commanded me to retract the Engagement which I had formely given, alledging, that Colonel Whally *affirmed to him, that the Officers of the Army had so little power to preserve him, as that they were scarce able to keep themselves from affronts; whereupon having found Colonel* Whalley *walking by the river side near* Hampton-*Court I told him that I came to withdraw that word which I had given him for his Majesty's not leaving the Army without their consent; the Colonel said, why then the King doth so too: and I told him you are to understand it so. He added, It was fairly done, and he would take notice of it accordingly.*

This being done, and the Ship and Horses and other convenience for the Kings escape in preparation, he resolved to take the first opportunity he could to get his liberty, but hearing of some passages at the meeting of the Officers at *Putney* on

1647. on the 11th of *November*, tending to the destruction of his person: (where Colonel *Harrison* made a long narration concerning some things that lay upon his Spirit, in relation to the King, Lords, &c. saying, *That the King was a man of Blood, and therefore the Engagements to him were taken off, and that they were to prosecute him*: And that on the same day the Agitators of nine Regiments and the Generals Life-Guard, had prepared a Letter of the same strain by way of narrative to all the Souldiers of the Army to draw them to a general Randezvouze to declare against any settlement with the King) he resolved that evening to remove himself, and accordingly about eight a Clock at night he got away, having Horses laid ready to receive him on the other side of the River; and about nine a Clock, whilst the Commissioners of Parliament and Colonel *Whalley* (who commanded the Guard) expected when he should come out of his Chamber to Supper, and wondred at his long stay, at last some of them going in, and not finding the King, they found his Cloak left there, and a Letter written with his own hand to the Commissioners, to be by them communicated to both Houses of Parliament; *Cromwel* about midnight dispatched a Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons with notice of the Kings departure: In the Kings letter to the Parliament, after he had discoursed somewhat about Captivity, and the sweetness of Liberty, he protested (as before God) *That he had not taken this design of withdrawing himself to disturb the publique peace, or any Treaty tending to the establishment thereof, but only to preserve his own safety, against which he understood there was a treasonable Conspiracie.* But towards the end of the Letter he useth these words: *Now as I cannot deny but that my personal security is the urgent cause of this my retirement, so I take God to witness, that the publique peace, is no less before mine eyes: and I can find no better way to express this my profession, (I know not what a wiser man may do) than by desiring and urging that all chief interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction, as for example, the Army (for the rest though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to consent) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the liberty of their Consciences, and have an act of Oblivion or Indempnity, (which should extend to the rest of all my Subjects) and that all their Arrears should be speedily and duly paid, which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from using such lawful and honest means as I shall chuse: To conclude, let me be heard with freedom, honour and safety, and I shall instantly break through this Cloud of retirement, and shew my self to be* Pater Patriæ.

CHARLES Rex.

Manuscript of the transactions at Treaty, collected by Sir *William Clerk* attending as Secretary at all those meetings.

The tie of obedience to him as King.

The King escapes from Hampton Court.

The King's Letter to the Parliament at his departure from Hampton Court.

The Parliament were at first surprized with this unexpected news of the Kings departure, and they dispatched Messengers to all Sea-Ports to prevent his going out of the Kingdom, and upon a rumour that he was concealed in *London*, they ordered, That if any man should closely detain the Kings Person and not reveal it to the Parliament, he should be punished with the loss of his estate and life; But in the midst of this confusion, a Letter came to the Lords from Colonel *Hammond* Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, dated at *Cowes* the 13th of *November*, wherein he acquainted them, That being that morning on his way from *Carisbrook* Castle to *Newport*, Mr. *Ashburnham* and Sir *John Berkely* overtook him, and after a short discourse told him, the King was near, and that he would be with him that night, and was come from *Hampton*-Court, upon information, that there were some who intended to destroy him, and that he could not with safety continue any longer there, and finding his case thus, he chose rather to put himself into his hands being a member of the Army (which he said he would not have left, could he have had security to his Person) than to go to any other place; and therefore weighing the great concernment that the Person of the King was of, he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to preserve his person from any such horrid attempts, and to bring him to a place of safety: hereupon he went over the water and found the King near the water side, and by his own desire he brought him to the Isle of *Wight*.

1647.

The King is brought to the Isle of *Wight*, At the Counsell of Southampton house.

The Parliament were well pleased to hear of the Kings being at *Cowes*, and ordered thereupon on the 16th of *November*,

1. *That he should continue there and in the Castle.*

2. *That none that have born arms against the Parliament but Inhabitants that have compounded, shall remain in that Island.*

3. *That no Delinquent or Foreiner should be admitted to come to him without leave of the Parliaments of* England *and* Scotland, *and that Propositions should be speedily sent to him.*

4. *That five thousand pounds shall be advanced for his accommodation:* And,

5. *That it should be considered who should attend his Person.*

In the little space of time betwixt the Kings departure from *Hampton*-Court, and his arrival at *Cows*-Castle in the Isle of *Wight* many great distempers appeared in the Army, which had been growing some while before, on this occasion. The Agitators having some jealousie, that *Cromwel* and *Ireton* and the rest of the General Officers designed to establish the King (and being acted and guided by divers persons not of the Army that were for a total subversion of Monarchical Government) possessed the Souldiers with much prejudice against them, as that they had faln from their Principles, and were in their proceedings false and treacherous both to the Army and Kingdom, and by several insinuations of this kind which they dispersed in printed papers they had made great factions and parties in the Army, and much divided the Souldiers from the Officers, and both Officers and Souldiers amongst themselves: these disorders and discontents were much encreased by the repair of the Agitators to the head Quarters, where they assembled as a kind of Representative Council, and debated divers matters of great concernment: But the General doubting the event of these practices, and being willing to quiet the discontents then growing amongst the Souldiers, in the first place, dismissed the Agitators to their several Regiments, and sent also most of the Officers then at the Head-Quarters to their respective and particular charges,

Divisions happen in the Army.

1647. ges, to endeavour to satisfie and compose those discontents and divisions; and about a fortnight after he contracted the quarters of the Army, intending to draw them to several Randezvouzes; the first whereof was to be in a place called *Corkbush Field* betwixt *Hartford* and *Ware* on the 15th day of *November*; But as soon as the Agitators had notice of these orders, they and their associates laboured to hinder the Execution thereof, and to draw divers Regiments from the Quarters and Randezvouzes, to which they were ordered, to the first Randezvouze, near *Ware*; whereupon the General the day before called a Council of War at *Hartford*, and there agreed upon a Remonstrance, and Engagement, which was to be read at the Randezvouze at the head of every Regiment, and subscribed by the Officers and Souldiers; But the next day when the Army was drawn together, many of the Souldiers of five whole Regiments mutinied against their Officers, and wore certain marks of distinction to be known by from the rest, nor was this done in so tumultuous a manner as usually mutinies are made, but with some kind of order, and had proved very dangerous, if *Cromwel* and *Ireton* and some of the rest of the Officers had not been very active in seizing on some of the principal Mutineers, in the doing whereof, one or two were shot to death before the Troops were reduced to order and good obedience; but though the present distemper was thus ended, great animosities remained, most of the Mutineers and the Officers that favoured them, were tryed at Court Martials, and cashiered, or otherwise punished, but *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, and their factions, were after this (to keep their credit with the Army) to alter their Counsels, which brought great misery to the Kingdom, as will be shewn hereafter.

The Souldiers mutiny against their Officers.

The principal of them shot to death.

Whilst the Parliament were deliberating about Propositions to be sent to the *Isle* of *Wight* to the King; a Letter came to them from him dated the 18th of *November*, super-scribed, *To the Speaker of the Lords House, to be communicated also to the House of Commons*, which was read in both Houses. In which he delivered his sence and opinion concerning many things contained in the former propositions to him, especially concerning the abolition of Episcopacy, which he said, *He could not consent to either as a Christian or a King, because he looked upon it as Apostolical, and had sworn at his Coronation to maintain it; but yet he was willing that Presbyterie should be authorized for three years, and in the mean time, a free debate had between the Divines assembled at* Westminster, *and twenty that he should appoint for the future settlement of Church Government; he was also willing that the Parliament should dispose of the Militia, and have the choice of his Privy Counsellors during his Reign, provided they would have it by Grant in Letters Patents from him, and that it might return to his Successors: He gave touches also concerning the Payment of the arrears of the Souldiers, and the other matters, of all which he said, he hoped that he should satisfie the Parliament with his reasons, if he might personally treat with them. Therefore he desired earnestly to be admitted with honour, freedom and safety to treat personally at* London. *The Commissioners of* Scotland likewise with great vehemency press'd, That the desire of the King might be granted: insomuch, that after a long debate, on *November* 26. it was concluded, that four previous propositions being drawn up into the form of Acts, should be sent to the King in the *Isle* of *Wight* to sign; which when he had signed, he should be admitted to a personal Treaty at *London*.

The King's Letters from the Isle of Wight to the Parliament.

1647.

Four Acts sent to the King to be signed.

1. *An Act for raising, settling, and maintaining Forces by Sea and Land within the Kingdom of* England *and* Ireland, *and Dominion of* Wales, *&c.*

2. *An Act, for recalling of all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations against the Parliament, or those who have adhered to them.*

3. *An Act, That those Peers who were made after the Great Seal was carried from the Parliament, may be made uncapable of sitting in the House of Peers.*

4. *That Power may be given to the Two Houses to adjourn themselves as they think fit.*

The first of these Acts was concerning the Militia, which devested the King, his Heirs and Successors of the power thereof for ever; for though it seem'd to be but for twenty years, yet it saith, That neither the King nor his Heirs or Successors, nor any other shall exercise any power over the Militia by Land or Sea, but such as shall act by Authority and Approbation of the Lords and Commons: It gives also an unlimited power to the two Houses to raise what Forces, & what number for Land and Sea, and of what persons (without exceptions) they please, and to imploy them as they shall judge fit, and to raise what Money they please for maintaining them. The tules of the other Acts do sufficiently discover the nature of them, and therefore we shall not inlarge upon them: The Commissioners of *Scotland* would in no wise give their consent that these four Acts should be imposed on the King before he treated at *London*; and in a large declaration they protested against it, notwithstanding which, they were sent by the Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Montague*, Mr. *Lisle*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Bunkly*, and Mr. *Kemp*, Commissioners from both Houses of Parliament, and on the 24th of *December* they were presented to the King at *Carisbrook* Castle; but he willing to satisfie all interests, and finding the *Scots* openly to protest against them, refused to give his assent to any Acts till the whole peace should be concluded, and the Commissioners returned to *London* with his denyal. This refusall of his Majesties, together with some other unhappy Circumstances, gave *Cromwell* a suspicion that the King had some thought of Deserting the Army, and casting himself upon the Presbyterian Interest; Whereupon the Army march'd to *Windsor*, where the head quarters for some time remained, and the chief Officers had many consultations about the present transactions betwixt the King and the Parliament; for *Cromwell* and *Ireton* finding the Interest of the *Scots* was likely to be

The King refuseth to give his Assent to them.

1647. be joyn'd with that of the King, and that the City of *London* was very favourable to them, they feared a downfall to their greatnes, if they did not prevent the progres thereof, and strengthen themselves by drawing the inferiour Officers and Souldiers who were much acted by the late mutinies against the King and his Government, to have a good opinion of them; to effect which, as a pretence to procure a unity in the Army, a Fast was solemnly kept amongst the Officers, and a whole day spent in Prayer and Preaching, and at the close thereof, all those Prisoners that were committed for the mutiny at *Ware*, as the mind of God, were set at liberty, when as one well knowing in those affairs, published; **They had without doubt resolv'd it before as the only expedient to re-imbalm their lost reputation; for if the K. would have taken their price, to let* Cromwell *and* Ireton *rule and Reign under him, no doubt but he might have come in; but because the* Scots *feared if he came in by these Grandees of the Army, they and he might joyn together to chastise them for all their old former provocations, and therefore out of meer safety (it may be) they out-bid the Grandees to gain the Kings affection, which made them mad.*

The Officers of the Army keep a solemn Fast.

*John Lilburne in a Book called England's Freedom, Souldiers Rights, pag. 59.

Thus much is related in a print, and to manifest this practice, *Cromwell* and *Ireton* being present in the House of Commons when the Kings Answer was read, *Ireton* said; *That the King had denyed safety and protection to his people by denying the four Bills; That subjection to him was but in lieu of his protection to his people, this being denied they might well deny any more subjection to him, and settle the Kingdom without him: That it was now expected after so long Patience, they should shew their resolutions, and not desert those valiant men who had engaged for them beyond all possibility of retreat, and would never forsake the Parliament, unless they forsook them first;* and in the conclusion he pres'd for a *Question to be put, That no more addresses or applications should be made to the King.* This discourse was received with much admiration of many that had observ'd the late motions of the Army, and read their declarations, who knew how contrary this his speech was from what he had often before asserted on behalf of the King, and that most of those declarations were penn'd by him, in one of which were these words: **We do clearly profess, we do not see how there can be any Peace to the Kingdom firm or lasting, without a due consideration of, and provision for the Rights, Quiet, and Immunity of his Majesties Royal Family, and his late Partakers*; And in many others there were the like expressions, besides what was contained in the Armies proposals before recited; but now, Those that chose by Arms to compass their ends upon the King, began too late to discover, That the Government by an Army would introduce at last (as in the Roman State it did) the Army to be Masters of Government. This debate of non-addresses was very long in agitation, for it continued from nine in the morning till seven at night, and when the House was ready for a Question, *Cromwell* spake to this purpose;

Ireton's Speech in the House of Commons.

*Remonstrance from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Army under his command at St. Albans the 23. 1647. pag. 62.

Cromwel's Speech in the House.

That it was now expected the Parliament should govern and defend the Kingdom by their own power and resolutions, and not teach the People any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened; That those men who had defended the Parliament from so many dangers with the expence of their blood, would defend them herein with fidelity and courage against all opposition. Teach them not by neglecting your own and the Kingdoms safety (in which their own is involved) to think themselves betrayed, and left hereafter to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemie, whom they have subdued for your sake: and therefore are likely to find his future government of them insupportable, and fuller of Revenge than Justice, lest despair teach them to seek their safety by some other means than adhering to you, who will not stick to your selves, and how destructive such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge: And to enforce this Speech, at the later end thereof, in kind of menacing manner, he laid his hand upon his sword; and in the end, a Declaration and Votes were passed, which were after much debate assented to by the Lords, in these words.

1647.

The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after many Addresses to his Majestie for the preventing and ending this unnatural War, raised by him against the Parliament and Kingdom, have lately sent four Bills to his Majesty, which did contain only matter of safety and security to the Parliament and Kingdom, referring the composure of other differences to a personal Treaty with his Majesty, and having received an absolute Negative, do hold themselves obliged to use their utmost endeavours, specially to settle the present Government in such a way, as may bring the greatest security to this Kingdom, in the enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties thereof. And in Order thereunto, and that the Houses may receive no delay nor interruptions in so great and necessary a work, they have taken these Resolutions, and passed these Votes following, viz.

The Lords and Commons do declare, *That they will make no further Addresses or Applications to the King.*

The Parliament vote that no more addresses should be made to the King.

Resolved &c. By the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, *That no Application or Addresses be made to the King by any person whatsoever without the leave of both Houses.*

Resolved &c. By the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, *That the person or persons that shall make breach of this Order, shall incur the penalty of High Treason.*

Resolved, &c. *That the Lords and Commons do declare, That they will receive no more any Message from the King; and do enjoyn, That no person whatsoever do presume to receive or bring any Message from the King to both or either of the Houses of Parliament, or any other person.*

Within few days after these Votes of Parliament were published, and in compliance with them, a Declaration of the General, and General Council of the Army was made, and presented to the Parliament, in the close whereof it was thus expressed:

We

1648.

The Declaratives of the Army.

We do freely declare for our selves and the Army, That we are resolved, through the Grace of God, firmly to adhere with, and stand by the Parliament in the things Voted, concerning the King, and in what shall be further necessary for prosecution thereof, and for settling and securing of the Parliament and Kingdom, without the King, and against him or any other that shall hereafter partake with him.

The Parliament publishes a Declaration

The Committee of Derby-house new impowered.

The Parliament also made a publique Declaration about the beginning of *February*, with many invective arguments in it against the King, laying open all those errors of his Government together, which they had with virulence & malice formerly published in parcels; but the more sober part of the people knew too well by what arts the Councils which produced these actions were framed, to be perswaded by them, and so great were the discontents in the City of *London* and the suburbs thereof, that part of the Army was quartered about *Westminster*, the *Mews* and other places of the City for fear of Insurrections; & the moneth before these high transactions, 7 Lords and 13 of the House of Commons were chosen out of both Houses, to sit as a Committee in *Derby*-House (where the Committee of both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* had sitten before) who where impowered to suppress tumults and insurrections, and to that purpose to raise forces as they saw occasion; the names of these were, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Warwick*, and *Manchester*, and the Lords *Say*, *Wharton* and *Roberts*, and of the Commons, Sir *Henry Vane* Senior, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Sir *William Armin*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, *Nathanael Fines*, *William Pierpoint*, and *Oliver St. Johns* Esquires, Mr. *Crew*, Mr *Brown* and Mr. *Wallop*, these were pretty equally made up of Presbyterians and Independents; but the later seemed to be most prevalent by the influence of the Army, but they were less violent in their actings, than otherwise they would, that they might not too much exasperate the *Scots*, for their Commissioners had about this time, repeating the four Votes against the King, propounded to know, *Whether the Houses by their Votes, That no person whatsoever do presume to make, or receive any application or address to, or from the King, would debar the* Scots *to make or receive any addresses to, or from him, and so put an incapacity upon him to perform Acts of Government towards them*: this Message caused great debate, but at last it was consented to, *That the* Scotch *Commissioners might make addresses to the King*: But these carriages in the House of Commons made the Army and their Independent friends consult how to suppress or terrifie the Presbyterians, who in that House notwithstanding all the Military means, were yet the major part, though least active; and to effect this, about the beginning of *March* the Lords sent a Message to the Commons (which had been six months before rejected) to desire their concurrence to an Ingagement of those Members that fled to the Army, *To live and die with the Army*, which after eight hours debate was carried by nine voices in the affirmative, when there were near two hundred present, after many Presbyterians, who were awed by the threats of some of the Armies Creatures, had left the House because it was late, not daring to Vote in the Negative: and it was insinuated, that if they had not approved of the Ingagement, a new charge would be exhibited by the Army to the Lords against the principal opposers; which prevailed upon the weakness of many, though the wiser sort believed no: they durst attempt any such thing; for many arguments at this time were published against those proceedings, very well received by the people, some of which went so high, as not to allow the Lords any Judicature over the Commons: but others agreed, *That the House of Peers was a Court of Judicature, but not without the K's. special Authority granted to them either by his Writ, or by his Commission*; and the Lords by the four Votes before mentioned having denied all further address or application to the King, had cut off from themselves that fountain from which they derived all their power. During these practices, to encrease and strengthen the Independent party, the discontents of the people were much augmented in all places, against the Parliament and the Army for their severity against the K.; for upon his denial to assent to the four Bills or Acts lately sent to him the Governor removed most of his Servants from him, and restrained him to the Circuit of the Castle within the Walls, and though he did it at first without the Authority of the Parliament, yet they afterwards approved of the action. Those in the Iland being neareft to the view of this usage, were very much offended with it, and one Captain *Burleigh* lately an officer in the Kings Army and an Inhabitant there, beat up a Drum in *Newport* to draw some Souldiers together to rescue the King, but being too hasty in the attempt, his endeavours were frustrated, and he himself was taken prisoner, and those that took part with him suppreft: he was after some time sent in custody to *Winchester*, where by a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer directed to Sergeant *Wild* of *Worcestershire* the then Chief Baron and others; he was tried and condemned of High Treason, and on the 10th of *February* injuriously executed for the same.

Hist. Indep. 61, & 62.

The King suffers a more close restraint.

Captain *Burleigh* suffers for endeavouring the Kings rescue.

He is so distinguished from another loyal person of his name, late Recorder of London and now a learned Judge.

The King in this condition set forth a declaration to all his Subjects, which inlarged their compassion towards him, and in that towards the end he thus expresseth himself (*viz.*)

The King puts forth a Declaration.

By what means or occasions I am come to this relapse in my affairs, I am utterly to seek, especially when I consider that I have sacrificed to my two Houses of Parliament (for the peace of my Kingdom) all, but what is much more dear to me than my life, my Conscience and Honour; desiring nothing more than to perform it in the most proper and natural way, A personal Treaty, but that which makes me most at a loss is, the remembring my signal compliance with the Army and their Interests, and of what importance my compliance was to them, and their often repeated profession and engagements for my just rights in general, at New-Market, *and Saint* Albans, *and their particular exaplanations of these generals by their voted and revoted Propofals, which I had reason to understand should be the utmost extremity would*

The Scots Commissioners allowed to make address to the King.

The Parliament pass an ingagement.

1648.

1647. *would be expelled from me, and that in something therein I should be eased, (herein appealing to the consciences of some of the chiefest Officers in the Army, if what I have said, be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their expectations, or my professions to them, I challenge them, and the whole World, to produce the least colour of reason; And now I would know what it is that is desired: Is it peace? I have shewed the way (being both willing and desirous to perform my part in it) which is a just complyance with all chief interests: Is it plenty and happiness? they are the inseparable effects of Peace: Is it security? I, who wish all men would forget and forgive like me, have offered the Militia for my time: Is it liberty of Conscience? He who wants it, is most ready to give it: Is it the right Administration of Justice? Offices of Trust are committed to the choice of my two Houses of Parliament: Is it the Arrears of the Army? upon a settlement they will certainly be paid with much ease, but before there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility in it.*

Thus, all the World cannot but see my real and unwearied endeavours for Peace, the which, (by the grace of God) I shall neither repent me of, nor never be slackned in, notwithstanding my past, present, or future sufferings. But if I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obstructs the good I would or might do; What is it that men are afraid to hear from me? It cannot be reason, (at least none will declare themselves so unreasonable as to confesse it) and it can less be impertinent or unreasonable discourses; for thereby peradventure I might more justifie this my Restraint, than the causers themselves can do; so that of all wonders, this yet is the greatest to me: But it may be easily gathered hence, how these men intend to govern, who have used me thus. And if it be my hard fate to fall together with the liberty of this Kingdom, I shall not blush for my self, but much lament the future miseries of my people, the which I shall still pray God to avert, whatever becomes of me.

During the time of these restraints, he betook himself to meditation, and then composed that most excellent Book, entituled, Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, or *The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings.*

The Parliament send Visitors to *Oxford.*

1648. About the moneth of *June* last, the Parliament sent visitors to the University of *Oxford*, but their authority was not submitted to by the Members thereof, who alledged, that they could not acknowledge any visitors but the King, or his immediate substitute, without manifold perjuries: but about the 27th of *April* this year, The Earl of *Pembroke* being lately before by Vote or Ordinance of the two Houses, made Chancellour of the University, resorted thither with some others that were with him made Visitors, & being armed with the authority of a vote of the Lords and Commons to expell all such Masters, Fellows, and Officers of Colledges, as refused to submit to their power, the next day after his arrival, he went to *Christ-Church* Colledge, and there by

Oxford visited by the new Chancellor.

force removed the Dean, and all the Canons and Students that did not comply with him, and take the Covenant, and put others in their places, and in the like manner he proceeded in the Colledges of *All-Souls*, St. *Mary Magdalen*, and *New-Colledge*, and in all other Colledges and Halls, by displacing those that did not submit, and putting others in their places. 1648.

This Summer the King, though a Prisoner, was as formidable as ever since the beginning of his troubles, and many of the more moderate of his Subjects of both Kingdoms, which before had joyned in Arms against him, began to look upon his estate with consideration, and they and others attempted by force to try their fortunes on his behalf: And first, an Insurrection was made in *London*, where some Apprentices in *More-fields* set upon a part of the Trained-Bands who were there keeping Guard, and over-powered them, by which success their numbers hourly increased, and they divided themselves into two or three Bodies, one whereof (which was the most considerable) having born before them an Ensign which they took from the Trained-Bands, march'd towards *White-Hall*, but being without any Arms but Sticks, a Troop of Horse from the *Mews* charg'd and dispersed them; yet at night they joyned again, and surprized *Newgate* and *Ludgate*, and shut up the Gates thereof, and seized a Drake-piece from the Lord Mayors House, which they planted within *Ludgate*, being animated hereunto by some of the Army, to make their Conquest of them more remarkable: The morning following, they laboured to get Arms, and brake open some Salemens Houses of Ammunition, and mastered the Magazine at *Leaden-Hall*, crying out in a tumultuous manner, *For God and King Charles*; but the next day General *Fairfax* entred *Aldersgate* with two Regiments, and marched to *Leaden-Hall-street*, and there charged this undisciplin'd multitude; who after a short Skirmish, were utterly dispersed, with little or no loss to the Assailants. An Insurrection of the Lond. Apprentices.

In *South-Wales*, about this time, Colonel *Poyer* Governour of *Pembroke* Castle, refused to yield up his Charge (though commanded thereunto) but the better to countenance his intention, his first pretences were to have the Arrears of him and his Souldiers paid to him, but this produced some expostulatory Letters betwixt him and the Parliament, and in the mean time he fortified the Castle, and stored it with provision for a defence, and Major General *Laughorn*, for the same reason, refused to disband his men, and so both resolved to run the same fortune. *Laughorn* surprized *Tenby* Castle with the Parliament Commissioners therein; and for the support of their Souldiers they raised contribution from the neighbouring parts and declared for the King, to whom one Colonel *Powel*, a valiant Souldier of that Countrey, joyned. Colonel *Horton* was sent by *Fairfax* Commander in chief against them, with thirty Companies of Horse, & Foot who sent out Adjutant General *Fleming* to charge them, who when he came near went to gain a Pass from *Poyer*, which he found quitted to his hands, and going on improvidently, he fell into an Ambuscade which *Poyer* had laid, whereby his men were disor- *Poyer* and *Laughorn* refuse to submit to the Parliament.

1648. disordered, and he with some few of them compell'd to shelter in a neighbouring Church, but perceiving himself unable to hold it out, he died (as it is thought) by his own Sword, and the rest were taken Prisoners: This success was attended with the surprize of *Chepstow* Castle, which was taken by Sir *Tho. Keymish* for the King in the Governors absence. And now *Fairfax* thought a greater Force was required than those with *Horton* to reduce *South-Wales*, & therefore *Cromwel* himself was ordered to march with a strong power into that Country; but when the news of his advance came to *Langhorn*, he thought it best to fight *Horton* before his coming, and the other as willingly marched to meet him, and near St. *Fragons* on the eighth of *May*, the two Armies came in sight of one another, *Langhorn* had many more than the other, but not well armed nor disciplined, and for that he did not so soon expect *Horton* the conquest was the easier; for as soon as his men were charged, after a little resistance, *Horton*'s men obtained a Victory in which they killed & took 1500 Officers, & 3000 Common Souldiers, *Langhorn* himself and *Powel* escaped by flight. Lieutenant General *Cromwel* entred *Wales* shortly after this, and stormed *Tenby* Castle, which yielded upon mercy, and *Chepstow* Castle was retaken by Colonel *Ewar* and from thence he marched to besiege *Pembroke* Castle: Sir *John Owen* whilest *Cromwel* besieged *Pembroke* Castle, got together some Forces in *North-Wales* for the King, which the Sheriff would have suppressed, but being too weak was defeated and taken Prisoner by him; but shortly after, the same fortune befell *Owen* himself, by the Forces of Major General *Mitton*. *Pembroke* Town and Castle held out couragiously for a long time, but at length were so distressed, that they willingly would have surrendred, if they could have had any other Conditions, than to yield upon discretion; & to force them thereunto, *Cromwel* gave a furious assault to the place, which the besieged resolutely endured: But upon News that Duke *Hamilton* was preparing to march into *England* with an Army of *Scots*, he became inclinable to give them better terms, & thereupon the Town and Castle was delivered up to him *July* 13th on these terms (*viz.*) *Powell*, *Langhorn*, *Poyer*, and three other principal Actors to submit to the Parliaments mercy: the other Commanders, Knights and Gentlemen, to depart the Kingdom within six weeks, for two years, the rest to return to their repective dwellings, and the Townsmen to enjoy their freedome and Liberties: Those that submitted to mercy, were afterwards tried as Traytors, notwithstanding the Princes Letter in their behalf to General *Fairfax*; But this cruel favour was extended towards them, that they should cast lots for their lives, and so only *Poyer* suffered.

Chepstow Castle taken for the King

Langhorn defeated by *Horton*.

Tenby Castle stormed by *Cromwel*, and *Chepstow* Castle retaken.

Sir *John Owen* routed by Major General *Mitton*.

Pembroke Town and Castle delivered up to *Cromwel*.

April 23. The Duke of *York*, disguised in Womens Apparel, made his Escape from St. *James*'s by Water, and landed at *Dort* in *Holland*, by help of one Mr. *Bamfeild*, sent over purposely on that design by the Queen.

The Duke of *York* escaped to *Holland*.

Whilst some by Arms were endeavouring to free their Countrey, others attempted by Petitions in a mild way to obtain that by favour, which would not without great hazard and effusion of blood be procured by force: The County of *Essex* was the first that began, who supplicated the Parliament, *That the Army might be paid and disbanded, and the King admitted to a personal Treaty*. *Surrey* followed, and desired the like but in higher Terms, and being numerous, a quarrel was made with the Souldiers of *Westminster* who came to keep guard against them, words were first the weapons used, but from thence they came to blows, and some hurt was done on both sides, but night parted the Fray: The City of *London* succeeded next, and petitioned to the same effect, and also requested, that those Prisoners who stood committed for their former difference when the Parliament went to the Army, might be released, as shortly after they were; and upon the Cities constant profession to adhere to the Parliament, their *Militia* was restored, and Major General *Skippon* was appointed Major General thereof, and of all the Forces within the late Lines of Communication; the Lieutenant of the *Tower* put in by the Army, was also discharged, & Mr. *West* a Citizen, surrogated in his place; and because alarms of insurrections came from all parts, the General was easily intreated to draw off all the Forces he had from *White-Hall* and the *Mues*, and any other parts of *London*, or the late Lines of Communication, upon the Cities promise to order a Guard for the Parliament, which they readily performed, and settled six hundred pounds yearly on their Major General for his entertainment.

1648.

Petitions brought to the Parliament, from *Essex* and other Counties.

The *Kentish* men finding those of *Surrey* so ill treated when they came in a peaceble manner to Petition the Parliament, resolved to make their demand with Swords in their hands, and to that purpose a numerous body of them were drawn together, against whom the Lord *Fairfax* (for so he was now by his Fathers death) marched with six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, the *Kentish* were ten thousand, but unhappily, they parted their Forces, and sent away a Brigade to besiege *Dover* Castle, upon strong assurances from *London*, that the City would oppose the passage of the Army, if they should attempt it. Which notwithstanding, the Army advanc'd, and Major *Husbands* gained a passe at *Northfield*, and took some Prisoners; *Fairfax* followed, marching in a full body, expecting the *Kentish* (who hovered in sight of him) would have engaged, but they were not prepared for it, and so without any resistance, he came near *Maidstone*, in which the *Kentish* men were drawn up into a Body, and had planted some great Guns, and barricadoed the avenues of the Town.

The *Kentish* men in arms

Fairfax having his Army by this time encreased to ten thousand, on the second of *June* at seven a clock at night storm'd the Town twice, and was both times repulsed, but the third time he got entrance, yet then the fight was more perillous than before, whilst the Assailants had to do not only with those who manned the Streets, but were also galled with continual shot from the Houses, getting all by inches, nor could they master the Town till after six hours fight, and much loss on their own side: But of the *Kentish*, two hundred were slain, and above one thousand and three hundred taken Prisoners, with four hundred Horse, & eight pieces of Ordnance, & good Booty; & presently upon this, *Rochester* was also quitted

1648 ted to the Generals mercy; many of the Kentish men after this defeat kept still in a Body, and marched towards *London*, and rendezvouz'd upon *Black-Heath*, whither some resolute persons repaired to them from *London*, and the Earl of *Norwich* at the head of them gave them the best encouragement he could; but the Kentish men perceiving their succours to come short of what they expexed, they quitted their Commanders apace, and returned home; *Norwich* with Five hundred men crossed over *Greenwich* Ferry into *Essex*, in which County the Committee-men were already secured by some that were for the King there, and Sir *Charles Lucas* having gotten together Two thousand Horse and Foot, joyned with *Norwich*, who seized the Earl of *Warwick*'s Armory, and possessed themselves of *Colchester*, which now became a seat of War, and the Countrey people flocked in unto them, and many also came from *London*, and the Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Loughborough* from *Hartfordshire*, but General *Fairfax* leaving Colonel *Rich*, and Colonel *Hewson* to take in those places which held out in *Kent*, which himself had not time to reduce, crossed over into *Essex* after the Enemy, and came before *Colchester*, which he immediately surrounded with a potent Army. Neither were these endeavours for the King only confined to the Land, but a considerable party of the Navy Royal, encouraged by Captain *Batten*, formerly Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick*, was put into the power of the Prince of *Wales*, to be used for the Kings service; and with these the Prince with his Brother, Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Brainford*, the Lords *Hampton*, *Wilmot*, *Willoughby*, and *Culpeper*, with others of Quality came into *Tarmouth*-road, he had on board about Two thousand Souldiers, and these he would have landed, but hearing of Colonel *Scroops* coming against him with a party of Horse and Foot more in number, he sailed from thence to the *Downs* in *Kent*, seizing what Merchant Ships and Goods he could meet withall; *Deal* Castle was at this time besieged, for relief whereof the Prince would needs attempt something, and therefore he set five hundred men ashore, who at first charged handsomly, but being overnumbred, were beaten, and several of them were slain and taken, but the rest got on board again. Soon after this, *Sandwich*, *Deal*, and *Weymore* Castles were yielded up, and the whole County of *Kent* fully subdued. Whilst the Prince anchored in the *Downs*, the States of *Scotland* invited him to them, and engaged the Publick Faith of that Kingdom for his well-being in Honour, Freedom, and Safety with them, or with their Army then in *England*, and to remove from them, or their Army, when, or whither he pleased. But he having written to the House of Lords for promoting the Treaty with the King, and in vain summoned the Earl of *Warwick* (Admiral for the Parliament) to submit to him as highest Captain-General under the King, and beginning to stand in need of Provision, went with his Fleet into *Holland*.

Routed at *Maidstone* by General *Fairfax*.

Colchester besieged.

Part of the Navy revolt to Prince *Charles*.

A Party of his landing in *Kent*, are beaten

The States of *Scotland* invite the Prince of *Wales* to them.

The Earl of *Holland* takes up Arms for the King.

But the Earl of *Holland* being commissioned from the Prince, Heads a fresh Insurrection, just as it were in view of the Parliament at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, his chief Associates were the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother the Lord *Francis Villers*, and the Earl of *Peterborough*. *July* 2. they rendezvouzed near *Kingston*, and had Five hundred Horse, and some Foot upon the Heath there, and from thence they marched to *Darking*, and would have possessed *Rygate*, but were prevented; for Colonel *Rich* and Major *Gibbons* marched towards them, and thereupon they retreated towards *Kingston*, and being closely pursued, they sent away their Foot before to secure their Retreat to the Town, and made a stand between *Ewel* and *Nonsuch* Park, where the Pursuers overtook and engaged them; the fight was short and smart, wherein the Lord *Francis Villiers* (refusing Quarter) was slain, with a Son of Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and others, and the rest put to flight, and many prisoners of note were taken, the Earl of *Holland* got into *Kingston*, but staid not long there, but fled with all speed to Saint *Neods* in *Huntingtonshire*, where he was totally subdued, and taken by Colonel *Scroop*, and sent Prisoner to *Warwick* Castle, and *Dalbier* was there killed, but the Duke of *Buckingham* retired towards *Lincolnshire*, and escaped beyond Seas; *Colchester* yet held out couragiously, making frequent Sallies upon the Besiegers with indifferent success, and good hopes of relief from the North; for the Parliament of *Scotland* had sat ever since the second of *March*, and were much disgusted at the English proceedings in reference to the King, which was not a little encreased by the report of their Commissioners now returned, so that notwithstanding that the Parliament of *England* made them fair offers concerning the payment of the money due upon account of their Auxiliary Armies both in *England* and *Scotland*, and on the four and twentieth day of *July* passed an Ordinance to establish the Presbyterian Government in *England* and *Ireland*, (*viz.*) under Classical, Provincial, and Parochial Assemblies: yet all would not serve, for they had framed a Committee of Danger, to consult of their Affairs in relation to *England*; the major part whereof being of *Hamilton*'s Faction, Voted a War. And the *Scots* published a Declaration, wherein they proposed:

1648

He is routed and the Lord *Francis Villiers* slain.

The Earl taken at S. *Neods*.

An Ordinance for establishing the Presbyterian Government in *England*

That the King may come to London, *or some of his houses near, and that with safety.*

That reparation be made for his carrying away, or satisfaction by punishing them that did it.

That the Army under the Lord Fairfax *be disbanded.*

That Presbytery be settled, and Sectaries punished.

That all Members of the House be restored.

The *Scots* Declaration.

These actings drew many of the Kings party from the Northern parts to *Edenburgh*, and *Wogan* a Captain in the English Army marched to them with his Troop, and fifty Foot, and two Companies of Foot landed out of *Ireland* at *Chester*, and marched thither also: moreover *Berwick* was surprized by some Royallists, and Sir *Thomas Glenham* and Sir *Philip Musgrave* raised Forces for the King in *Westmerland* and *Cumberland*, with which they seized on *Carlisle*, and with them joyned Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with some Horse, being Commissioned to be General of the English Forces for the King, with which now encreased to three thousand, he coasted about the Northern Counties.

Berwick & *Carlisle* surprised.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* made Gen. of the *English* Forces for the King.

July the thirteenth, a *Scotch* Army under Duke *Hamil-*

1648 *Hamilton* entred *England*, the Van was brought up by the Duke himself, the main Body by Major General *Middleton*, and the Reer by the Earl of *Calender*, these joyned with *Langdale*, and fell upon Major General *Lambert* near *Appleby*, and forced him to retire into the Town, from thence he retreated to *Kirkby-Steven*, and after to *Bowes*, leaving some of his Forces behind him, to defend the Castle, which was besieged and taken *August* 7. by Sir *Philip Musgrave*; Colonel *Boynton* Governour of *Scarbrough* Castle declared for the King, and *Pomfret* Castle was taken by Major *Morris*; in *Tinmouth* Castle Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Lilbourn* declared for the King, but the Castle was suddenly retaken by Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*.

The Scots enter England under Duke Hamilton, and joyn with Langdale.

The *Scots* staid some time at *Kendal* in *Westmerland*, and Major General *Lamberts* Army encreased daily with additional Forces, and Lieutenant Ganeral *Cromwell* having quieted *Wales*, marched to joyn with him, and in his way took *Pomfret* Town, but not the Castle; *Hamilton* left *Kendal* and marched into *Lancashire*, intending for *London*, which the English Army resolved to hinder, and therefore marched to *Preston*, where *Hamilton* and *Langdale* lay with their Forces, reported to be Twenty thousand strong, *Cromwell* and *Lambert* now joyned were reckoned to have Five thousand Horse and Dragoons, and Seven thousand Foot. *August* the 17*th* both Armies faced one another, Major *Smithson* commanded the Forlorn of the English, who charged furiously on the *Scots* Van, and routed them, and alarmed the whole Army, and so the Battels joyned on a *Moor* two miles East of *Preston*, and the fight was very hot for two hours, and then the *Scots* gave ground, which encouraged the *English* to pursue them, and that so fiercely, that they were forced to divide, one part being a Body of Three thousand Horse, moved toward *Lancaster*, and was followed and dispersed by Colonel *Twisleton* and Colonel *Thornton*, (who took multitudes of them prisoners;) and the other part Horse and Foot marched over the River *Ribble*, whom the Main of the *English* Army followed, and at *Ribble*-Bridge the *Scots* made a stand, defending the Pass stoutly for two hours, even to the Push of Pike, but were then constrained to retire. The next morning the *Scots* drew up on a Hill on the side of *Preston*, whence being forced by the *English*, they fled in great disorder to *Wiggon*, which they plundered, and the next morning after marched towards *Warrington* (the *English* pursuing all the way) near *Warrington* the *Scots* taking advantage of a Pass, made another halt, but were again beaten with the loss of a Thousand men, and were pursued to the very Bridge, where the Foot in number 4000. being deserted by the Horse, laid down their Arms and submitted to mercy; *Hamilton* got away with Three thousand Horse to *Nantwich*, where the Countrey being up in Arms, seized upon most of them; Lieutenant General *Cromwel* marched towards *Cumberland*, to meet *Monroe*, who was marching with a Reserve of *Scots*, giving order to all the Parliament Commanders in these Counties to follow the flying *Scots*, by some of whom Major General *Middleton*, who commanded Four hundred Horse, was defeated and taken prisoner, and the rest dispersed: *Hamilton* himself was met with at *Uttoxeter*, and made to submit to mercy by the Lord *Gray* of *Groby*, who sent him prisoner to *Ashby de la Zouch*; in this days Fight, the *English* took more prisoners than their whole Army amounted to. The *Scots* Ensigns, Cornets, and Colours taken were afterward hung up in *Westminster-Hall*; Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was apprehended in an Inn: *Cromwell* improved his success, and came to *Durham*, to look out *Monroe*, supposed to be about Six thousand strong; but the stricter Presbyterian party in *Scotland* having now recovered the Sword, ordered him to return, which he obeyed more for fear of the *English*, than obedience to them, and joyning with the Earl of *Lanerick*, both together they made Eight thousand Horse and Foot; to oppose whom, the Anti-Hamiltonians provided an Army, whereof the Earl of *Argyle* was Commander in Chief, and *David Lesley* Lieutenant General; but being too weak to fight them, *Cromwell* entred *Scotland* by their invitation, and to smooth his way, he published the following Declaration:

The *Scots* Army defeated by Lieutenant General *Cromwell.*

1648 *Hamilton* taken prisoner by the Lord *Gray* of *Groby.*

Cromwell enters *Scotland.*

His Declaration.

Whereas we are marching with the Forces of the Parliament of England *into the Kingdom of* Scotland, *in pursuance of the remaining part of the Enemy who lately invaded the Kingdom of* England, *and for the recovery of the Garrisons of* Berwick *and* Carlisle: *These are to declare, That if any Officer or Souldier under my command shall take or demand any moneys, or shall take any Horses, Goods, or Victuals without Order, or shall abuse the people in any sort, he shall be tried and punished with Death by a Court Martial.*

To him *Argyle*, *Lowden*, *Leven*, and other of the Scotch Nobility repaired, and contracted with him for subduing of the publick Enemy: and so much feared was he in *Scotland*, that the following Agreement was consented to by them.

First, *That the Army under* Argyle, *and the other under* Lanerick *and* Monroe, *with all the Forces in any of the Garrisons in* Scotland, *be disbanded, and* Barwick *and* Carlisle *be delivered to the* English.

Secondly, *That the settlement of Religion at home, and promoting Reformation abroad, be ordered by the determination of the General Assembly, & all Civil differences be referred to a* Parliament *speedily to be called.*

Thirdly, *That no party that were in the last Engagements against* England, *be of the new Parliament, or of the General Assembly.*

And so he returned into *England* after he had been invited to *Edenburgh* to Feasts and Banquets, and highly caressed by the States of *Scotland* with all expressions of Honour. And in *York-shire* as he marched homewards, he was desired to reduce *Scarbrough* and *Pomfret* Castles, which was then promised, but not till some time after effected; *Colchester* had endured a tedious Siege, and was now brought to such a scarcity of Provision, that the besieged had not horse-flesh enough to serve them one day (that being the Food which they had fed on almost a fortnight, and not purchased without much blood spilt in divers Sallies for dead Horses,) and now perceiving all hopes of succour utterly frustrated, they were necessitated to yield upon these Conditions following:

The Common Souldiers to depart with Life, and the Officers to remain at the Generals disposal, and he

to

1648 *to exempt from mercy whom he pleased; the remainder to be remitted to the Parliaments mercy, and the Town to raise fourteen thousand pounds to preserve it from plunder.*

Colchester yielded upon conditions.

The prisoners of Quality were the Earl of *Norwich*, *Capel*, and *Loughborough*, eleven Knights, twelve Colonels, eight Lieutenant Colonels, nine Majors, thirty Captains, and sixty five Gentlemen, the private Souldiers were about three thousand; three of the Knights were condemned to die by a Court-Marshal (*viz.*) Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Bernard Gascoin* a *Florentine*; but the last was reprieved because a Stranger, and the other two shot to death, the first having (as the † General said in his Letter to the Parliament) falsified his word with him; the second directed the shooting of poysoned Bullets, against the Laws of Arms.

Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle shot to death.

†This was alleadged, but never proved.

And so General *Fairfax*, after much loss of time and men, and difficult service for a quarter of a year, took possession of the Town of *Colchester*, *August* the 27th. after which he marched up and down the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Hartford* to settle peace, and visit the Garrisons, and then returned to S. *Albans*, his Head-Quarters. And thus we have briefly described the Military Actions of this year; and whilst the Army was busied in fighting, the Parliament were taken up with Petitions from the several Counties for a Treaty with the King; the City of *London* among the rest had preferred one, and withall desired, as in one before, the release of their imprisoned Citizens, which were the Aldermen *Langham* and *Bunch*, and Sergeant *Glyn* their Recorder, to which the Houses readily consented, and likewise repealed their Orders against the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Middlesex*, and the Lords *Berkley*, *Hunsden*, *Maynard*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and the eleven Members, for they became very well inclined to Peace with the King, now they were freed from the insolency of the Army by their distance from them, and a Treaty was resolved on, and the Earl of *Middlesex*, Sir *John Hipsley*, and Mr. *Bulkley* were sent to the King, to let him know this their Resolution; who returned with his ready compliance thereuntos upon which the Parliament Voted,

Petitions from City and Countrey for a Treaty with the King.

The Vote of Non-Addresses recalled.

That the Votes of Non-Addresses should be recalled.

That such persons as he should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty, be admitted.

That he be in the same state of freedom as at Hampton Court, *with such Servants as he desired.*

That five Lords and ten Commons be chosen Commissioners to Treat with the King, and the place to be Newport *in the* Isle of Wight. *And that the King be admitted to invite the* Scots *thereunto to Treat only concerning that Kingdom.*

Which Votes were sent down to the King, who was to Treat personally with these Commissioners, (*viz.*) the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Pembroke* and *Middlesex*, and the Lord *Say*, for the House of Lords; and the Lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Sir *John Pots*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Crew*, and Mr. *Bulkley* for the House of Commons, and with these were joyned Mr. *Hollis* and Mr. *Glyn*.

The Commissioners sent with Propositions to the King.

Munday *September* the eighteenth the Treaty began: The propositions were in number eleven.

1648

The first was for calling in all the Kings Declarations, which he assented to, with this Proviso, *That neither of this Concession, nor any other of his advantage should be taken, unless the whole were concluded.*

The second Proposition was, concerning the settlement of the Church, in reference to which he condescended to settle the Directory, and to pass an Act to confirm the Assembly, and to establish the Presbyterian Government for three years, reserving liberty to himself and his party to use the old Form: But would not agree to the utter abolishing of the Episcopal Hierarchy, nor the selling of their Lands.

The third Proposition was, for settleing the Militia in the hands of the Parliament for twenty years solely, to which he assented.

Likewise to the fourth, for making void the Cessation of Ireland, *and remitting the Government of it both Civil and Military to the Two Houses at* Westminster.

And to the fifth and sixth, for nulling all Honours and Titles since the carrying away of the Great Seal, and for payment of publick Debts.

The seventh Proposition concerning Delinquents, to whom the Parliament proposed great severity; the King moderated thus, he was contented that they should be fined, and prohibited access to Council or Court without the Parliaments consent, that they should be deprived for three years of their right of Sitting in Parliament, and brought to Trial (if the Two Houses should think fit) to suffer according to the merit, whereof they should be legally convicted: But he would by no means hear of branding them with Treason, nor taking away their lives or possessions from any, but such as after a legal Tryal should be found guilty of breaking the established Laws of the Land.

The eighth, for impowring the Parliament to confer all Officers of the Kingdom, and the chief Magistrates for twenty years, be agreed to: And to

The ninth, for confirming the new Great Seal, with all Grants and Commissions sealed by it. And to

The tenth, for ratifying all Priviledges, Grants and Charters, and Immunities to the City of London, *with power to dispose of the Tower, and their own Militia to be confirmed to them: and the Citizens to be exempted from Military service out of the Liberties of the City, unless at the Parliaments appointment.*

The last was for total exterminating of the Court of Wards, which was also consented to, so as an hundred thousand pounds might be yearly paid to the King by way of compensation for it.

The Earl of *Ormond* had gotten back into *Ireland*, and raised Forces there in opposition to the Parliament by the Kings Commission, but the King assured the Commissioners, That if the Treaty should take effect, the *Irish* affairs should be managed at the discretion of the Houses only.

The King having thus far complied with the Parliament, they likewise at his desire Voted:

1648 *That he be in Honour, Freedom and Safety, according to the Laws.*

Secondly, That he have his Revenue as before, excepting the deductions for such Forts and Garrisons as were of old accustomed to be maintained.

Thirdly, That he have compensation of the Court of Wards.

Fourthly, That an Act of Oblivion be past with such exceptions and limitations as should be agreed on by both Houses,

Some thought now, that the King and Parliament would have united, but it was too late for those that might have saved the King before, if they would, to pretend to help him now, when it was out of their power. But whilst the King was treating for Peace at the Isle of *Wight* with the Commissioners of Parliament, the Officers of the Army were contriving at *Windsor* the destruction of both, and many private meetings were had both there and at *London*, by the Levellers, and some of their Independant Friends about a Frame of Government to be represented to them, the result whereof was,

The Officers of the Army have many meetings about a new frame of Government.

That some persons should be chosen by the Army to represent the whole Body, and that the well-affected in every County (for so they distinguished their Party) *should chuse one person to represent them: and those to meet at the Head-Quarters.*

That these persons ought not to exercise any Legislative power, but only to draw up the Foundations of a just Government, and to propound them to the well-affected people in every County to be agreed to; which Agreement should be above Law, and therefore the bounds, limits, and extent of the peoples Legislative Deputies in Parliament, contained in the Agreement should be drawn up into a formal contract, to be mutually signed by the well-affected people, and their said Deputies upon the days of their Elections respectively.

To prevent confusion, the Parliament may not be by force immediately dissolved, but the day of its dissolution be inserted in the Agreement, by vertue whereof it should be dissolved.

That this way of Settlement should be mentioned in a Remonstrance from the Army.

When these Proposals were transmitted to the Army, the matter thereof was very well approved of by the chief Officers; but Colonel *Harrison* told the Agents imployed to them:

Colonel *Harrisons* Speech to the Agents

That they could not stay so long from going to London, as to perfect an Agreement for such a Settlement, and without their speedy going (said he) *we are unavoidably destroyed; we fully understand that the Treaty betwixt the King and the Parliament is almost concluded upon, at the conclusion whereof we shall be commanded by King and Parliament to disband, the which if we do, we are unavoidably destroyed for what we have done already; and if we do not disband, they will by Act of Parliament proclaim us Traytors, and declare us to be the only hinderers of settling peace in the Nation, and then we shall never be able to fight with both Interests of the King and the Parliament.* So that he and the Officers with him declared, the first thing the Army was to do, was, *to cut off the Kings head, and force and throughly purge (if not dissolve) the Parliament.* The Agents did not disapprove of this horrid resolution, but pressed against the doing it without first giving security to the Nation (to use their own words) for the future settlement of their Liberties and Freedoms, especially in frequent, free, and successive Representatives. The dire effects of these Councels will follow in the sequel of this History: in prosecution whereof, the Army sent up a Petition to the Parliament to try their tempers: 1648

The Army petition for Justice against the King.

For a scrutiny to be taken for discovery of the Contrivers and Actors in the late bloody Wars, and that speedy Justice should be done upon them. That the same fault may have the same Justice and punishment in the person of the King or Lord, as in the person of the poorest Commoner: that such as speak or act in the Kings behalf (till he be acquitted of shedding innocent blood) be proceeded against as Traytors. When this would not do, they framed their Remonstrance in bolder terms, which they sent to the Parliament by six Officers inclosed in a Letter from the General, dated the 10th of *November*.

Their Remonstrance to the same effect.

Requiring, That the King be brought to Justice as the capital cause of all the evils of the Civil war.

Secondly, That a peremptory day be set for the summoning the Prince of Wales, *and Duke of* York, *and if they refused to come, to declare them incapable of Government or succession, and to stand exiled as Traytors; and if they rendred themselves, yet to be proceeded against for satisfaction, and that the Revenues of the Crown be sequestred.*

Thirdly, That publick Justice be done against the Actors in the late Wars.

And lastly, They concluded, desiring their Arrears, with the old pretence of easing the Country of free Quarter; and request that a period may be put to this Parliament, and a care taken to elect new Representatives, and that no King should be admitted for the future, but upon election of and upon trust for the people, to be limited by the Representatives, &c.

In the mean time, General *Fairfax* commanded Colonel *Hammond* by his Letters to deliver up his charge of the Kings Person to Colonel *Ewer*, by whom the King was conveyed out of the Isle of *Wight* to *Hurst-Castle* the 30th of *November*. But the Parliament declared their ill resentment of this action, and voted, *That the seizing upon the person of the King, and carrying him prisoner unto* Hurst-Castle, *was without the advice and consent of the Houses.*

Col. *Ewer* put in place of *Hammond*.

And thus the Treaty was violently broken off, yet the Lords Voted the Kings Concessions a sufficient ground for Peace, and forthwith adjourned, and the major part of the Commons Voted the same. But the Army being now come up to *London*, and quartered at *White-hall*, S. *James's*, the *Mews*, and several Villages near, they resolved to hinder these proceedings, and therefore discharged the Trained Bands from being a Guard to the Parliament, and ordered Colonel *Prides* and *Riches* Regiment to supply their places, by whom above forty Members coming to the House, were seized and committed to Guards in several Inns in *Westminster*, and the parts adjoyning; and not satisfied with this, they accused Major General *Brown*, and ninety odd Members for inviting in the *Scots* the last Summer, and therefore required they might be excluded the House: At these proceedings the Commons

Divers Members of Parliament excluded by the Army.

1648 The Parliament adjourn.

Commons (being displeased) adjourned for four or five days, in which space the Army was busied in compleating their Model of Government, wherein it was amongst other things proposed:

The Model of Government proposed by the Army.

That the present Parliament should be dissolved the last of April next: *And that the Representatives of the whole Nation should consist of three hundred persons, half which number should suffice to make an Act of Law, and that in the Intervals of Parliament a Council of State should govern.*

The Parliament new moulded by the Army meet again.

And this Declaration, together with half a score of Modifications, they styled, *The Agreement of the People*; which was afterwards presented to the House of Commons by Sir *Hardress Waller*, and sixteen Officers, when the House new moulded by the Army, met again, (for besides those that they forced out, a great number absented themselves) and to testifie their submission to the Army, they restored the Votes of Non-Addresses, and repealed those which approved of the Kings Concessions; and Voted, *That no Message be received from the King upon pain of Treason; That the General should take care of his person: and that the Council of War should draw up a Charge of Treason against him*; which manifested that impious intention to destroy him, which before they had determined: But before this open and avowed acting, some secret practices were designed upon his Life, as appeared in the Letters and Informations of one *Dawcet* and *Osburn* against Captain *Rolph*, who commanded a company of the Guards about the King, whom *Osburn* particularly accused to have projected his death by poyson or pistol, and not without the privity of Colonel *Hammond*, and some Chiefs of the Army that incited him thereunto: and though great endeavours were used to obstruct any proceedings in the business, yet the clamour of people was so great, that they were forced to commit him to prison, and subject him to Tryal; but by the stickling of some of the prevailing party in his behalf, the Indictment against him was found *Ignoramus* by the Grand Jury of *Hampshire*, at *Southampton* or *Winchester*, by the advice of *Maynard* of Councel with him, because there was but one Witness to each Fact, as in cases of Treason there ought to have been two.

Their Votes.

Secret practises to take away the Kings life.

The King removed from *Hurst* Castle.

Decemb. 10th. the King was brought from *Hurst-Castle* with a strong Guard to *Winchester*, next day to *Farnham*, and the next day to *Windsor*: In the mean time the Two Houses differed among themselves; the Commons asserted, That it is Treason for the King to levie War against the Commonwealth, and drew up an Ordinance for his Trial as a Traytor; and the Lords denied that the King can commit any Treason against the Commonwealth, and therefore rejected the Ordinance of the Commons, and declared, *That no Act of the Commons is binding without their consent*; and adjourned for a fortnight; upon which the Commons Voted, *That all Members and others appointed to act in any Ordinance with Peers, are impowered and enjoyned to sit, act, and execute, notwithstanding the Peers joyned not therein*; and so earnest were both the Commons and the Army about the Kings Trial, that the Queen desiring to see her Husband before his Arraignment, could not obtain a Pass for her secure coming and returning.

The Two Houses clash.

January 6th. the Ordinance for the Kings Trial was turned into an Act of the Commons alone, and ingrossed, and Proclamation was made two days after in *Westminster-hall*, *Cheapside*, and the old *Exchange* for Witnesses to come in against him, and Commissioners were appointed about it; and now a suborned Faction in the City petitioned the House for Justice against the King. And *Hillary* Term beginning *January* the twenty third, was adjourned till fourteen days after, to give place to the proceedings against him. 1648

The King is brought to Saint *James's*.

January 19th the King was brought from *Windsor* to St. *James's* House, and all things were prepared for his fatal Tragedy, in which the Commons proceeded, notwithstanding the dissent of the House of Lords, and the Remonstrance of the Parliament of *Scotland*, now convened against it: The Act of Parliament which directed the Trial of the King, appointed a new Tribunal, called the *High Court of Justice*, who were impowred to convene, hear, judge and execute *Charls Stewart* King of *England*. His Title in Writs they abrogated, and ordered the Great Seal of *England* to be broken, and a new Seal to be made with the Cross for *England*, and the Harp for *Ireland* thereon, and these words, *The Great Seal of England*, and on the Reverse, the picture of the House of Commons sitting, with these words, *In the first year of Freedom by Gods blessing restored*, 1648.

A High Court of Justice erected for the Trial of the King.

A new Great Seal made.

Thus this Great, though the unfortunate Prince, Monarch of Three mighty Kingdoms, was now, through the inscrutable Providence of the Omnipotent disposer of all things, subjected to the miserable condition of a calamitous prisoner to his own Subjects, by whom he was tried, condemned, and lastly beheaded, under a form of Justice. Some of the more *immediate* and inconsiderable Actors in this horrid Murther, passed the hands of the Executioner, as you will see hereafter: but the more *remote* and *eminet Regicides*, who only can be said to have kill'd the *King*, have escaped their Judgement in this World, being to receive their Doom in the World to come.

Of his Taxations.

KIng *James* dying, left his Son a large Dominion, but a poor Exchequer, which was the occation that his Taxations were more frequent than before in his Fathers Reign.

In his first year, the Parliament at their first Session granted him two Subsidies from Protestants, and four from Popish Recusants, and from the Clergy three; and till the Parliament took order therein, he continued the Levies as in his Fathers time of Tonnage, Poundage, and other sums by way of Impost upon Merchandise Imported and Exported.

In his second year he engaged in a War with *France*, and for the relief of *Rochel*, he raised neer two hundred thousand pounds by Loan.

In his third year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, they gave him five Subsidies.

In his sixth year, he revived an ancient * Custome or Usage, by which all that were qualified by the Law for Knighthood, were to take upon them that Order, or to make Fine for respite of the same, whereby an hundred thousand pounds was brought into the Exchequer.

* See *Cok* Second Book of Institutes, *fol.* 593. Statute de militibus.

In his ninth year, by the advice of his Attorney-General, and other his Councel learned in the Laws,

1648 Laws, ſeveral Writs were iſſued under the great Seal of *England*; for the charging of the Ports, Towns, Cities, Boroughs and Counties of this Realm reſpectively, to provide and furniſh Ships for the defence of the King and the Kingdom, whereby great ſums were raiſed. And in a Parliament holden in *Ireland*, the Deputy obtained ſome Subſidies for the payment of the Army of that Realm, and the encreaſe of his Majeſties Revenue there.

In his ſixteenth year, the Earl of *Strafford* obtained of the *Iriſh* Parliament the grant of four Subſidies: and the Convocation of Biſhops in *England*, gave him an ample Benevolence of four Shillings in the pound for ſix years to be aſſeſſed on all the Clergy in *England*, towards the carrying on of a War with *Scotland* then begun.

And in the ſame year, the Parliament of *England* then aſſembled, granted to him four entire Subſidies for relief of his Army then raiſed againſt the Scots, and for relief of the Northern parts of the Kingdom, then much burthened by an Army of the Scots quartering in thoſe parts, who impoſed great Taxes on the Inhabitants where they lay for their maintenance.

In his ſeventeenth year, the ſame Parliament granted two Subſidies for the further relief of his Majeſties Army, and the Northern parts of the Kingdom; and likewiſe a Subſidie of Tonnage and Poundage, and other ſums of Money payable upon Merchandiſe exported and imported, from the twenty fifth of *May* to the fifteenth of *July* following; and when that Act was expiring, they granted another for the ſame duties from the fifteenth of *July* to the tenth of *Auguſt* following; and by five other ſubſequent Acts, the Parliament granted the like Subſidie and Impoſition upon Merchandiſe to the third of *May*, 1642. And the ſaid ſeventeenth year, ſeveral ſums of money were by Act of Parliament charged upon perſons according to their Ranks, Dignities, Offices, Callings, Eſtates and Quality, by way of Pole, for the ſpeedy disbanding two Armies then in the bowels of the Kingdom.

This year alſo a Contribution and Loan was granted for the relief of *Ireland*, where a bloody Rebellion had broken forth the year before.

And in his eighteenth year, an Act paſſed for raiſing and levying of moneys for the neceſſary defence and great affairs of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and for the payment of Debts undertaken by the Parliament.

Theſe were all the Taxations either by Loan or otherwiſe raiſed by Royal Authority during the Kings Reign. But the War which the Parliament raiſed without his Authority and againſt it, was ſupported and maintained by great and vaſt ſums of money illegally levied on the Subjects by Contribution, Aſſeſſments and Exciſe, which cannot be properly here inſerted; and we wiſh the memory of ſuch unjuſt proceedings, may be for ever effaced.

Of the Laws made in his Reign.

HAving under the head of Taxations ſet down ſuch Acts of Parliament as granted money to the King, we ſhall herein make no further mention of them in the enumeration of the other Laws enacted during his Reign. 1648

In the Parliament holden in his firſt year, an Act was made for puniſhing abuſes on Sundayes; And,

An Act to enable the King to make Leaſes of Lands parcel of his Dutchy of *Cornwal*; And,

An Act for eaſy obtaining Licenſes of Alienation, and in the pleadings in the Exchequer or elſewhere; And,

An Act for reſtraining of ill behaviour in Inns and Ale-houſes.

In his third year,

The Petition of Right was enacted, and the ſeveral Statutes following, (*viz.*) An Act for reformation of divers abuſes committed on the Lords day, commonly called Sunday.

An Act to reſtrain the paſſing or ſending any to be popiſhly bred beyond the Seas

An Act for the better ſuppreſſing unlicenced Ale-houſe-keepers.

An Act for continuance and repeal of divers Statutes.

An Act for eſtabliſhing of the Eſtates of the Tenants of *Bromfield* and *Yale* in the County of *Denbigh*, and for the Tenures, Rents and Services thereon reſerved, according to a late compoſition made for the ſame.

In the *16th 17th.* and *18th.* years of his Reign, the Laws hereafter mentioned were made, whereof ſuch of them as are ſince repealed, we note with Rep. and ſuch as being but temporary Laws, and are ſince expired, we note Exp.

An Act for preventing of inconveniencies happning by the long intermiſſions of Parliament, Exp.

An Act whereby the Lord Admiral and others by his Authority may raiſe and impreſs Mariners, Sailers and others for the preſent guarding of the Seas, and neceſſary defence of the Realm, Exp.

An Act concerning the Limitations, and abreviation of *Michaelmas* Term.

An Act declaring, That this Parliament ſhall not be diſſolved, prorogued, or adjourned, but by Act of Parliament, Exp.

An Act for regulating the Privie-Council, and taking away the *Star-Chamber*-Court.

An Act for repeal of a branch of a Statute *Primo Elizabethæ*, concerning Commiſſioners for cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

An Act for declaring the late proceedings touching Ship-money unlawful and void, and all Records and Proceſs concerning the ſame.

An Act againſt divers incroachments and oppreſſions in the Stannery Courts,

An Act for the certainty of Forreſts, and the Meets and Bounds of the Forreſt.

An Act for confirmation of the Treaty of Pacification between *England* and *Scotland*, with the Commiſſions and Articles thereupon, Exp.

An Act by which the Office of Clerk of the Market is allowed, and regulated, and falſe weights and meaſures reformed.

An Act for the prevention of vexatious proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood.

An Act for bringing in of Gun-powder and Salt-petre from foreign parts, and for the free making of Gun-powder in this Realm: There were two Acts paſſed ſucceſſively for the better raiſing and levying of Mariners, Sailers, and others, for guarding the Seas. Exp.

An

1648 An Act was passed also for relief of Captives taken by Turkish and other Pyrates, Exp.

An Act declaring, that persons in holy Orders shall not exercise certain Temporal Powers and Authorities, Rep.

An Act was also passed, for the speedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels in *Ireland*. And,

An Act for adding to, and explaining certain clauses therein. And,

An Act by which Corporations and Bodies Politick are enabled to take the benefit of an Act for reducing of the Rebels in *Ireland*. And,

An Act for the further advancement of an effectual and speedy reduction of the Rebels in *Ireland*.

Moreover, besides the above-mentioned Statutes made in the *16th.* *17th.* and *18th.* years of this King, which were of publick concernment, There were several other Acts made of a more private nature, the Titles whereof were;

An Act for the Attainder of *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, Rep.

An Act to enable the Marquess of *Winchester* to grant Estates for three lives, or twenty one years, of Lands in the County of *Southampton*, reserving the old Rents.

An Act for naturalizing of *Dorothy Spencer*, Daughter of *Henry* Lord *Spencer*, Baron *Spencer* of *Wormleighton*.

An Act for enabling of the Sale and Leasing of Lands for payment of the Debts of *Thomas* Earl of *Winchesley*.

An Act for the settling and estating upon the Lady *Elizabeth* Countess Dowager of *Exeter*, her Heirs and Assigns for ever, the soil of the Hospital of St. *Leonards* within the Town of *Newark* upon *Trent* in the County of *Nottingham*, with the dwelling House, and other Buildings thereupon built, and of certain Closes and Grounds, parcel of the possessions of the said Hospital, and for the settling of divers Lands and Tenements of better value, being the Inheritance of the said Countess, to be added to the possessions of the said Hospital for ever in lieu of the same.

An Act for making the Chappel of *Hool* in the County of *Lancaster*, a Parish Church, and no part of the Parish of *Groston*.

An Act for *John Eggars*'s Free-School within the Parish of *Alton* in the County of *Southampton*.

An Act for settling of certain Mannors, Lands, Tenements & Hereditaments, on *Katharine* Countess Dowager of *Bedford*, *William* now Earl of *Bedford*, *John Russel*, and *Edmund Russel* Esquires, Sons of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*, deceased.

An Act for the confirmation of His Majesties Letters Patents to the Town of *Plymouth*, and for dividing the Parish, and building a new Church there.

An Act for the alteration of the Estate and Tenure of some Lands within the Parish of *Fulham* in the County of *Middlesex*, held of the Lord Bishop of *London*, as of the Mannor of *Fulham*.

An Act to settle the Mannor of *Belgrave*, and other Lands in the County of *Leicester*, to and upon *William Byerly* Esq; his Heirs and Assigns, for and towards payment of the Debts of *William Davenport*, Esq; deceased.

An Act to enable Sir *Alexander Denton*, Knight, to sell the Manor of great *Barnard* and *Barford* St. *Michael*, and other Lands in this present Act mentioned for the payment of his Debts, and preferment of his younger children. 1648

An Act for the assuring of a Messuage called *Duresme-House*, alias *Durham-House*, and certain Stables, part of the possessions of the Bishop of *Duresme*, situate in the Parish of St. *Martins in the Fields* in the County of *Middlesex*, unto the Right Honourable *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, and his Heirs, and a yearly Rent of Two hundred pounds a year to the said Bishop of *Duresme* and his Successors in lieu thereof.

Affairs of the Church in His time.

THE King was a zealous Protestant according to the profession of the Church of *England*; for the peace and defence whereof, he laboured much all the time of his Reign, though the malice and ignorance of the Enemies thereof much obstructed his pious endeavours.

In his first Year, some differences were revived about the Tenents of *Arminius*, which began in the latter end of his Fathers Reign, and were heightned by the Commons House of Parliament then newly assembled, the Members whereof generally favoured the oppugners of those points; and the controversie was the more remarkable, because it divided the Bishops themselves; but those of that Order that were reputed *Arminians*, did not own themselves to be such, but maintained, That what they held, was ever the Doctrine of the Church of *England* contained in the seventeenth Article thereof, and the like was asserted by those that opposed those Tenents, so that both made claim to that Article, and about the Exposition thereof, and the consequences from thence derived, the peace of the Church was not a little disquieted: to put some stop to this growing evil, a Conference was this year kept in *York House*, betwixt Dr. *Buckbridge* Bishop of *Rochester*, and Dr. *White* Dean of *Carlisle* on the one side, and Doctor *Morton* Bishop of *Coventry*, and Doctor *Preston* on the other, about these points, and chiefly about the possibility of one elected to fall from Grace; and the success of this and of another in the same kind answered neither the intention nor expectations of such as procured them; but the King taking notice of these Arminian Controversies, by his Declaration a while after published, forbad any in preaching or writing to meddle with those high points, as tending more to destruction than edification of the people.

A Conference at *York-house* for ending the Controversies of *Arminians* and *Calvinists*.

The Kings Declaration against meddling with these Controversies.

In his fourth Year, at the consirmation of Mr. *Richard Mountague* to be Bishop of *Chichester*, which was in *Bow-Church*, according to the usual custom in such cases, all persons were summoned to appear, to shew cause why the Elect there present should not be confirmed; whereupon one *William Jones* a Stationer of *London* excepted against Mr. *Mountague* as unfitting for the Episcopal Office, because lately questioned by the Parliament for a Book he had writ, wherein they said were many dangerous opinions of Arminianism and Popery, yet upon examination thereof, some sharp and invective expressions were the greatest offences in it; but exceptions were taken at the Exceptions of *Jones*,

Bishop *Mountague* at his consecration excepted against.

1040 *Jones*, though the reason thereof appears not otherwise than what is alledged in the Record by Dr. *Rives* (substitute at that time for the Vicar-General) *Quod nullo modo legitime comperuit, nec aliquid in hac parte juxta Juris exigentium diceret, excideret, vel apponeret*, so that the Bishop was confirmed, and immediately after he sued out a Pardon under the Great Seal of *England* for all Errors before committed, either in Speaking, Writing, or Printing, whereof he might hereafter be questioned.

In the same year one *Richard Smith* a Secular Popish Priest, titular Bishop of *Caledon, in partibus Infidelium*, acted and exercised Episcopal Jurisdiction in *Lancashire*, with his Mitre and Crosier, conferring Orders on divers Priests, and in granting and administring confirmation, which much disturbed the Peace of the Church of *England*, and made disorders amongst their own party; for *Nicholas Smith* a Jesuite wrote bitterly against him, urging, that a Bishop over the English Catholicks was useless in Times of Persecution (as he called it) there being but two peculiar performances of a Bishop, (*viz.*) Ordination and Confirmation; for the former it might be supplied by foreign Bishops, since the English Papists were most bred abroad; and for the latter he offered out of *Thomas Aquinas* and other Divines, that by Commission from the Pope, a Priest, though no Bishop, might confirm; he added likewise, that a Bishop was burthensome to the English Church, considering that the present pressures of those of that Religion needed now no unnecessary expences.

The contest between the Jesuites & Secular Priests.

These and the like Objections were answered by Doctor *Killison* Rector of the English Colledge at *Douay*, and many other Secular Priests, which occasioned great animosities betwixt the Regular and Seculars; but the King to shew his dislike of the Bishops presumptions, by his Proclamation, promised an hundred pounds to be paid to any that should apprehend him, besides all the profits that accrewed to the Crown, from the person who entertained him, which frighted him into *France*, as was mentioned before in the History.

Bishop *Davenant* questioned, and *Thorn* and *Ford* expelled the University for offending against the Kings Declaration.

In his sixth Year *Davenant* Bishop of *Salisbury* was questioned for breach of the Kings Declaration, by falling on some points in his Sermon before the King, touching the Arminian Controversies which were forbidden therein; but by his modest and discreet Answers, he was acquitted; though in the same year *Thorn* and *Ford* two Masters of Arts of *Oxford*, were expelled the University for being judged offenders against the same Declaration.

The Controversie about the Sabbath revived.

In his ninth Year the Sabbatarian Controversie was revived by one *Theophilus Bradbone* a Minister of *Suffolk*, which first began in the year 1595. occasioned by a Book put forth that year by one Dr. *Bound*; for before that time (as in *Geneva* at this day) no civil Recreations were denied to any of the people at such times as they were not exercised in their publick Devotions at Church; in *Bounds* Book these following Opinions were maintained.

The sum of Doctor *Bounds* Book concerning the Sabbath.

1. *That the Commandment of sanctifying every seventh day, as in the Mosaical Decalogue, is moral and perpetual.*

2. *That whereas all other things in the Jewish Church were taken away (Priesthood, Sacrifices and Sacraments) this Sabbath was so changed, that it still remaineth.*

3. *That there is great reason why we Christians should take our selves as straightly bound to rest upon the Lords Day, as the Jews were upon their Sabbath, it being one of the moral Commandments, for before all were of equal Authority.* 1648

4. *The rest upon this day must be a notable and singular rest, a most careful, exact, and precise rest, after another manner than men are accustomed.*

5. *Scholars on that day are not to study the Liberal Arts, nor Lawyers to consult the Case, nor peruse mens Evidences.*

6. *Sergeants Apparitors, and Sumners to be restrained from executing their Offices.*

7. *Justices not to examine causes for the conservation of the Peace.*

8. *That ringing of more Bells than one that day is not to be justified.*

9. *No solemn Feasts, nor Wedding-dinners to be made on that day (with permission notwithstanding of the same to Lords, Knights, & Gentlemen of Quality.)*

10. *All honest Recreations and pleasures lawful on other days (as shooting, fencing, bowling,) on this day to be forborn.*

11. *No man to speak or talk of pleasures, or any other worldly matter.*

The Doctrine was at first very well received, because of the Piety of such persons as maintained it in their publick Writings; but a while after it was opposed, as galling mens necks with a Jewish yoke against the liberty of Christians; and further, it was urged, that Christ as Lord of the Sabbath had removed the rigour thereof, and allowed men lawful Recreations.

That this Doctrine puts an unequal lustre on the Sunday, on set purpose to eclipse all other Holy days, to the derogation of the Authority of the Church, and that this strict observance was set up out of faction to be a Character of difference to brand all for Libertines who did not entertain it, so that Archbishop *Whitgift* called in all such Books as were written on this Subject. But *Bradbone* who revived this Matter at this time was questioned for it by the High Commission Court, whose well tempered severity so prevailed upon him, that submitting himself to a private Conference, and perceiving the unsoundness of his own principles, he became a convert, conforming himself quietly to the Church of *England* ever after.

Bradbone retracts his opinion of the Sabbath.

Just in this conjuncture of time the King being troubled with Petitions on both sides by the strict and the more moderate observers of the Lords Day, thought good to follow his Fathers Royal Example upon the like occasion in *Lancashire*, where in his progress in the Fourteenth year of his Reign, taking notice that some Preachers perswaded the people to so rigorous observation of the Sabbath, that it was unlawful therein to dress meat, to sweep their houses, kindle the fire, or the like, and that the Popish Priests took advantage thereby to pervert many to Popery, perswading them that the Protestant Religion was so rigorous, that no lawful liberty was allowed therein, the year after he set forth a Declaration to this effect:

A Declaration for tolerating Sports on the Sabbath day.

That for his good peoples lawful Recreations, His pleasure was, that after the end of Divine Service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful actions, such as Dancing either of men

1648 *men or women, or for men leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless Recreations: nor from having* May-Games, Whitsun-Ales, *or* Maurice-Dances, *and setting up of* May-Poles, *or other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment, or let of Divine Service, and that Women should have leave to carry Rushes to the Church for decoring of it, according to their old custom: withall prohibiting all unlawful Games to be used on the Sundays only, as* Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Interludes, *and* Bowling *(at all times in the meaner sort of people prohibited.)*

Impropriations in *Ireland* restored to the Church, and the 39 *Articles* received.

In his tenth year, by the procurement of *Laud* Bishop of *London*, all such Impropriations in *Ireland* as were in the Crown, were by the King restored to the Church, and at a Convention in that Kingdom, concurrent with a Parliament then in being, the 39 Articles of the Church of *England* were there received for all to subscribe thereunto.

In his thirteenth year, the same Bishop of *London*, being some time before translated to the See of *Canterbury*, and himself a strict observer of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, did in his Metropolitan Visitation more vigorously than before press conformity thereunto, which occasioned many differences in the Church about Divine Worship, (*viz.*) about the Holiness of Churches, bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, and the manner of Adoration in Gods House, which last was by the Conformists practised to be towards the Communion Table, as the most remarkable place of God's presence, others would not admit of the name of *Table*, but have it *Altar*; and then a great Controversie was raised about the placing of it, some would have it constantly fixed with the sides East and West, ends North and South, and a gradual advance next the East Wall of the Chancel, citing a Canon, and the practice of the Kings Chappel for the same; whilest others pressed Queen *Elizabeths* Injunctions, (allowing it at other times to stand in the Chancel) but to be set in the Body of the Church when the Sacrament is celebrated thereon: Many were the Books writ *pro* and *con* of these matters, to the great Rent and Division of the Church; and such heat about this *Altar*, and other differences on both sides was kindled, that had almost sacrificed their mutual charity thereon: Amongst the Writers in the Controversie of this time, there were three that writ most bitterly against Bishops, and the established Discipline of the Church, Mr. *Henry Burton* a Minister, Dr. *John Bastwick* a Doctor of Physick, and Mr. *Will. Prynne* a Barrister of *Lincolns-Inne*, who were severely censured for their Offences, as hath been before mentioned in the History of the Kings Reign.

Differences about Ceremonies.

In the same year, or the year after, the Book of Service or new Liturgy was sent into *Scotland* to be used in that Kingdom, the circumstances whereof, and the miseries thereby occasioned, are likewise related in the foregoing History.

In his fourteenth year, on the thirteenth of *April* a Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and with the Parliament a Convocation began, but the Parliament being after a Month dissolved, the King nevertheless continued the Convocation under the Title of a *Synod*, which was authorized under the Great Seal of *England*. The Acts of this Synod were scarce any time in use, so that we shall here only insert the Titles of the 17 Canons that passed therein.

1. *Concerning the Regal Power.*
2. *For better keeping of the day of His Majesties most happy Inauguration.*
3. *For suppressing of the growth of Popery.*
4. *Against Socinianism.*
5. *Against Sectaries.*
6. *An Oath enjoyned for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government.*
7. *A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.*
8. *Of Preaching for Conformity.*
9. *One Book of Articles of Inquiry to be used at all Parochial Visitations.*
10. *Concerning the conversation of the Clergy.*
11. *Chancellors Patents.*
12. *Chancellors alone not to censure any of the Clergy in sundry Cases.*
13. *Excommunication and Absolution not to be pronounced but by a Priest.*
14. *Concerning the Commutations and disposing of them.*
15. *Touching concurrent Jurisdiction.*
16. *Concerning Licenses to Marry.*
17. *Against vexatious Citations.*

1648 The Acts of the Synod.

As to the Oath concluded in the Synod, which was a Subject of so much discourse at that time, and after in the succeeding Parliament, that the Members of the Synod and the whole Episcopal Clergy suffered much thereby, it is here set forth at large according to the true tenor thereof.

The Oath concluded on by the Synod.

I A.B. *do swear, That I do approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church of* England, *as containing all things necessary to salvation: And that I will not endeavour by my self, or any other, directly or indirectly to bring in any Popish Doctrine contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons,* † *&c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of* Rome. *And all these I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the Faith of a Christian.* So help me God in Jesus Christ.

† The &c. much cavelled at.

As soon as these Canons were published, various were mens censures upon them, and many objections were raised against them, because they were generally condemned as illegally passed, to the prejudice of the Fundamental Liberty of the Subject, though their sitting was justified by the opinions of the ablest of the Kings Learned Council in the Laws; but against the Oath many exceptions were made, some of which we shall insert.

For these and other Reasons.

1. Because the (&c.) did leave the Oath so loose, that neither the makers nor the takers thereof understood the same.

Secondly, These words were disliked (*viz.*) *(We will never give consent to alter this Church-Government,)* as if the same were intended to abridge the Liberty of King and State in future Parliaments and Convocations. *Goodman*, Bishop of *Glocester*, the day before the ending of the Synod, repaired

1648

repaired to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and acquainted him, that he could not with his Conscience subscribe these new Canons, and thereupon he was by the King committed to the *Gate-house*, and it appeared afterward that he scrupled some passages about the Corporeal Presence.

Bishop *Goodman* committed to the *Gate-house.*

In *Scotland* the Distempers were so great about the *Service-Book* sent thither, that the King raised an Army to reduce them to obedience: And from this beginning many and great Calamities ensued in the Church and State, in the few remaining years of this Kings Reign.

The *Liturgie*, and shortly after *Episcopacy* it self, were both abrogated by those that usurped the Government of the Kingdom, and (which is the more to be lamented) many Ministers of the Gospel in *England*, who were reputed Learned and Pious Men, and had conformed to the established Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, to the scandal of Religion, joyned with those that opposed the Kings just Authority, and the Laws, and by their Preachings and Writings excited the people to an unlawful and unnatural War, on pretence of Reformation of Religion, forgetting, That not Guns and Swords, but Prayers and Tears ought to be the Arms of the Church; and then came in that flood of Errors that does yet too too much obscure the beauty thereof; for hitherto, though some differences arose in Discipline, yet so far was there unity amongst us, that the Ministers in the common grounds of Religion and of the Ministry were all one, and all preached one Faith and substance of Doctrine; but we shall no further enlarge on these things, which will make matter for an entire History of it self to describe.

Works of Piety done by this King, and others in his Reign.

Pembroke Colledge in *Oxford* built and endowed.

PEmbroke Colledge in *Oxford* was erected, and built in the place where formerly *Broadgates*-Hall stood, at the Charge of *Thomas Tisdale* of *Glympton* in the County of *Oxford*, who gave five thousand pound thereunto; and *Richard Wightwick* Rector of *East Isle* in *Berk-shire* gave to it Lands of the yearly value of an hundred pounds, and hereupon King *James* in the latter end of his Reign gave his License for the building the Colledge, and granted to it a Charter of Mortmain of seven hundred pounds a year; but the Colledge was not built till the first year of this Kings Reign, and he gave to it the perpetual Patronage of the Church of St. *Aldates* near adjoyning. Sir *Foulk Grevil*, Lord *Brook*, founded a History Professorship in the Univerlity of *Cambridge*, and gave an hundred pound a year thereunto for ever; and Sir *Thoms Adams* a competently Learned and worthy Citizen, and sometime Lord Mayor of *London*, erected and endowed an Arabick Professorship in the same University.

An Arabick Professorship erected & endowed there.

Oriel Colledge in *Oxford* new built.

Anthony Blencow sometime Provost of *Oriel*-Colledge in *Oxford*, gave twelve hundred pounds towards the re-edifying of the Front of that Colledge, and by his example some other Benefactors did so largely contribute, as to new build the whole Colledge, which from a very old and decayed building, is now as handsome a uniform Pile as any in that, or any other University in *Europe*.

The Queen *Henrietta Maria*, Wife to this King, of her great goodness and love to Learning, procured of the King her Husband the perpetual Patronage of several good Parsonages in *Hampshire*, to be granted to Queens Colledge in *Oxford*; and the King out of his care to have the Inhabitants of *Jersey* and *Guernsey* well educated, gave some Fellowships in *Jesus* Colledge and *Pembroke* Colledge in *Oxford*, to the Natives of those Illands.

1648

The King & Queen great Benefactors to *Jesus* & *Queens* Colledge in *Oxford.*

Sir *William Paddy* Knight, Doctor in Phylick, gave two perpetual Parsonages to St. *John's* Colledge in *Oxford*, and beautified the Chappel thereof, and endowed some Singing Men and Choristers to make a Quire therein; and *William Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury* built a new Court in the same Colledge, a very elegant Fabrick, and was otherwise a good Benefactor thereunto; he also enlarged the publick University Library, and purchased to it at a great price many Manuscripts of the Eastern Languages; and by that Example, Sir *Kenelme Digby* a Valiant and Learned Knight, gave a numerous Collection of Choice and Excellent Books to it.

A new Court in St. *John's* in *Oxford* built by Archbishop *Laud*

The ancient Hall of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and many Lodgings there were built at the charge of *Barnaby Oley*, Proctor of the University, and Fellow thereof, and some other Benefactors (procured chiefly by his Sollicitation.) which is for so much of it, as handsome a Building as any in *England*.

Clare-Hall in *Cambr.* new built.

The King was very sollicitous to repair the ancient Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, which was much decayed with Age, and advised with Archbishop *Laud*, and some others of his Council, how to effect so Pious and so Noble a purpose, which was after some time resolved on, and he himself at his own Charge rapaired some part thereof, and by his inducement Sir *Paul Pindar*, a wealthy and worthy Citizen, and many others, contributed largely thereunto, so that the Work went on very fast, and had not the Civil Wars made an interruption to it, in few years St. *Paul's* Church would have been made the most magnificent Structure of *Europe*.

St. *Paul's* repaired.

Mr. *John Eggor* erected and endowed a Free-School in the Parish of *Alton* in *Hampshire*, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament.

The King also, by his Letters Patents, gave power to the Town of *Plymouth* to erect a new Church there. The Citizens of *Edenbourgh* in *Scotland* also built a new Church in that City called the *Frenchirk*, and covered it with Plates of Copper; and one *Herist* a Citizen of that City, founded an Hospital there, which is one of the most beautiful Buildings in that Kingdom. There were many Free-Schools besides those here mentioned, and many Alms-houses erected in several parts of *England*, and some Hospitals; but we have not now so particular information thereof, as to make mention of them in this place, but by what has been here expressed, we may see the pious and charitable effects of the just security and peace of the first fifteen years of the Kings Government, which is all the time he reigned freely, and without opposition.

A new Church built at *Plymouth.* The like at *Edenbourgh.*

Of Casualties hapning in his Time.

IN his first year, the Plague broke out in *London*, more dangerously than in the beginning of his Fathers Reign, insomuch that the King was fain

The plague breaks out in *London.*

1648 fain to adjourn the Parliament, because of the thin appearance of the Members by reason of the Contagion.

Earthquakes. In his second year, was great Earthquakes in many parts of the Kingdom.

A Star appears at Noon a little after Prince *Charls* his Birth. In his seventh year, *May* the 29*th*. a Star appeared visibly at Noon, the Sun shining clear, at what time the King rode to St. *Paul*'s Church to give thanks for the Queens safe Delivery of her second Son Prince *Charles*.

The great Fire at *London* Bridge. In his eighth year, a Fire brake out on *London*-Bridge, by which most of the Houses which were built upon it (which when they were all standing, made up a very beautiful Street) were burnt down to the ground.

A sad accident at *Dowglass* in *Scotland*. In his sixteenth year, the Earl of *Haddington* in *Scotland*, having recovered some pieces of Ordnance which the Garrison of *Berwick* had seised at *Dunce*, return'd back to *Dowglass*, where sitting merry at Dinner, with about twenty Knights and Gentlemen, on a sudden the Magazine of Powder that lay in a vaulted Room, took fire by accident, whereby the Earl and his Company were blown up.

A Pond in *Cambridge* blood red. The same year likewise, a Pond in *Cambridge* became red as Blood, the Water whereof being taken up in Basons, retained still the same colour. Many Sights also were seen in the Air, as Armies fighting one against the other, which were looked upon as the sad presages of the ensuing Wars: Neither is that strange Thunder and Lightning unworthy of mention which hapned at *Withcombe* in the County of *Devon*, in the fourteenth year of his Reign, where a Ball of Fire was seen to come into the Church in the time of Divine Service, whereby three persons were killed, and threescore and two hurt, divers of whom had the Linings of their Cloaths burnt, though their outward Garments were not so much as singed, and most of the Seats were turned upside down, and the Pillars, Steeple, and Church, more endamaged than the expence of three hundred pounds could repair.

Seange Thunder at *Withecombe*.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Mary* the Daughter of *Henry* the Fourth King of *France*, whose Marriage was solemnized in the year 1625. being the first year of his Reign: He had Issue by her, four Sons, and as many Daughters; the eldest Son born before the time, was baptized *Charles*, and lived not above two hours: His second Son born *May* the twenty ninth, 1630. was also named *Charles*, and afterwards created Prince of *Wales*. And in the year 1660. Restor'd (after many years seclusion in Foreign Countreys) with the universal Congratulation of his Subjects to his Fathers Throne, happily blest with the Regal Vertues of so Illustrious a Monarch: His third Son was born *Octob*. the 13*th*. 1633. and was baptized *James*, and created Duke of *York*, a Prince of invincible Courage, and Heroick Valour, as his Actions in *France* and *Flanders*, yet fresh in memory, have given sufficient Testimony: His fourth and last Son was born the twentieth of *July*, 1640. and Christened *Henry*, afterwards created Duke of *Gloucester*; He since his Brothers happy Restauration, deceased on the 13*th*. of *September*, 1660. thereby bereaving the World of those fair hopes which had been generally conceived of his Noble and Princely Endowments. His eldest Daughter *Mary*, was born *November* the 4*th*. 1631. and afterwards married to *William* of *Nassaw*, Prince of *Orange*, by whom he had one Son named *William*, Heir and Successor to his Father in his Dignities; she quickly followed her Brother the Duke of *Gloucester*, *viz*. the 24*th*. of *December*, 1660. her loss being very much bewailed, especially by any who had relation to her Service, as being a Princess of universal Goodness, Charity, and Bounty. His second Daughter *Elizabeth* was born the 28*th*. of *December*, 1635. She died at *Carisbrook* in the *Isle of Wight*, *September* the 8*th*. 1650. of meer Grief (as it is not without reason believ'd) for her Fathers unfortunate Death: And his third Daughter *Anne*, was born the seventeenth of *March*, 1636. who also died very young: His fourth and last Daughter, was born *June* the 16*th*. 1644. at *Exeter*, from whence she was brought up to St. *James's*, but afterwards conveyed into *France* by her Governness the Lady *Dalkish*; She was married to the Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to *Lewis* the Fourteenth, the present King of *France*; a Princess the was of incomparable Beauty, and Gallantry of Spirit. 1648.

Of his Death and Burial.

HIS Death was strange and unparallell'd; we read of many Kings who came to violent ends, but never any that was so formally and solemnly murdered, by a publick Trial and Execution, which was done in the manner following.

The Trial of His Majesty. On Saturday, *January* the 20*th*. 1648. the wicked *High Court of Justice* sate in *Westminster-Hall*, whereof *John Bradshaw* of *Grayes-Inne* was President, he had a Mace and Sword carried before him, and twenty habited like Gentlemen for his Guard, under the Command of one Colonel *Fox*, (formerly a Brasier or Tinker.) When the pretended Court was sate, and *O Yes* made, and silence commanded; the Act of the Commons for erecting the said Court was read, in these words,

Bradshaw President of the *High Court of Justice*.

The Commons Act for erecting the *High Court of Justice* for Trial of the King.

Whereas it is notorious, That Charles Stuart *the now King of* England, *not content with the many incroachments which his Predecessors had made upon the People in their Rights and Freedom, hath had a wicked design to subvert the ancient and fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Nation, and in their place to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, and that besides all evil ways to bring his design to pass, he hath prosecuted it with Fire and Sword, and levied and maintained a Civil War in the Land against the Parliament and Kingdom, whereby this Countrey hath been miserably wasted, the Publick Treasure exhausted, Trade decayed, thousands of people murdered, and infinite of other mischiefs committed, for all which high Offences the said* Charls Stuart *might long since have been brought to exemplary and condign punishment: Whereas also the Parliament well hoping that the restraint and imprisonment of his Person, after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands, would have quieted the Distempers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially against him, but found by sad experience that such remissness served only to encourage him and his Complices in the continuance of*

1648 *their evil practises, and raising new Commotions, Rebellions, and Invasions: for prevention of the like and greater Inconveniences, and to the end no chief Officer or Magistrate may hereafter presume Traiterously and maliciously to imagine or contrive the enslaving or destroying of the English Nation, and to expect impunity; Be it Enacted and Ordained by the Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, and it is hereby Enacted and Ordained, That* † J. B. O. C. M. G. J. M. G. I. &c.

† Here the Commissioners names were inserted.

shall be, and are hereby appointed Commissionrs and Judges, for the Hearing, Trying, and Judging of the said Charles Stuart, *and the said Commissioners, or any Twenty or more of them shall be, and are hereby authorized and constituted an* High Court of Justice, *to meet at such convenient times and places as by the said Commissioners, or the major part, or Twenty or more of them under their Hands and Seals shall be appointed and notified by publick Proclamation in the great Hall, or Palace-yard of* Westminster, *and adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as the said High Court, or the major part thereof, meeting shall hold fit, and to take order for the charging of him the said* Charles Stuart *with the Crimes above-mentioned, and for the receiving his personal Answer thereunto, and for examination of Witnesses upon Oath (if need be) concerning the same; and thereupon, or default of such Answer, to proceed to final Sentence, according to Justice, and the merit of the Cause; and to be executed speedily and impartially. And the said Court is hereby Authorized and required to chuse and appoint all such Officers, Attendants, and other circumstances, as they, or the major part of them shall in any sort judge necessary or useful for the orderly and good managing of the premisses, and* Thomas *Lord* Fairfax *the General, with all Officers of Justice, and other well-affected Persons are hereby Authorized and required to be aiding and assisting unto the said Commissioners in the due execution of the Trust hereby committed unto them; Provided that this Act, and the Authority hereby granted, do continue for the space of one Month from the date of the making hereof, and no longer.*

After the reading of the Act, the Court was called, and the Commissioners, whose names are here inserted, appeared and answered to their names; there were many more nominated in the Act, but because they acted not in this infamous Court, we shall forbear to record their names to Posterity.

The Commissioners & Judges of the Court.

Oliver Cromwel, *Lieutenant General of the Army*
Henry Ireton, *Commissary General.*
Sir Hardress Waller, *Colonel.*
Valentine Walton.
Col. Tho. Harrison.
Col. Edward Whalley.
Col. Thom. Pride.
Col. Isaac Ewer.
Col. Richard Ingoldsby.
† Sir Henry Mildmay.
Thomas *Lord* Grey, *Col.*
† William *Lord* Mounson.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer.
Sir John Bouchier.
† Sir James Harrington.
† Robert Wallop, *Esq;*
William Henningham, *Esq;*
Isaac Pennington, *Alderman of London.*
Henry Martin, *Esq;*
Col. Will. Purefoy.
Gilber Millington, *Esq;*
Col. John Barksted.
John Blackstone, *Esq;*
Sir Willam Constable, *Knight.*
Col. Edward Ludlow.
Col. John Hutchinson.
Sir Michael Livesey.
Robert Tichbourn, *Alderman of London.*
Col. Owen Roe, *of London.*
Col. Robert Lilburne.
Col. Adrian Scroop.
Col. Rich. Dean.
Col. John Okey.
Col. John Hewson.
Col. William Goff.
Cornelius Holland, *Gent.*
John Carew, *Esq;*
John Jones, *Esq;*
Miles Corbet, *Esq;*
Francis Allen, *Goldsmith.*
Peregrine Pelham, *Esq;*
Thomas Challoner, *Esq;*
Col. John Moore.
William Say, *Esq;*
John Allured, *Esq;*
† *Col.* Francis Lassels.
Henry Smith, *Esq;*
† James Challoner, *Esq;*
Humphrey Edwards, *Esq;*
Gregory Clement, *Esq;*
John Fry.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir Gregory Norton.
Serjeant John Bradshaw.
Col. Edm. Harvey.
Col. John Venne, *of London.*
Thomas Scot.
Thomas Andrews, *Alderman of London.*
William Cawley, *Esq;*
Col. Anthony Stapely.
John Downs, *Esq;*
Col. Thomas Horton.
Col. Thomas Hammond.
John Lisle *Esq;*
Nicholas Love, *Esq;*
Vincent Potter.
Augustine Garland, *Esq;*
John Dixwell, *Esq;*
Col. George Fleetwood, *Com. Buck.*
Simon Main, *Esq;*
Col. James Temple.
Col. Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrave, *Esq;*
Col. Thomas Wayte.

1648

Of these Commissioners John Bradshaw was *chosen* President *of the* Court, *as was before mentioned. And there were several Officers which appeared.*

Councellors to draw up and prosecute the Charge.

Dorislaus, *Doctor of the Civil Law.*

Ask. } *Two Councellors at Law, whereof*
John Cook. } Cook *was made the* States Solicitor-General *for this Employment.*

Serjeant

1648 *Serjeant* Dandy, *the Younger, Serjeant at Arms.*
Daniel Braughton, } *Two Clerks attending.*
John Phelps. }
Wallford, }
Radly, }
Paine, } *Messengers and Door-keepers.*
Powel, }
Hull. }
Mr. King, *Cryer of the Court.*

The Court being thus sate and called over, the King was brought to the Bar by Colonel *Hacker*, with Halburdeers, the Mace of the Court conducting him to his Chair within the Bar where he sate, and then the President *Bradshaw* said to the King,

Charles Stuart *King of* England, *The Commons of* England *assembled in Parliament being sensible of the great Calamities brought upon this Nation, and of the innocent blood shed (which are referred to You as the Author of it) according to that Duty which they owe to God, the Nation, and Themselves, and according to that Power and fundamental Trust reposed in them by the People, have constituted this* High Court of Justice, *before which you are now brought, and you are to hear your Charge, upon which the Court will proceed.*

Solicitor Cook. My Lord, In behalf of the Commons of *England*, and of all the people thereof, I do accuse *Charles Stuart* here present of High Treason, and Misdemeanours, and I do in the name of the Commons of *England* desire the Charge may be read unto him.

The King. *Hold a little.*

President. Sir, the Court commands the Charge to be read, afterward you may be heard.

The Charge was read as followeth:

The Charge read.

That the said Charles Stuart, *being admitted King of* England, *and therein trusted with a limitted power to Govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise, and by his Trust, Oath, and Office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the People, and for the preservation of their Rights and Liberties, yet nevertheless out of a wicked design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimitted and tyrannical Power, to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; and to take away and make void the foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of miss-government, which by the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom were reserved on the peoples behalf, in the right and power of frequent and successive Parliaments or National Meetings in Council, He, the said* Charles Stuart, *for accomplishment of such Designs, and for the protecting of himself and his adherents, in his and their wicked practices, to the same end hath Traiterously and malitiously levied War against the present Parliament, and the people therein Represented.*

Particularly, upon or about the Thirtieth day of June, *in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and two, at* Beverly *in the County of* York; *and upon or about the thirtieth day of* July, *in the year aforesaid, in the County of the City of* York; *and upon, or about the Twenty fourth day of* August *in the same year, at the County of the Town of* Nottingham, *(when, and where he set up his Standard of War;) and also on, or about the Twenty third day of* October, *in the same year at* Edgehill, *and* Keinton-field, *in the County of* Warwick; *and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of* November *in the same year, at* Brainford *in the County of* Middlesex; *and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of* August, *in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred forty and three, at* Caversham-bridge *near* Redding *in the County of* Berks; *and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of* October *in the year last mentioned, at, or near the City of* Gloucester; *and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of* November, *in the year last mentioned, at* Newberry *in the County of* Berks; *and upon, or about the One and thirtieth day of* July, *in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and four, at* Cropredy-Bridge, *in the County of* Oxon; *and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of* September, *in the year last mentioned, at* Bodmin, *and other places near adjacent, in the County of* Cornwall; *and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of* November, *in the year last mentioned, at* Newberry *aforesaid; and upon, or about the Eighth day of* June, *in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and five, at the Town of* Leicester; *and also upon the Fourteenth day of the same Month, at* Naseby-field *in the County of* Northampton. *At which several times and places, or most of them, and at many other places in this Land, at several other times within the years afore mentioned: And in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and six, He, the said* Charles Stuart, *hath caused and procured many thousands of the free people of the Nation to be slain, and by Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections within this Land by Invasions from foreign Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means; He, the said* Charles Stuart, *hath not only maintained and carried on the said War both by Land and Sea, during the years beforementioned, but also hath renewed, or caused to be renewed, the said War against the Parliament, and good people of this Nation, in this present year, One thousand six hundred forty and eight, in the Counties of* Kent, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, *and many other Counties and places in* England *and* Wales, *and also by Sea; and particularly, He, the said* Charles Stuart, *hath for that purpose given Commissions to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby, besides multitudes of other persons, many such, as were by the Parliament intrusted and employed for the safety of the Nation, being by him or his Agents corrupted, to the betraying of their Trust, and revolting from the Parliament, have had entertainment and Commission, for the continuing and renewing of War and Hostility against the said Parliament and People, as aforesaid; By which cruel and unnatural Wars, by Him, the said* Charles Stuart, *levied, continued, and renewed as aforesaid, much innocent Blood of the Free people of this Nation hath been spilt, many Families have been undone, the publick Treasury wasted and exhausted, Trade obstructed and miserably decayed, vast expence and damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land spoiled, some of them even to desolation.*

And for further prosecution of his said evil designs, He, the said Charles Stuart, *doth still continue his Commissions to the said Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters, both* English *and Foreigners, and to the Earl of* Ormond, *and to the* Irish *Rebels and Revolters, associated with him, from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatned, upon the procurement, and on the behalf of the said* Charles Stuart.

1648

1648 *All which wicked designs of War, and evil practices of him the said* Charles Stuart *have been and are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of the personal Interest of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to himself and his Family, against the publick Interest, common Right, Liberty, Justice, and Peace of the People of this Nation, by, and for whom He was intrusted, as aforesaid.*

By all which it appeareth, That He, the said Charls Stuart *hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author, and Contriver of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damage and Mischief to this Nation, acted or committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby. And the said* John Cook, *by protestation (saving to himself on the behalf of the people of* England, *the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Charge against the said* Charls Stuart, *and also of replying to the Answers which the said* Charles Stuart *shall make to the premisses, or any of them, or any other Charge that shall be so exhibited) doth for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the said People of* England, *Impeach the said* Charles Stuart, *as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a publick and implacable Enemy to the Commonwealth of* England: *And pray, That the said* Charles Stuart *King of* England, *may be put to Answer all and every the premisses, that such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentences, and Judgment may be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.*

The King smiled often during the reading of the Charge, especially at these words, *Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and publick Enemy of the Commonwealth.*

President. Sir, You have now heard your Charge, You find that in the close of it, it is prayed to the Court in behalf of the Commons of *England*, that you Answer to your Charge, which the Court expects.

King. *I would know by what power I am called hither; I was not long ago in the* Isle of Wight, *how I came there, is a longer Story than I think fit at this time for me to speak: But there I entred into a Treaty with both Houses of Parliament, with as much Faith as it possible to be had of any people in the World: I treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and Treated honestly and uprightly; I cannot say, but that they did very nobly with Me: We were upon a Conclusion of the Treaty: Now I would know by what lawful Authority* (there are many unlawful Authorities, Thieves and Robbers on the High-way.) *I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, (and I know not what) and when I know by what lawful Authority, I shall answer. Remember I am your King, your lawful King, and what sins you bring upon your own heads, and the Judgement of God upon this Land, think well upon it, I say, before you go on from one sin to a greater, therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to Answer. In the mean time, I shall not betray my Trust: I have a Trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful Descent; I will not betray it to Answer to a new unlawful Authority.*

Bradshaw, Pres. If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you by the Court at your first coming hither, you would have known by what Authority: which Authority requires you in the name of the People of *England*, of whom you are elected King, to answer them. 1648

King. *I deny that.*

Bradshaw. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court they must proceed.

King. *I do tell them so,* England *was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom, for near these thousand years: Therefore let me know, by what lawful Authority I am called hither, I do stand more for the Liberty of my People than any here that come to be my pretended Judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority, and I will answer, otherwise I will not answer.*

Bradshaw. Sir, How really you have managed your trust, is known; your way of Answer is to interrogate the Court, which beseems not you in this Condition; you have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. *Here is Lieutenant Colonel* Cobbet, *ask him if he did not bring me from the* Isle of Wight *by Force: I do not come here as submitting to the Court; I will stand as much for the priviledge of the House of Commons rightly understood, as any man here whatsoever; I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a Parliament, and (the King too) should have been. Is this the bringing the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty on the Publick Faith? Let me see a lawful Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or by the constitutions of the Kingdom. I will not betray my Trust, nor the Liberties of the People: I am sworn to keep the Peace by that Duty I owe to God and my Country, and I will do it to the last breath in my body. As it is a sin to withstand lawful Authority, so it is to submit to a Tyrannical, or any otherwise unlawful Authority.*

Bradshaw. The Court expects your final Answer, and will adjourn till Monday next: We are satisfied with our Authority that are your Judges, and it is upon Gods Authority and the Kingdoms, and that Peace you speak of, will be kept in doing Justice, and that's our present work.

So the Court adjourned, and the King was conducted back; They had so contrived it, that divers schismatical Souldiers and fellows were placed round about the Court to cry *Justice, Justice*, when the King was remanded, thinking all the rest of the people whuld have bleated to the same tune, but they (almost all) cried God bless him, and were (some of them) well cudgelled by the Souldiers, for not reviling and exclaiming after the mode of the Army; yet the Court took no notice hereof: so far was His Majesty already fore-judged and condemned to sufferings.

Monday, *January* the 22*th*. The King was brought again to his Tryal.

The second days Tryal of his Majesty.

Solicitor Cook. *May it please your Lordship, I did at the last Court, in behalf of the Commons of* England, *exhibit, and give into this Court a Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes against the Prisoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuse him in the name of the People of* England, *and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required. My Lord, He was not then pleased to give an Answer, but in stead of answering, did dispute the Authority of this High Court: My humble Motion to this High Court in behalf*

1648 behalf of the Kingdom of England is, That the Priſoner may be directed to make a poſitive Anſwer, either by way of Confeſſion or Negation; which, if he ſhall refuſe to do, That the matter of Charge may be taken pro confeſſo, and the Court may proceed according to Juſtice.

Bradſhaw. Sir, You may remember, at the laſt Court you were told the occaſion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge read againſt you, &c. You heard likewiſe what was prayed in behalf of the People, That you ſhould give an Anſwer to that Charge: You were then pleaſed to make ſome ſcruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and ſaid, you knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your Queſtions, and were as often Anſwered, That it was by Authority of the Commons of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to account for thoſe High and Capital Miſdemeanors, wherewith you then were charged. Since that the Court hath taken into conſideration what you then ſaid, they are fully ſatisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you ſhould ſtand ſatisfied therewith too: And they do require that you do give a poſitive and particular Anſwer to this Charge exhibited againſt you: they expect you ſhould either confeſs or deny; if you do deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Kingdom to be made good againſt you; Their Authority they do avow to the whole World, and the whole Kingdom are to reſt ſatisfied therein, and you are to reſt ſatisfied in it; and therefore you are to give a poſitive Anſwer.

King. *When I was here laſt, it's true, I made that Queſtion, and truly, if it were only my own particular caſe, I would have ſatisfied my ſelf with the Proteſtation I made here the laſt time, againſt the Legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be tryed by any Superior Juriſdiction upon Earth: but it is not my caſe alone, it is the Freedom and the Liberties of the people of* England, *and (do you pretend what you will) I ſtand more for their Liberties than you; for if Power without Law may make Laws, and may alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in* England *that can be ſure of his Life, or any thing that he calls his own; Therefore, when I came hither, I did expect particular Reaſons to know by what Law, what Authority you proceed againſt me here, and therefore I am a little to ſeek what to ſay to you in this particular, becauſe the Affirmative is to be proved, the Negative (often) is very hard to do; I ſhall tell you my Reaſons as ſhort as I can: All proceedings againſt any man whatſoever*——

Here the King was by *Bradſhaw* interrupted.

Bradſhaw. Sir, I muſt interrupt you: what you do is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Juſtice: You are about to enter into argument and diſpute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Priſoner, and are charged as an High Delinquent; you may not diſpute the Authority of this Court, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to ſubmit to it, &c.

King. *Under favour, I do plead for the Liberty of the People of* England *more than you do; and therefore, if I ſhould impoſe a belief upon any man without Reaſons given, it were unreaſonable.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, I muſt interrupt you: you may not be permitted, you ſpeak of Law and Reaſon, and there is both againſt you: Sir, the Vote of the Commons of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, is the Reaſon of the Kingdom, and they are thoſe that have given you that Law, according to which you ſhould have Ruled and Reigned: Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you ſtand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly. 1648

King. *I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent, but by all the Laws that ever I heard, all men may put in Demurrers againſt any Proceedings, as illegal: and I do demand that; if you deny that, you deny Reaſon.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, Neither you, nor any man are permitted to diſpute that point, you are concluded; You may not demur to the Juriſdiction of the Court, if you do, I muſt let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer; they ſit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predeceſſors, and You are reſponſible to them.

King. *I deny that, ſhew me one Preſident.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You are not to interrupt while the Court is ſpeaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you; if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Juriſdiction of the Court, they have conſidered of their Juriſdiction, they do affirm their own Juriſdiction.

King. *I ſay, Sir, by your favour, That the Commons of* England *were never a Court of Judicature, I would know how they came to be ſo.*

Bradſhaw, Sir, You are not to be permitted to go on in that ſpeech, and theſe diſcourſes.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth;

Charles Stuart, King of *England*, you have been accuſed in the behalf of the People of *England* of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes, the Court hath determined that you ought to anſwer the ſame.

King. *I will anſwer the ſame ſo ſoon as I know by what Authority you do this.*

Bradſhaw. If this be all you will ſay, then Gentlemen, you that brought the Priſoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. *I do require that I may give my Reaſons why I did not Anſwer, and give me time for that.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, It is not for Priſoners to require.

King. *Priſoners, Sir? I am not an ordinary Priſoner.*

Bradſhaw. The Court have affirmed their Juriſdiction, if you will not Anſwer, we ſhall give Order to record your fault.

King. *You never heard my Reaſons yet.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, your Reaſons are not to be heard againſt the higheſt Juriſdiction.

King. *Shew me that Juriſdiction where Reaſon is not to be heard.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, We ſhew you it here; the Commons of *England:* and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleaſure of the Court, and, it may be, their final determination.

King. *Shew me where ever the Houſe of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.*

Bradſhaw. Serjeant take away the Priſoner.

King. *Well, Sir, Remember that the King is not*

ſuffered

1648 *ſuffered to give in his Reaſons for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You are not to have Liberty to uſe this Language; how great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the People, let all *England* and the world judge.

King. *Sir, Under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subjects that ever I took, I defended my ſelf with Arms, I never took up Arms againſt the People, but for the Laws.*

Bradſhaw. The command of the Court muſt be obeyed, no Anſwer will be given to the Charge.

So the King was guarded forth to Sir *Robert Cottons*, and the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber, *Tueſday* twelve a Clock.

The third days Trial of His Majeſty.

Tueſday, January 23. The Court ſate again, ſeventy three Commiſſioners of thoſe before named were preſent.

The King brought into the Court, ſits down.

Sollicitor Cook. 'May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, 'my Lord Preſident, This is now the third time 'that by the Grace and Favour of the Court, the 'Priſoner hath been brought to the Barr, before 'any Iſſue joyned in this Cauſe. My Lord, I did 'at the firſt Court exhibit a Charge againſt him, 'containing the Higheſt Treaſon that ever was 'wrought on the Theatre of *England*, That 'the King of *England*, truſted to keep the Law, 'that had taken an Oath ſo to do, that had Tribute paid him for that end, ſhould be guilty of a 'wicked deſign to ſubvert and deſtroy our Laws, 'and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, and in defiance of the Parliament 'and their Authority, ſet up his Standard for 'War againſt the Parliament and People: And I 'did humbly pray in behalf of the People of *England*, That he may ſpeedily be required to make 'an Anſwer to the Charge; But, my Lord, inſtead of making any Anſwer, he did then diſpute the Authority of this High Court; your 'Lordſhip was pleaſed to give him a further day 'to put in his Anſwer, which day being yeſterday, I did humbly move, That he might be required to give a direct and poſitive Anſwer either by denying, or confeſſing of it; But, my 'Lord, he was pleaſed to demur to the Juriſdiction of the Court, which the Court did then 'over-rule, and command him to give a direct 'and poſitive Anſwer: My Lord, beſides this 'great delay of Juſtice, I ſhall now humbly move 'your Lordſhip for ſpeedy Judgement againſt 'him: I might preſs your Lordſhip upon the 'whole, That according to the known Rules of 'the Laws of the Land, if a Priſoner ſhall ſtand 'contumacious in contempt, and ſhall not put in 'an iſſuable Plea, *Guilty or not Guilty* of the charge 'given againſt him, whereby he may come to a 'fair Tryal, that by an implicit confeſſion it may 'be taken *pro confeſſo*, as it hath been done to thoſe 'who have deſerved more Favour than the Priſoner at the Bar hath done. But beſides, My Lord, 'I ſhall humbly preſs your Lordſhip upon the 'whole Fact, That the Houſe of Commons, the 'Supreme Authority and Juriſdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, That it is notorious, 'that the matter of the Charge is true, as it is in 'Truth, my Lord, as clear as Chryſtal, and as the 'Sun that ſhines at Noon-day; which, if your 'Lordſhip and the Court be not ſatisfied in, I have 'notwithſtanding in the Peoples behalf, ſeveral 'Witneſſes to produce, and therefore I do humbly pray, (and yet I confeſs, it is not ſo much 'I, as the innocent Blood as hath been ſhed: (the 'cry whereof is very great) for *Juſtice* and *Judgement*) and therefore I do humbly pray, that ſpeedy Judgement be pronounced againſt the Priſoner at the Bar. 1648

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Councel on behalf of the Kingdom againſt you; you were told over and over again, That it was not for you, or any other man to diſpute the Juriſdiction of the Supreme and Higheſt Authority of *England*, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there muſt be no diſpute: yet you did perſiſt in ſuch carriage, as ſhews you have no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the High Court that conſtituted this *High Court of Juſtice*. Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court, that they are very ſenſible of theſe delays of yours, and that they ought not (being thus authorized by the Supreme Court of *England*) to be thus trifled withal, and that they might in Juſtice, and according to the Rules of Juſtice, take advantage by theſe delays, and proceed to pronounce *Judgement* againſt you; yet nevertheleſs they are pleaſed to give direction, and on their behalf, I do require you, that you make a poſitive Anſwer unto this charge that is againſt you, in plain tearms, (for *Juſtice* knows no reſpect of perſons) you are to give your poſitive and final Anſwer in plain Engliſh, whether you be *Guilty or not Guilty* of theſe Treaſons laid to your charge.

King. *When I was here yeſterday, I did deſire to ſpeak for the Liberties of the People of* England, *I was interrupted, I deſire to know yet, whether I may ſpeak freely or not.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have had the reſolution of the Court upon the like Queſtion the laſt day, and you were told, that having ſuch a Charge of ſo high a nature againſt you, your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Juriſdiction of the Court, and to anſwer to your Charge; when you have once anſwered, you ſhall be heard at large, make the beſt defence you can: But Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court (as their Commands) That you are not to be permitted to iſſue out into any other Diſcourſes, till ſuch time as you have given a poſitive Anſwer concerning the matter charged upon you.

King. *For the Charge I value it not a Ruſh, it is the Liberty of the People of* England *that I ſtand for, for me to acknowledge a* New Court *that I never heard of before, I that am your KING, that ſhould be an Example to all the People of* England, *to uphold Juſtice, to maintain the old Laws, indeed, I do not know how to do it: you ſpoke well the firſt day that I came here, (on* Saturday*) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of the Liberties of my People; the ſame Obligation you ſpake of, I do acknowledge to God, that I owe to him and to my People, to defend as much as in me lies, the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, therefore until that I may know that this is not againſt the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I can put in no particular Anſwer,*

1648 *Answer; if you will give me time, I will shew you my Reasons, and this* ———

Here the King was interrupted.

Here being interrupted, The King said again, *By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me: How I came here, I know not: there's no Law for it to make your King your Prisoner. I was in a Treaty upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdom, made to me by the Two Houses of Parliament, that was the Representative of the Kingdom, and I had almost made an end of the Treaty when I was hurried away, and brought hither, and therefore* ———

And here again.

Bradshaw. Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

King. *By your favour, Sir.*

Bradshaw. Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into those Discourses; You appear as a Delinquent, You have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you, but once more they command you to give your positive Answer.

Clerk. Do your Duty.

King. *Duty Sir!*

The Clerk then reads,

"*Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, you are accused in behalf of the *Commons of England*, of "divers High Crimes and Treasons, which Charge "hath been read unto you; The Court now re- "quires you to give your positive and final An- "swer by way of Confession or Deniall of the "Charge.

King. *Sir, I say again to you, so that I may give satisfaction to the People of* England *of the clearness of my Proceedings, not by way of Answer, not in this way, but to satisfie them that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a New Court against their Priviledges, to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, Sir, you must excuse me.*

Bradshaw. Sir, This is the third time that you have publickly disavowed this Court, and put an affront upon it, how far you have preserved the Priviledges of the People, your actions have spoken; but truly Sir, mens intentions ought to be known by their actions, you have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom: But Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court. *Clerk*, Record the default; and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner, take him back again. So the King went forth with his Guards, and the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber, the *Cryer* (as at other times) crying, *God bless the Kingdom of England.*

The 4th. and last days Tryal of His Majesty.

Saturday, 27th of *January*, 1648. The Court sat again in *Westminster-hall*, the President was in his Scarlet Robes, after him 67 Commissioners answered to their Names; the King came in, in his wonted posture with his Hat on, a company of Souldiers and seditious Persons were placed about the Court to cry for *Justice, Judgement*, and *Execution*; the people not daring to cry, *God bless Him*, for fear of being again beaten by the Souldiers.

Bradshaw. Gentlemen, It is well known to all or most of you here present, that the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convented and brought before this Court to make Answer to a Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes exhibited against him in the name of the People of *England*, to which Charge being required to Answer, He hath been so far from obeying the Commands of the Court, by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him Reasoning and debated unto the Authority of the Court, and to the Highest Court that appointed them to Try and Judge him; but being over-ruled in that, and required to make his Answer, he still continued cantumacious, and refused to submit to Answer. Hereupon the Court (that they may not be wanting to themselves, nor the Trust reposed in them, nor that any mans wilfulness prevent Justice) they have considered of the Charge and of the Contumacy, and of that Confession which in Law doth arise on that Contumacy. They have likewise considered the notoriety of the Fact charged upon this Prisoner, and upon the whole Matter, they are resolved, and have agreed upon a *Sentence* to be pronounced against him; but in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved to hear him: Yet Sir, thus much I must tell you beforehand (which you have been minded of at other Courts) that if that which you have to say, be to offer any debate concerning the Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have struck at the Root, that is, the *Power and Supreme Authority of the Commons of England*, which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them. But Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of your self concerning the Matter charged, the Court hath given me in command to hear you.

1648

King. Since I see that you will not hear any thing of debate, concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall wave it, but only I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that that I call dearer to me than my Life, which is my Conscience and mine Honour: And if I had respect to my Life more than the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence for my Life, for by that, at leastwise, I might have delayed an ugly *Sentence*, which I believe will pass upon me; therefore certainly Sir, as a man that hath some understanding, some knowledge of the world (if that true zeal to my Countrey had not overborn the care that I have for my own preservation) I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now Sir, I conceive that a hasty *Sentence* once passed may sooner be repented of, than recalled; and truly, the selfe same desire that I have for the peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than my own particular ends, makes me now at last desire, that I having something to say that concerns both, I desire before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons, this delay cannot be prejudicial to you; whatsoever I say, if that I say be no Reason, those that hear me must be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that that I have to say. If it be Reason, and really for the welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, I am sure it is very well worth the hearing;

1648 therefore I do conjure you, as you love that which you pretend (I hope it's real) the Liberty of the Subject, and peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me this hearing before any ſentence paſſeth; but if I cannot get this Liberty, I do proteſt that your fair ſhews of Liberty and Peace are pure ſhews, and that you will not hear your King.

The Preſident ſaid, *This was a declining the Juriſdiction of the Court, and delay:* yet the Court withdrew for half an hour, adviſed upon it, and ſat again.

Bradſhaw ſaid to the King, *That the Court had conſidered what he had moved, and alſo their own Authority.*

The return from the Court, ſaid he, *is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and they are Judges appointed by the Higheſt Authority, and Judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny Juſtice, and notwithſtanding what you have offered, they are reſolved to proceed to Sentence, and to Judgement, that is their unanimous reſolution.*

The King preſſed again and again, that he might be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, with great earneſtneſs, and was as often denied by *Bradſhaw:* at laſt the King deſired that this Motion of his might be entred.

Bradſhaw began in a long Speech to declare the Grounds of the Sentence, much aggravating the Kings offences, and miſapplying both Law and Hiſtory to his preſent purpoſe.

When *Bradſhaw* had done ſpeaking, *Broughton* the Clerk read the Sentence drawn up in Parchment to this effect.

The Sentence againſt his Majeſty.

'That whereas the Commons of *England* in 'Parliament had appointed them an *High Court* 'of *Juſtice* for the Tryal of *Charles Stuart* King of 'England, before whom he had been three times 'convened, and at the firſt time a Charge of High 'Treaſon and other high Crimes and Miſdemea-'nors was read in behalf of the Kingdom of *Eng-'land*, &c. which Charge being read unto him, 'as aforeſaid, He the ſaid *Charles Stuart* was re-'quired to give his Anſwer, but he refuſed ſo to 'do, and ſo expreſſed the ſeveral paſſages at his 'Tryal in refuſing to Anſwer; for all which 'Treaſons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, 'That he the ſaid *Charles Stuart* as a Tyrant, 'Traytor, Murderer, and publick Enemy, ſhall 'be put to death, by ſevering of his Head from 'his Body.

After the ſentence read, the Preſident ſaid, *This Sentence now read and publiſhed, it is the Act, Sentence, Judgment and Reſolution of the whole Court.*

Here the whole Court ſtood up, as aſſenting to what the Preſident ſaid.

King. *Will you hear me a word, Sir?*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You are not to be heard after the ſentence.

King. *No Sir?*

Bradſhaw. No Sir, by your favour, Sir. Guard, withdraw your Priſoner. 1648

King. *I am not ſuffered to ſpeak, expect what Juſtice other people will have.*

The King not being admitted to reply, was taken by his Guards to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s houſe, and the Court roſe; as he paſſed down the ſtairs the Souldiers ſcoffed at him, and caſt the ſmoak of their Tobacco (a thing very diſtaſtful to him) in his face, and ſtrewed the Pipes in his way, and one more inſolent than the reſt, ſpit in his face, which he in great patience took no further notice of, than to wipe the ſpittle away; and as he paſſed further, hearing ſome of them by the inſtigation of their Officers cry out *Juſtice, Juſtice and Execution*, he ſaid, *Alas poor Souls! for a piece of Money they would do ſo for their Commanders.*

A Committee is appointed to conſider the time and place for the King's Execution.

The Court after the Judgment given, went into the Painted-Chamber, and appointed Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, *Ireton*, *Harriſon*, *Dean* and *Okey* to be a Committee to conſider of the time and place for the Execution: the King hearing thereof, requeſted an Officer of the Army to go to them, to deſire that he might ſee his Children before his death, and that Doctor *Juxon* the Biſhop of *London* might be admitted to aſſiſt him in his private devotion, and receiving the Sacrament; both which were granted to him upon a motion to the Parliament.

The King at his Tryal (as you have read) preſſed earneſtly to have his Reaſons heard againſt the Juriſdiction of the Court, but was often denyed, but that the weight of them may not be ſuppreſt for a further manifeſtation of the impiety of his unjuſt Judges, we ſhall here inſert them faithfully tranſcribed out of the Original Copy under the Kings own hand.

The Reaſons the King intended to have given at his Tryal againſt the proceedings of the Court.

Having already made my Proteſtations not only againſt the illegality of this pretended Court, but alſo that no earthly Power can juſtly call me (who am your King) in Queſtion as a Delinquent, I would not any more open my mouth upon this occaſion more than to refer my ſelf to what I have ſpoken, were I alone in this caſe concerned: but the Duty I owe to God, in the preſervation of the true Liberty of my people, will not ſuffer me at this time to be ſilent: for how can any free-born Subject of *England* call life, or any thing he poſſeſſeth his own, if Power without right daily maketh new, and abrogate the old Fundamental Law of the Land, which is now to be the preſent caſe; wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have ſatisfied me concerning theſe grounds, which hinder me to anſwer to your pretended Impeachment; but ſince I ſee that nothing I can ſay will move you to it (though Negatives are not ſo naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will ſhew you the reaſon why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meaneſt man in *England*, for I will not (like you) without ſhewing a reaſon ſeek to impoſe a belief upon my Subjects.

There is no proceeding juſt againſt any man but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the Municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am moſt confident, that this days proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law; for

1648 for on the contrary, the Authority of Obedience unto Kings, is clearly warranted, and ſtrictly commanded both in the Old and New Teſtament, which if denied, I am ready inſtantly to prove, and for the Queſtion now in hand, there it is ſaid, *That where the word of a King is, there is power, and who can ſay unto him, what doſt thou?* Eccleſ. 8. 4. Then for the Laws of the Land, I am no leſs confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm that an Impeachment can lie againſt the King, they all going in his Name: and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Beſides the Law, upon which you ground your proceedings, muſt either be old or new, if old, ſhew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the Fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when; but how the Houſe of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it ſelf, (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as ſtrange that they ſhould pretend to make Laws without King or Lords Houſe, to any that have heard ſpeak of the Laws of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *England* could grant your pretended power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certainly you never asked the queſtion of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the pooreſt Plowman, if you demand not his free conſent, nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commiſſion without the conſent at leaſt of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatſoever quality or condition, which I am ſure you never went about to ſeek, ſo far are you from having it. Thus you ſee, that I ſpeak not for my own right alone, as I am your King, but alſo for the true liberty of all my Subjects, which conſiſts, not in ſharing the power of Government, but living under ſuch Laws, and ſuch Government as may give themſelves the beſt aſſurance of their Lives and propriety of their Goods. Nor in this muſt, or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houſes of Parliament, which this days proceeding doth not only violate, but likewiſe occaſion the greateſt breach of their publick Faith (I believe) that ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houſes, for all the pretended Crimes laid againſt Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houſes agreement thereunto, I was ſuddainly ſurpriſed, and hurried from thence as a Priſoner, upon which account I am againſt my will brought hither, where ſince I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own juſt Right; But for any thing I can ſee, the Higher Houſe is totally excluded.

And for the Houſe of Commons, it is too well known, that the major part of them are detained or deterred from ſitting, ſo as if I had no other, this were ſufficient for me to proteſt againſt the lawfulneſs of your pretended Court.

Beſides all this, the peace of the Kingdom is not the leaſt in my thoughts; and what hopes of ſettlement is there ſo long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flouriſhed for many hundred years (nor will I ſay what will fall out in caſe this lawleſs, unjuſt proceeding againſt Me do good on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this Change; for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the King my Father and my Self, untill the beginning of theſe unhappy troubles, and will have cauſe to doubt, that they ſhall never be ſo happy under any new. And by this time it will be too ſenſibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, againſt thoſe who have ſuppoſed my power hath totally changed the ancient Government. 1648

Thus having ſhewed you briefly the Reaſons why I cannot ſubmit to your pretended Authority without violating the the truſt which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of my people; I expect from you either clear reaſons to convince my Judgment, ſhewing me that I am in an error, (and then truly I will readily anſwer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

The Report from the perſons before named to conſider of the time and place of the executing the Sentence againſt the King, was on *Monday* the 29*th* of *January* delivered in the Painted Chamber to the Commiſſioners then preſent, in theſe words, *That it is the opinion of the Committee, That the open Street before* White-Hall *is a fit place, and that the King be there executed to morrow.*

The Court approved of this Report, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpoſe, which was preſently Ingroſſed, and Sign'd, and Seal'd by all the Commiſſioners preſent, in theſe words, *(viz.)*

At the High Court of Juſtice for Trying and Judging *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, *January* the 29*th* 1648.

The title of the Warrant for executing the King.

Whereas *Charles Stuart* King of *England* is, and ſtandeth Convicted, Attainted and Condemned of High Treaſon, and other high Crimes, and Sentence upon Saturday laſt was pronounced againſt him by this Court to be put to death by ſevering his Head from his Body; of which Sentence, Execution yet remains to be done. Theſe are therefore to will and require you, to ſee the ſaid Sentence executed in the open Street before *White-hall*, upon the morrow being the 30*th* day of this inſtant moneth of *January*, between the hours of ten in the morning, and five of the afternoon of the ſame day, with full effect, and for your ſo doing, this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant. And theſe are to require all Officers and Souldiers, and other the good people of this Nation of *England* to be aſſiſting unto you in this ſervice: Given under our Hands and Seals, &c.

To Colonel Francis Hacker, *Col.* Huncks, and Lieutenant *Col.* Phayer. *John Bradſhaw*, &c.

This was ſigned and ſealed by all the Commiſſioners whoſe names are before expreſſed, except ſuch of them who are marked with this note, (*)

But of thoſe that ſigned and ſealed the Warrant, it muſt be remembred, that *Colonel Richard Ingoldsby*'s Hand and Seal was againſt his conſent put to it by *Oliver Cromwell*; but his early diſ-

1648 claiming of the Fact, and his active and ſucceſsful endeavours for the reſtauration of King *Charles* the Second to his Crown and Kingdoms, not only obtained his Pardon, but the Kings Favour with it, and the Dignity of Knight of the *Bath*, which was conferred on him at the enſuing Coronation.

Colonel *John Hutchinſon* alſo for his conjunction with General *Monk* to reduce this Kingdom to its ancient Government, and his hearty repentance for what he had done in conſenting to and acting in this impious Sentence, obtained his pardon for it.

The ſame day that the Warrant was ſigned and ſealed, the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Lady *Elizabeth* were brought to the King, whom he moſt joyfully received, and giving his bleſſing to the Princeſs, *He bid her remember to tell her Brother* James, *when ever ſhe ſhould ſee him, that he ſhould look no more upon* Charles *as his Elder Brother only, but be obedient to him as his Soveraign: And that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies:* And then ſaid unto her, *Sweet Heart, you will forget this;* No, ſaid She, *I ſhall never forget it while I live:* and pouring forth abundance of Tears, promiſed him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Glouceſter* upon his Knee, ſaid, *Sweet Heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head,* (upon which words the Child looked very wiſhfully on him) *Mark Child what I ſay, They will cut off my Head, and perhaps, make thee a King: But, mark what I ſay, you muſt not be a King, ſo long as your Brothers* Charles *and* James *doer live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads* (when they can catch them) *and cut thy Head off too at laſt; and therefore, I charge you do do not be made a King by them.* At which the Child, ſighing ſaid, *I will be torn in pieces firſt*——— which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths *own Hand.*

What the King ſaid to me the 29th of *January* laſt, being the laſt time I had the happineſs to ſee him, 'He told me he was glad I was come, and 'although he had not time to ſay much, yet 'ſomewhat he had to ſay to me, which he had 'not to another, or leave in writing; becauſe he 'feared their Cruelty was ſuch, as that they would 'not have permitted him to write to me. He wiſh-'ed me not to grieve and torment my ſelf for him, 'for that would be a glorious Death that he ſhould 'die, it being for the Laws and Liberties of the 'Land. He bid me read Biſhop *Andrews*'s Sermons, '*Hookers* Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and Biſhop *Land*'s 'Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me a-'gainſt Popery. He told me, he had forgiven all 'his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them 'alſo, and commanded us, &c. to forgive them. 'He bade me tell my Mother, that his thoughts 'had never ſtrayed from her, and that his Love 'would be the ſame to his laſt: withall, He com-'manded me and my Brother to be obedient to 'her: and bade me ſend his Bleſſing to the reſt of 'of my Brothers and Siſters, with commendation 'to all his Friends. So, after he had given me his Bleſſing, I took my leave.

'Further, He commanded us all to forgive thoſe 1648
'people, but never to truſt them; for they had
'been moſt falſe too him, and to thoſe that gave
'them power, and he feared alſo, to their own
'Souls. And deſired me not to grieve for him, for
'he ſhould die a Martyr, and that he doubted not
'but that the Lord would ſettle his Throne upon
'his Son, and that we ſhould all be happier than
'we could have expected to have been, if he had
'lived. With many other things which at preſent
I cannot remember.

On *Tueſday* the 30*th.* of *January*, which was the fatal day on which the King was put to Death, The Biſhop of *London* did in the Morning read Divine Service in his preſence; to which Duty the xxvii. Chapter of St. *Matthew*, being the Hiſtory of our Saviours Paſſion, was appointed by the *Church-Calendar* for the Second Leſſon: but, he ſuppoſing it to have been ſelected on purpoſe, thanked him afterwards for his ſeaſonable choice. But the Biſhop modeſtly declining thoſe undue thanks, told him that it came by courſe to be read on that day, which very much comforted His Majeſty, who proceeded to the remaining Duties of receiving from the Biſhop the Holy Sacrament, and the other preparations for his approaching Paſſion.

His Devotions being ended, about ten a clock he was brought from St. *James*'s to *White-hall* by a Regiment of Foot, with Colours flying, and Drums beating (through the Park) part marching before, and part behind, with a private Guard of Partiſans about him, the Biſhop on the one hand, and Colonel *Tomlinſon* (who had the charge of him) on the other bare-headed. The Guards marching a ſlow pace, as on a ſolemn and ſad occaſion to their ill-tuned Drums, He bid them go faſter, (as his uſual manner of walking was) ſaying, *That he now went before them to ſtrive for an Heavenly Crown, with leſs ſollicitude than he had often encouraged his Souldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.*

Being come to the end of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the Long Gallery in *White-Hall*, where he uſed formerly to Lodge. There finding an unexpected delay in being brought upon the Scaffold, which they had begun but that Morning, He paſt the moſt of that time (having received a Letter from the Prince in the interim by Mr. *Seymor*) in Prayer.

About twelve a Clock, His Majeſty (refuſing to Dine) eat onely a bit of Bread, and drank a glaſs of Claret; and about an hour after, Colonel *Hacker*, with other Officers and Souldiers, brought him with the Biſhop and Colonel *Tomlinſon* through the Banquetting-Houſe to the Scaffold, whereto the paſſage was made through a Window. A ſtrong Guard of ſeveral Regiments of Horſe and Foot were placed on all ſides, which hindred the near approach of his miſerable and diſtracted Subjects, (who for manifeſting their ſorrow, were moſt barbarouſly uſed) and the King from ſpeaking what he had deſigned for their Ears: Whereupon finding himſelf diſappointed, he omitted much of his intended Matter, but having viewed the Scaffold (which had Irons driven in it to force

him

1648 him down to the Block by Ropes, if that he should have resisted) and the Ax (of whose edge he was very careful) having minded one present, of touching it with his Cloak.

Being upon the Scaffold, he looked very earnestly upon the Block, and asked Colonel *Hacker* if it could be no higher: and then spoke thus, (directing his Speech chiefly to the Bishop and Colonel *Tomlinson.*)

The Kings Speech upon the Scaffold.

I *Shall be very little heard of any body else, I shall therefore speak a word to you here. Indeed I could have held my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think, that I did submit to the Guilt, as well as to the punishment. But I think it is my duty to God first, and then to my Country, to clear my self both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with my Innocency, and in truth, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this; For all the World knows that I did never begin a War with the Two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witness, unto whom I must shortly make an account, that I did never intend to incroach upon their Priviledges: They began upon me, it is the* Militia *they began upon: they confessed the* Militia *was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me. And to be short, if any body will look to the Dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declaration, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I. So as for the guilt of these enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope that God will clear me. I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I should lay it upon the Two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this Guilt; but I believe that ill Instruments between them and me, have been the cause of all this Blood-shed: so that as I find my self clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too; yet for all this, God forbid I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say Gods Judgements are just upon me: Many times he doth pay Justice by an unjust Sentence, that is ordinary: I will say this, That unjust Sentence that I suffered to take effect, is punished by an unjust Sentence upon me: so far I have said, to shew you that I am an Innocent man. Now to shew you that I am a good Christian, I hope there is* † *a good man that will bear me witness that I have forgiven all the World, and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of my Death, who they are God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity must go further, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular, I pray God, with St.* Stephen, *that this be not laid to their charge; and withall, that they may take the way to the Peace of the Kingdom, for my Charity commands me, not only to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp, the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wish with all my Soul, (*† *I see there are some here that will carry it further) that they endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom. Sirs, I must shew you, both how you are out of the way, and put you in the way. First, you are out of the way, for certainly all the ways you ever had yet, as far as I could find by any thing, if in the way of Conquest, certainly this is an ill way; for Conquest, in my opinion, is never just, except there be a good and just cause, either for matter of wrong, or a just Title, and then if you go beyond the first Quarrel, that makes that unjust at the end, that was just at first: for if there be only Matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate said to* Alexander, That he was a great Robber, himself was but a Petty Robber. *An so, Sirs, I think, for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the way, believe it, you shall never go right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his due, the King his due (that is, my Successor) and the people their due; I am as much for them any of you. You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church, according to Scripture (which is now out of order.) And to set you in a way particularly, now I cannot, but only this, a National Synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when every opinion is freely heard. For the King, indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because it concerns my own particular, I only give you a touch of it. For the People, truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any body whomsoever: But I must tell you, that their Liberty and Freedom consists in having Government under those Laws, by which their lives and theirs may be most their own; it is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Soveraign are clear different things; and therefore until you do that, I mean, that you put the People into that Liberty, as I say, they will never enjoy themselves.*

Sirs, It was for this that now I am come hither, for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I need not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray to God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the the Martyr of the People. In truth Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer, I will only say this to you, that I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have a little better digested this that I have said, and therefore I hope you will excuse me; I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God you take those courses, that are the best for the good of the Kingdom, and your Salvation.

† Pointing to the Bishop.

† Observing one to write.

Bishop. (Though your Majesties affections may be very well known to Religion) yet it may be expected that you should say somewhat thereof for the Worlds satisfaction.

King. *I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it; In truth, Sirs, My Conscience in Religion I think is very well known to all the World, and therefore I declare before you all that I die a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Father, and this honest Man I think will witness it.*

Then speaking to the Executioner, he said, *I shall say but very short Prayers, and when I thrust out my hands* ——— *let that be your sign.*

Then he called to the Bishop for his Night-Cap, and having put it on, he said to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you?* who desired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Bishop: Then the King turning to the Bishop, said, *I have a good Cause and a gracious God on my side.*

Bishop. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short one: But you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from Earth to Heaven;

and

1648

1648 and there you will find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King. *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the World.*

Bish. You are exchanged from a Temporary, to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

The King then said to the Executioner, *Is my Hair well*, and took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to the Bishop, saying, *Remember.*

Then he put off his Doublet, and being in his Wast-coat, he put his Cloak on again; then looking upon the Block, he said to the Executioner, *You must set it fast.*

Executioner. It is fast, Sir,

King. *When I put my hands out this way*, stretching them out ——— *Then do your Work.*

After that, having said two or three words (as he stood) to himself, with hands and eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, he laid his neck upon the Block: and then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King (thinking he had been going to strike) said, *Stay for the sign.*

Executioner. Yes, I will, and it please your Majesty.

And after a very little pause, the King stretching forth his hands, the Executioner at one blow severed his Head from his Body; the Head being off, the Executioner held it up, and shewed it to the people, which done, it was with the Body put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that purpose, and conveyed into his Lodgings at *White-Hall*; and from thence it was carried to his House at Saint *James's*, where his Body was embalmed and put in a Coffin of Lead, and laid there a fortnight to be seen by the people: and on *Wednesday* seven-night after, his Corps embalmed and coffin'd in Lead, was delivered chiefly to the Care of four of his Servants, *viz.* Mr. *Herbert*, Capt. *Anthony Mildmay*, his Sewers, Captain *Preston*, and *John Joyner*; (formerly Cook to his Majesty,) who with others in Mourning, accompanied the Herse that night to *Windsor*, and placed it in that which was formerly the Kings Bedchamber: whence it was next day removed into the Deans Hall, and from thence by the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Marquess of *Dorchester*, and the Earl of *Lindsey*, conveyed to St. *George* his Chappel, and the Corps there interred in the Vault, (as is supposed) of King *Henry* the VIII. and Queen *Jane*, with this Inscription upon the Coffin,

CHALES KING OF ENGLAND.
M. DC. XL. VIII.

Of his Personage and Disposition.

THis unfortunate Prince was of a comely Person, a firm and vigorous Health, a Body indefatigable. He was a great Lover, and as great a Master of all Manly Exercises; and yet withall no less skill'd in the Graces and Entertainments of a Court. So Temperate in his Pleasures, that he was never known guilty of any Excess. In his Devotions constant, regular, and intent. His Love to the Order, and to the Religion of the Church of *England*, was so eminent, that he seal'd and confirm'd it with his Blood; and at the same time, what he could not support with his Arms, he asserted with his Pen, beyond all Contradiction. His presence of Mind, in all extremes, was seen both in the Field, and upon the Scaffold. He was the best of Husbands, and (perchance) the best of Men. His general Insight in Arts and Sciences, both Liberal and Mechanical, was wonderful; nor was any Prince better instructed in the Principles of Government. His unhappiness was, that some times he trusted to other mens Counsels, rather than his own; and put so much power into his enemies hands, in hope of gaining them, that he was no longer in condition to defend himself. In Effect, He was too *Good* a *Man* to be a *Happy Prince*; and rather betrayed by his own Tenderness, than subdu'd by the force of his Adversaries; as appear'd by the ill use was made of it in several Treaties, Counsels and Battels. The *Rebellion* was in it self *Barbarous*; but the *Formalities* of proceeding against him, by *Arraignment*, *Tryal*, *Sentence* and *Execution*, fill'd all Christendom with *Indignation* and *Horrour*; and his Blood cries yet aloud for vengeance upon the *Promoters*, as well as the *Instruments* of that *Execrable Murther.* 1648

Of Persons of Note in his Time.

FOr the first fifteen years of this Kings Reign, there was little Employment for Military men at home; but there were great numbers of his Majesties Subjects in the service of Foreign Princes and States: as Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *John Burroughs*; *Ruthen*, *Lesly*, *Fleetwood*, *Douglas*, *Hamilton*, and many other Commanders of great Renown. In the following Troubles, among several thousands of the Nobility and Gentry, that Eminently served the Crown, there were the Marquisses of *Newcastle* and *Montross*; the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Rochester*, *Northampton*, *Bristol*, *Caernarvan*, *Lichfield*: the Lords *Francis Villiers*, *Ashley*, *Capell*, *Goring*, *Hopton*, *Bellasis*, *Gerrard*, *Langdale*: Sir *Henry Gage*, Sir *Richard* and Sir *Bevil Grenvil*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*; Col. *Charles Cavendish*, Major General *Hurrye* &c. whose Names and Actions are already honourably recorded in the Memorials of those times. There was also *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, who (though untimely and most invidiously cut off) was not yet inferiour unto any man of his time, either for his Faith to his Prince, or Abilities both Military and Civil. He left the Inheritance of his Vertues, as well as of his Honour and Fortune, unto his Son *William*; who doubled his Paternal Glories and his own, by Marrying (the worthy Daughter of two incomparable Parents) *Henrietta Maria*, the Daughter of *James* Earl of *Derby*, and *Charlotte* the Daughter of *Claude Duc de la Tremoille*, and *Charlotte* of *Nassau*, Daughter to *William* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Aurange*; an Illustrious Couple; and of whom we shall speak the more in this place, because the Story hath said little of them elsewhere.

James Earl of *Derby*, was one of the first with his Majesty at *York*, after the *London-Tumults*; from whence he was order'd back again into *Lancashire*, to prepare for the King's Reception; upon a Resolution taken for the setting up of the *Standard-*

1648 *Standard Royal* at *Warrington*. Immediately upon his return he muſter'd the County, on the three Heaths, by *Berry*, *Ormskirk* and *Preſton*; where he had an appearance of at leaſt 20000. men on each Field; intending the ſame courſe likewiſe in *Cheſhire* and *North-Wales*, (by vertue of his Commiſſion of Lieutenancy.) But in this *interim*, the place was changed from *Warrington* to *Nottingham*, to the great diſappointment of the Kings Friends in thoſe parts; and the no leſs encouragement of his Enemies, (to ſay nothing of ſeveral Indignities put (more particularly) upon the Earl himſelf, by the contrivance and ill Will of ſome Great Ones deeply intereſſed in this Affair.) The Standard being now ſet up at *Nottingham*, and the Countreys not coming in ſo frankly as was expected, the King by an Expreſs deſired his Lordſhip forthwith to raiſe what men he could, and to come up to him: whoſe Anſwer was, That he would do his beſt, but that the Caſe was much altered of late, a great part of the Countrey being reſolved now to ſtand Neuter, and others joyning with the Rebels, had already ſeized upon *Manchester*. This notwithſtanding, his Lordſhip, among his own Tenants, Dependents, and private Friends, raiſed three Regiments of Foot, and three Troops of Horſe, cloathed and and armed them at his own charge; and then poſted to the King at *Shrewsbury*, for His Majeſties Orders how to diſpoſe of them. The King commanded him to return, and preſently make tryal of one ſmart Aſſault upon *Manchester*, and whether he maſter'd the Town or not, to march up then to the Camp. Hereupon the Earl repaired to his Troops, drew up before the Town, and ſummoned it; and upon their refuſal to treat, directed an Aſſault at Four next Morning, not doubting to carry it. But that very Night he was commanded away, and in two days brought up his three Regiments, and three Troops to his Majeſty; which being diſpoſed off to other Officers, his Lordſhip was deſired to haſten back, and take the beſt care he could of the Countrey. Upon his Return, the Parliament did (now a ſecond time) offer his Lordſhip the largeſt terms imaginable, if he would either joyn with them, or quit the Kings Service; but his Anſwer was to this effect, *When I turn Traytor, I may hearken to thoſe Propoſitions, but till then, let me have no more of theſe Papers, at the peril of him that brings them.* By this time the Enemy had Garriſon'd *Lancaſter* and *Preſton*, and in a manner commanded the whole Countrey, when his Lordſhip bethought himſelf of defending his own houſe at *Latham*: and although diveſted of his Arms and Magazine, did yet make a ſhift (with the aſſiſtance of his Friends) to cut off three Companies at *Houghton-Common*, and after that to take in *Lancaſter* and *Preſton* by ſtorm: in the former, leading on his men himſelf, with a half Pike in his hand (after one Repulſe) to the ſecond Aſſault, that did the Buſineſs: and *Manchester* had in probability followed, if both his Auxiliaries and his own Forces too, had not been call'd away in the very nick of time when he was ready for the Attempt. Soon after this, upon information that the Enemy had a deſign upon the *Iſle of Man*, he was ordered thither for the ſecurity of that place. And thither he went, having firſt made ſome neceſſary proviſions of Men, Moneys and Ammunition, for the protection and defence of his incomparable Lady, to whoſe charge he committed his Children, and his other *Engliſh* Concerns: and moſt particularly, the care of his Honour, in defending the Houſe till his Majeſty might ſend Relief, which he hoped would not be long firſt. 1648

The Counteſs of *Derby* being left alone in the Houſe, not as yet fortified, the Enemy look'd upon it now as their own already, little expecting from a Woman, a Stranger, and a place ſo unprovided (as they ſuppoſed that to be) any conſiderable reſiſtance. So that a Commiſſion was preſently obtained for the reducing of it: which being made known to the Lady, ſhe furniſhed her ſelf with Men, Arms and Ammunition, with all the diligence and ſecrecy poſſible. The men being generally raw, and unexperienced, ſhe cauſed them to be Liſted, and Trained under ſix Captains; *viz.* Cap. *Farrington*, *Charnock*, *Chiſenhall*, *Rawſthorne*, *Ogles*, and *Molineux Radcliffe*, who were to receive orders from Capt. *Farmer*, (as Major of the Garriſon) and he from her Ladyſhip. Matters were carried ſo private, that the Enemy was advanced within two miles of the Houſe, not ſo much as dreaming of any other oppoſition than from her own Servants. *Febr.* 28. 1644. there came to the Lady from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* a Trumpet, and with him a perſon of Quality, to deſire a conference. To which the Counteſs agreed; and immediately Sir *Tho Fairfax*, and ſome Gentlemen with him were admitted; the Souldiers being firſt diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as might beſt advance the appearance and opinion of their number and diſcipline. Their Commiſſion was to demand the delivery of the Houſe; upon which condition they offered her an honourable and ſafe remove, with her Children, Servants and Goods, (Arms and Cannon only excepted) to her own Houſe at *Knowſley*, and a Protection there, from any further moleſtation; and the one Moiety of her Lords Eſtate in *England*, for the ſupport of her ſelf and Children. To which the Counteſs anſwered, that ſhe was under a double Truſt; of Faith to her Husband, and Allegiance to her Soveraign; that without their leave ſhe could not give it up, and therefore deſired a Moneths time for her Anſwer; which being denyed, her Ladyſhip told them, that ſhe hoped, they would excuſe her, if ſhe preſerved her Honour and Obedience, though in her own Ruine. Hereupon Sir *Thomas Fairfax* departed; and upon the Queſtion whether they ſhould proceed by Storm or Siege, he gave his opinion for the latter: Which Advice was much promoted by an Artifice of one of the Earl of *Derby*'s Chaplains, (the Reverend and Ingenious Dr. *Brideoakes*, now Dean of *Salisbury*,) whoſe Integrity and Prudence was of ſingular Service to that Heroical Lady in all her Extremities. Some fourteen days after the former Conference, there came a peremptory Summons for a preſent ſurrender, and the Trumpet was diſpatch'd away with this ſhort Anſwer; *That the Counteſs had not as yet forgotten what ſhe ow'd to the Church of* England, *to her Prince, and to her Lord; and that till ſhe had loſt either her Honour, or her Life, ſhe would defend the place.* Upon this, Sir *Tho. Fairfax* gave order for

a for-

1648 for a formal Siege, and being himſelf commanded away to other ſervice, left the management of it to Colonel *Peter Egerton*, and Major *Morgan*: the Counteſs on the other ſide, giving expreſs Order not to fire a Gun upon the Enemy, nor to do any other act of Hoſtility, until they ſhould have made four or five ſhot at the Houſe.

The Houſe ſtands upon a Flat, being a boggy, ſpumous Ground. It was encompaſſed with a Wall of two yards thick; without the Wall, a Mote eight yards wide, and two yards deep. Upon the Wall were nine Towers, flanking one another; on each Tower ſix pieces of Ordnance, that play'd three one way, and three the other. Beſides theſe, there was in the middle of the Houſe a high Tower, called the Eagle Tower; and the Gate-houſe was alſo a ſtrong and lofty Building, in the entrance to the firſt Court. Upon the tops of theſe Towers were placed the choiceſt Marks-men, as Dear-men, Keepers, Fowlers, and the like, who ſhrewdly gall'd the Enemy, and cut of ſeveral of their Officers in the Trenches.

Upon *Fairfax* his departure, the Enemy fell preſently to work upon a Line of Circumvallation: but to diſturb them in their Approaches, the Lady order'd a Sally of 200 men, commanded by Major *Farmer*, who, *March* 12. 1644. beat the Enemy from their Trenches, up to their Main-guard, kill'd about 60 of them, and took ſome priſoners, with the loſs only of two men. Upon this they doubled their Guards, and drew their Line at a great diſtance, but they were ſo plyed with Sallies, that it was fourteen weeks time before they could finiſh it. After this, they ran a deep Trench near the Mote, where they raiſed a ſtrong Battery, and planted upon it a Mortar-piece, that caſt Stones and Granadoes of ſixteen Inches Diameter. The firſt Granado fell cloſe to the Table where the Lady, her Children, and the Officers were all at Dinner; ſhiver'd the Room, but no body hurt. The apprehenſion of theſe terrible Fire-balls, made them reſolve upon a Sally, to attempt the taking of the Mortar-piece. *Molineux Radcliffe* had the Forlorn, *Chiſenhall* the Body, and *Farmer* commanded the Reſerve; who, after half an hours ſharp diſpute, poſſeſs'd themſelves of all their Works, nail'd and overturn'd all their Cannon, or roul'd them into the Mote, and carried off the Mortar-piece into the Houſe, continuing Maſters of their Works and Trenches that whole day; which, with their utmoſt pains and diligence, they laboured to fill up and deſtroy. During this Combat, the Counteſs was at her Devotions, (no leſs eminent for her Piety than for her Reſolution) it being her conſtant practiſe to begin all theſe Actions with publick Prayers, and to cloſe them with Thankſgivings. This was *April* 26. the very day appointed for an Aſſault, and with Orders to put every Creature to the ſword. It took the Enemy five or ſix days time to repair their Works; in which ſpace they were thrice diſlodged, and ſcattered by vigorous Sallies. Theſe diſaſters gave Colonel *Rigby* (a malicious Enemy of the Earl of *Derby*'s) a pretence of laying the fault upon Colonel *Peter Egerton*, by which means he got a Commiſſion himſelf to command in Chief; and for a proof of his Generoſity, he would not ſuffer ſo much as a Midwife to paſs into the Houſe to a Gentlewoman in travail. For a matter of a Fortnight he carried on his Works without much trouble, for want of Powder in the Garriſon; but that defect being ſupplied by a Sally, the Counteſs propoſed a freſh Aſſault of all their Trenches, which was accordingly agreed upon; and *Rawſthorn* had the Forlorn, *Farmer* the Battel, and *Chiſenhall* the Reſerve; who, behaving themſelves with their wonted bravery, beat the Enemy from their Works, cleared their Trenches, nailed their great Guns, and kill'd 120 men, with the loſs only of three Souldiers, and five or ſix wounded. After a four Months Siege, and the loſs of above 2000 men (by their own confeſſion) *Rigby* ſent the Counteſs a huffing Summons, to which ſhe returned an Anſwer becoming her Dignity and Virtue. 1648

The Earl of *Derby* being in the *Iſle of Man*, and alarmed with his Ladies diſtreſs in *Latham*, haſted forthwith to his Majeſty, to beg Relief; who gave way, that Prince *Rupert* ſhould take *Lancaſhire* in his way to *York*, whither he was then deſigned. His Highneſs entred *Lancaſhire* at *Stopford-bridge*, and *Rigby* hearing that he had forced the Paſs, rais'd the Siege from *Latham*, *May* 27. 1644. and march'd to *Bolton*, a ſtrong Garriſon of the Enemies;) where, with the addition of other Forces to 2000 of his own, he made up a Body of 2500 Foot and 500 Horſe. The Prince underſtanding that *Rigby* had quitted *Latham*, and was fortified in *Bolton*, marched directly thither, and gave Order for an Aſſault, which his people very gallantly attempted, but were yet forced to give it off the firſt bout, with the loſs of 200 men, the Enemy killing the Souldiers they took upon the Walls, in cold blood, before the Princes eyes. Upon a ſecond Aſſault, the Earl of *Derby* deſired of his Highneſs the Command of two Companies of his own old Foot, and the honour of the Forlorn; which, upon his importunity, was granted him. All things being ready for a general Aſſault, the Town was, in leſs than half an hour, entred upon each Quarter; the Earl of *Derby* himſelf being the firſt man that entred it. This was *May* 28. 1644. *Rigby* made his eſcape, but left 2000 of his men behind him, and was himſelf laid aſide. There was one *Bootle* a Captain in the Town, and formerly a Porter in *Latham*, who upon leaving the Houſe, ſware voluntarily, That he would never bear Arms againſt the King. This fellow being in the heat of the Storm encompaſſed with Souldiers, and ſeeing his Lord, begg'd Quarter of him; who gave him this Anſwer, *I will not kill thee my ſelf, and I cannot ſave thee from others.* This mans death was afterwards falſly and villainouſly charged upon the Earl of *Derby*, by *Bradſhaw* (Brother to the Preſident) and *Rigby* at his Tryal. The Colours that were taken, the Prince ſent to the Counteſs of *Derby*, by Sir *Richard Crane*, who received them as a ſingular Honour, and cauſed them to be hung up, as happy Remembrances of Gods Mercy, and his Highneſs's Generoſity towards her.

The Princes next work was the reducing of *Liverpool*; and from thence he went to *Latham*, where he refreſhed himſelf and his men for three or four days, and was entertained by the Lord and Lady of the place, anſwerably to his Illuſtrious Quality and Merit. The Prince, before his departure, gave directions for the repairing and fortifying

1648 tifying of the Houſe, and at the requeſt of the Counteſs of *Derby*, gave the Government of it to Captain *Rawſthorn*, whom he made Colonel of a Foot Regiment, and two Troops of Horſe, for its defence, by whom the Place was bravely defended full two years in a ſecond Siege; and, at length, by the Kings Order delivered up; having coſt the Enemy at leaſt 6000 men, and the Garriſon about 400, being one of the laſt places that held out for his Majeſty in *England*.

After all theſe great things done and ſuffer'd by the Noble Earl, and his admirable Lady, who were at this time in the *Iſle of Man*, the Saddeſt, and moſt glorious part of their Story is yet behind. When their Children were perfidiouſly ſeized, and made cloſe Priſoners, and the Earl tempted with the promiſe of a peaceable enjoyment of his Family, and Freedom at his own Houſe, and the one Moiety of his whole Eſtate, if he would deliver up the *Iſle of Man*; what could be more Honourable than his magnanimous Refuſal (even when the Cauſe it ſelf was given for loſt,) ſaying, *That he would never redeem his Children by his Diſloyalty*. When he came afterwards from the *Iſle of Man*, into *Lancaſhire*, by command to attend the King, (*Charles* the Second,) then on his march from *Scotland* to *Worceſter*, upon Aſſurance that the *Preſbyterians* would joyn with the *Royaliſts*, in order to his Majeſties Reſtauration; and when he found their Miniſters obſtinately to oppoſe any Conjunction, unleſs he would take the Covenant; what could be more brave or pertinent, than his final determination, which he delivered to them in theſe Terms, *If I periſh, I periſh*; *But if my Maſter periſh, the Blood of another Prince, and all the enſuing Miſeries of this Nation will lie at your doors*.

This perfidious diſappointment of theirs, was it that put him upon his next Misfortune, his Engagement in *Wigan-Lane*, where with 600 Horſe he maintained a Fight for two hours againſt 3000 Horſe and Foot, in a place of much diſadvantage, in which Encounter he received ſeven Shot on his Breſt-Plate, thirteen Cuts upon his Bever over a Steel-Cap, five or ſix wounds upon his Arms and Shoulders, and had two Horſes killed under him. And yet through all theſe Difficulties he made out his way to the King at *Worceſter*, and took his part too of that unhappy Battail. Upon the Rout he was taken priſoner by Major *Edge*, upon Condition of Quarter; and afterwards murdered by a pretended *Court of Juſtice*, contrary to the Laws of Arms and Nations. All theſe Outrages and Wrongs, he ſuffer'd with a moſt Religious Conſtancy of Mind, and his deportment ſtill the ſame; even upon the very Scaffold, and at the Block it ſelf. *Die I muſt* (ſayes he) *and I thank God I am ready for it. Death would now be my Choice, had I the whole World in competition with it. I leave nothing behind me, which I care much for, but my King, my Wife, Children, and Friends, whom (I truſt) the Never-failing Mercies of my God will provide for. I beſeech God ſhew mercy to thoſe who neither had Mercy nor Juſtice for me.*

(This upon the Scaffold; and then a while after, juſt before he made his Addreſs to the Block; riſing from his Prayers) *My Soul* (ſayes he) *is now at reſt, and ſo ſhall my Body be immediately. The Lord bleſs my King, and Reſtore him to his Rights in this Kingdom; and the Lord bleſs this Kingdom, and reſtore them to their Rights in their King——— I die for the King, the Laws of the Land, and the Proteſtant Religion, &c.* In fine, never any man had a more Generous mixture in him of the Courage of a *Roman*, with the Faith and Reſignation of a *Chriſtian*. 1648

Theſe Calamities joyned with the Infinite Affection of his ſurviving Lady, would have broken any other Heart than hers, that was ſupported by a matchleſs, and in Truth, by a miraculous Virtue. But ſhe (it ſeems) was ſtill reſerved for further Tryals, both of her Honour and Patience. Upon the Parliaments demand of the *Iſle of Man*, ſhe refuſed to deliver it without Licenſe from his Majeſty: and that very night, a Wretch that had eaten of her Lords Bread from a Child, and been employed as a ſervant in places of great Truſt and Advantage, having corrupted and prepared the Illanders for the Deſign, ſeizes his Lady and her Children, (together with the Iſland) and ſhe was kept a Priſoner without any other Relief, than what came from the Charity of her impoveriſhed Friends. And yet againſt theſe Sufferings too, ſhe ſtill held out, until ſhe ſaw the happy and much deſired Reſtauration of His Sacred Majeſty *Charles* the Second; and afterwards died *March* 22. 1664. in her Joynture-Houſe at *Knowſley* in *Lancaſhire*.

The moſt famous men of the Clergy for Learning in his time, were *Davenport* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, *Andrews* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Morton* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Hall* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Prideaux* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Uſher* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and his Succeſſor *Bramhall*, *Sanderſon* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Mr. *Chillingworth* of *Trinity* Colledge in *Oxford*, and Dr. *Hammond* one of the Canons of *Chriſt-Church* in the ſame Univerſity; and Mr. *Mead* of *Chriſts* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton*. But others there were of great Eminence; as *Lucius* Lord *Fauſkland* Secretary of State, a great Maſter of all ſorts of Learning; Sir *Henry Spelman*, Sir *Edward Coke* likewiſe, that famous Common Lawyer, and Mr. *John Selden* of the ſame Profeſſion, a moſt renowned Antiquary, and *Thomas Hobbs* of *Malmsbury*, that excellent Mathematician and Philoſopher, all flouriſhed in his Reign.

Nor may we omit the Poets then famous, which excell'd or equall'd all that went before, and ſhall come after; ſuch as were Mr. *Benjamin Johnſon*, Mr. *Edmund Waller*, Mr. *Thomas Carew*, Sir *John Suckling*, Mr. *Thomas Randolph*, Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*, Mr. *Abraham Cowley*, and Sir *William Davenant*. The firſt whereof by his profound Learning and Judgement, ſhewed a Poet was to be as well made as born: And the later, though he wanted Learning, made as high and noble Flights as Fancy could advance without it.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in his Reign.*

In his first year, 1625.
Sir *Allen Cotton* was Mayor.
Thomas Westraw, *Ellis Crisp* died.
Jo. Pool, and *Christopher Clitherow* after, Sheriffs.

In his second year 1626.
Sir *Cuthbert Hacket* was Mayor.
Edward Bromfield, *Richard Fenn*, Sheriffs.

In his third year 1627.
Sir *Hugh Hamersley* was Mayor.
Maurice Abbot, *Henry Garraway*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year, 1628.
Sir *Richard Dean* was Mayor.
Rowland Backhouse, *William Acton* Knight and Baronet, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year, 1629.
Sir *James Cambell* was Mayor.
Humphrey Smith, *Edmund Wright*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year, 1630.
Sir *Robert Ducie*, Barronet, Mayor.
Arthur Abdy, *Robert Cambell*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year, 1631.
Sir *George Whitmore* was Mayor.
Samuel Cranmore, *Henry Prat*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year, 1632.
Sir *Nicholas Rainton*, was Mayor.
Hugh Perry, *Henry Andrews*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year, 1633.
Sir *Ralph Freeman*, and Sir *Tho. Mouldston*, Mayors.
Gilbert Harrison, *Richard Gurney*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year, 1634.
Sir *Robert Parkhurst* was Mayor.
John Heylord, *John Cordel*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year, 1635.
Sir *Christopher Clitherow* was Mayor.
Thomas Soame, *John Gayer*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year, 1636.
Sir *Edward Bromfield* was Mayor.
William Abell, *John Garret*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year, 1637.
Sir *Richard Fenn* was Mayor.
Thomas Atkin, *Edward Rudge*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year, 1638.
Sir *Maurice Abot* was Mayor.
Isaac Pennington, *John Wollaston*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year, 1639.
Sir *Henry Garraway* was Mayor.
Thomas Adams, *John Warner*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year, 1640.
Sir *Edmund Wright* was Mayor.
John Towse, *Abraham Reynardson*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year, 1641.
Sir *Richard Gurney* was Mayor.
George Garret, *George Clarke*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year, 1642.
Isaac Pennington was Mayor.
John Langham, *Thomas Andrews*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year, 1643.
Sir *John Wollaston* was Mayor.
John Fowke, *James Bunce*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year, 1644.
Thomas Atkin was Mayor.
William Gibbs, *Richard Chambers*, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year, 1645.
Thomas Adams was Mayor.
John Kendrick, *Thomas Foot*, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year, 1646.
Sir *John Gayer* was Mayor.
Thomas Cullam, *Simon Edmonds*, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year, 1647.
Sir *John Warner* was Mayor.
Samuel Avery, *John Bide*, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth year, 1648.
Sir *Abraham Reynardson* was Mayor.
Thomas Vyner, *Richard Brown*, Sheriffs.
Thomas Andrews Mayor, in room of *Reynardson* sent to the Tower.

THE

The first Thirteen YEARS OF THE REIGN OF King Charles the II.

1648 KING *Charles* the First being deprived of Life on the Thirtieth of *January*, One thusand six hundred forty and eight, in the manner before-mentioned, his Eldest Son Prince *CHARLES*, by unquestionable Right succeeded to the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in the Eighteenth year of his Age. Proclamation and Coronation the usual Ceremonies attending Royal Succession could not now have their due course, nor are they in this Kingdom necessary Circumstances of our Monarchy; for by our Law (which admits of no *Interregnum*,) the Successor to the Crown has all the Rights thereof from the first moment after the death of his Predecessor. The Ruling part of the House of Commons who usurped the Government with violence on the person of the late King (as hath been related) knew they could not be secure if they rested there; so that immediately thereupon they published an Act even against Kingly Government it self, expressing therein;

An Act against proclaiming the King.

That whereas several pretences might be made to this Crown, and Title to the Kingly Office set on foot, to the apparent hazard of the Publick Peace. Be it Enacted and Ordained by this present Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, that no person whatsoever do presume to Proclaim, Declare, Publish, or any wayes to promote Charles Stuart *(Son of the late King* CHARLES*) commonly called the Prince of* WALES, *or any other Person to be King, or Chief Magistrate of* England *or* Ireland, *or of any Dominions belonging to them, by colour of Inheritance, Succession, Election, or any other claim whatsoever, without the free consent of the People in Parliament, first had and signified by a particular Act or Ordinance for that purpose, any Law, Statute, Usage, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding: and whosoever shall contrary to this Act Proclaim, &c. the said* Charles Stuart *shall be deemed and adjudged a Traytor, and suffer accordingly.* 1648

Yet this Inhibition did not deter many Loyal Subjects from doing their Duty; and on the second of *February* this year, the following Proclamation was Printed and scattered about the Streets of *London*.

A Proclamation proclaiming Prince *Charles* to be King of *England*.

We the Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Free-holders, Merchants, Citizens, Yeomen, Seamen, and other Freemen of England, *do according to our Allegiance and Covenant by these presents, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and Proclaim the Illustrious* CHARLES *Prince of* WALES, *next Heir of the Blood Royal to his Father King* CHARLES *(whose late wicked and trayterous Murder we do from our Souls abominate, and all Partict and Consenters thereunto) to be by Hereditary Birth-right, and lawful Succession, rightful, and undoubted King of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging, and that we will faithfully, constantly, and sincerely in our several Places and Callings defend and maintain his Royal Person, Crown and Dignity with our Estates, Lives, and last drop of our Bloods, against all Opposers thereof, whom we do hereby declare to be Trayters and Enemies to his Majesty and his Kingdoms. In testimony whereof we have caused these to be published and proclaimed throughout all Counties and Corporations of this Realm, the first day of* February, *in the first year of His Majesties Reign.*

God save King *Charles* the Second.

Coronation which is the next Solemnity, the exclusion of the King by the malice of his Enemies made impossible at this time to be celebrated. The Army had been before modelled

1648 suitable to these Designs of changing the Monarchy of *England* and *Ireland* to a Commonwealth (for neither this alteration, nor the death of the late King could have been effected without a Military assistance) which was first discovered when Colonel *Pride* secluded or terrified from sitting near two hundred of the Members of the Commons House of Parliament, being those who had on the fifth of *December* before by Vote approved of the late Kings Concessions for a Peace at the *Isle of Wight*, and those that remained after this violation complied so far with the Army herein, that after a first seeming dislike of their proceedings, they resolved and decreed, never to readmit them, and such others who had given their Negatives to the said Concessions, were likewise Ordered not to sit in Parliament, till they had entred their dissent to them.

Monarchy and the House of Lords declared useless by the Commons.

The House of Peers continued yet sitting, and in regard the Commissions of the Judges were determined by the Kings Death, they sent to the Commons for a Conference about that and other matters relating to the settling of the Government, but they without returning an answer, declared the Kingly Office to be unnecessary and burthensome, and that the Lords House was dangerous and useless, and therefore to be laid aside; but that they might not be totally excluded from Government, they declared that they might be capable of Elections into the House of Commons, of which afterward three of them only accepted, namely the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Howard* of *Estrich*, but the Peers in general very much resented these indignities put upon them by a small part of the House of Commons, and in a Protestation by them published in the name of all the Peers and Barons of the Realm.

The Protestation of the House of Lords against the proceedings of the Commons.

"They asserted their own Priviledges, and the "Fundamental Laws of the Nation, and disclai-"med and protested against all Acts, Votes, Or-"ders or Ordinances of the said Members of the "Commons-House, for erecting of new Courts "of Justice, to Try or Execute the King, or any "Peer or Subject of this Realm, for altering the "Government, Laws, Great Seal, Ancient forms "of Writs, or legal Process, raising new Forces, "and imposing new Taxes, or Oaths, granting "Commissions, or making Officers; as like-"wise against the traiterous Murdering of the late "King, and the dis-inheriting of his Son the Prince "of *Wales*, and particularly against that Insolent "and Frantick Vote (as they call'd it) of *Febru-"ary* the sixth, concerning their abolishing the "House of Peers as useless and dangerous, all which "Acts, Votes, and Orders they declared to be not "only illegal, and therefore void, but likewise de-"testable and destructive to the Rights and Beings "of Parliaments, the Fundamental Laws of the "Realm, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties "of the People.

This made little Impression upon the Commons, and to prevent the assembling of the Lords, the Army by their appointment or connivance set a Guard upon the Doors of their House; and in further prosecution of their former Votes against Monarchy, they formed and passed *An Act for the Exheredation of the Royal Line, the Abolishment of Monarchy in this Kingdom, and the setting up of a Commonwealth*; which they ordered to be Published and Proclaimed in all parts of the Kingdome.

1648 An Act for the abolishing of Kingly Government.

Alderman *Reynoldson* the then Lord Mayor of *London*, a person of great Integrity and Loyalty, refused to publish this Act in *London*, and was therefore discharged from his Office, and with three of the Aldermen that were of his Judgement committed Prisoners to the Tower of *London*, and one *Andrews* was by a Common-Hall chosen in his place, who with *Pennington*, *Atkins*, *Wollaston*, *Fowrk*, *Edmonds*, and *Pack*, then Aldermen of *London*, and some others, Proclaimed this exorbitant Act in several places of the City. But this great Alteration so much amused the generality of the People, that the Parliament thought fit to give them some satisfaction, which was endeavoured by a Declaration, to shew the Reasons of their Proceedings; wherein many plausible Pretences were exhibited, the chiefest whereof imported, *A Promise of deliverance from the Bondage introduced by the* Norman *Conquests, and of maintaining the Ancient Laws* (which they extolled for their Excellency and equality) adding, *That they might well consist with the present Government of a Republique upon some easie alterations of Form only, leaving the substance entire, and reforming the abuses thereof.* They promised likewise, *The establishment of a firm and safe Peace, the advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and the liberal maintenance of a Godly Ministery; the settling of Treaties and Alliances with forein Princes and States, the encouragement of Manufactures for the increase and flourishing of Trade, and the maintenance of the Poor in all places of the Land.*

Alderman *Reynoldson* the then Lord Mayor committed to the Tower. *Andrews* chosen in his place.

A Declaration for justifying their proceedings.

About the time of publishing this Declaration to compleat the Model of their Government, they abolished all the Ancient Forms of Soveraignty, in the Style and Teste of Writs, Commissions, and other publique Instruments, and ordered for the future, all of them to be issued, *In the names of the Keepers of the Liberties of* England *by Authority of Parliament*; and likewise they caused the Old Great Seal to be broken, and a New one to be made, having on one side a Red Cross and Harp, as the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inscription, THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND, and on the other the Picture of the House of Commons, with these words, *viz.* IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM BY GODS BLESSING RESTORED, 1648. And as another Ensign of their Dominion, they appointed that all the Money which from that time was to be coined, should, instead of the Kings Impression, bear the Cross and Harp, with this Motto, GOD WITH US. Those Clauses in the first of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the third of King *James*, which enjoyned the taking the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to the Kings and their Successors, were repealed by them, and a new Oath was framed to be tendered to all that were to be put into place of publick Trust, or made Freemen of Corporations, the Ancient Judicial, and Legislative Power of the King, and both Houses of Parliament, they assumed to

The Style of publick writings, the Great Seal and the Stamp of Coyn altered.

1648 to themſelves; but the Executive part of Government, they committed to a Council of State erected by Act of Parliament, which conſiſted of forty perſons of the Chiefs of the Army, and others of deſperate Fortunes of the moſt active in theſe Alterations.

A Council of State erected.

The Parliament of *Scotland* did by their Commiſſioners proteſt againſt theſe Actings in *England*, and particularly they diſclaimed the proceedings againſt the late King, but the *New Engliſh States* reſolutely anſwer'd,

That they of Scotland *were at liberty to act in their own affairs, but were not to limit or impoſe upon others*, with many extravagant expreſſions to juſtifie their actings; but in the cloſe they invited them to a reſemblance with themſelves, ſaying, *That if* Scotland *thought fit to vindicate their own Freedom and Liberty, they ſhould be ready to afford them all neighbourly aſſiſtance.*

Before this Anſwer could arrive in *Scotland*, the *Scots* had taken other Reſolutions; for on the third of *February* in this year, the King was proclaimed at the Croſs at *Edenburgh*; The Chancellour of *Scotland* dictating to *Lyon* King at Arms, the Words of the Proclamation as followeth:

The Proclamation for proclaiming the King in *Scotland.*

The Eſtates of Parliament preſently convented in this Second Seſſion of this Second Triennial Parliament, by virtue of an Act of the Committee of Eſtates, who had Power and Authority from the laſt Parliament, for convening the Parliament; Conſidering, that foraſmuch as the Kings Majeſty, who lately Reigned, is contrary to the Diſſent and Proteſtation of this Kingdom, removed by a violent Death; and that by the Lords Bleſſing, there is left unto us a Righteous Heir and lawful Succeſſour, Charles *Prince of* Scotland *and* Wales, *now King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland; *We the Eſtates of the Parliament of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *do therefore moſt unanimouſly and chearfully in recognition and acknowledgment of his juſt Right, Title and Succeſſion to the Crown of theſe Kingdoms, hereby proclaim and declare to all the World, That the ſaid Lord and Prince* Charles, *is by the Providence of God, and by the lawful Right of undoubted Succeſſion, King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *whom all the Subjects of this Kingdom are bound humbly and faithfully to obey, maintain and defend, according to the National Covenant, and the ſolemn League and Covenant betwixt the two Kingdoms, with their Lives and Goods, againſt all deadly Enemies, as their only Righteous Soveraign Lord and King. And becauſe His Majeſty is bound by the Law of God, and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, to rule in Righteouſneſs and Equity, to the Honour of God, the Good of Religion, and the Wealth of his People: It is hereby declared, That before he be admitted to the Exerciſe of his Royal Power, he ſhall give ſatisfaction to the Kingdom in thoſe things that concern the Security of Religion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and the Good and Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National Covenant, and the ſolemn League and Covenant; for which end we are reſolved with all poſſible expedition, to make our humble and earneſt addreſſes to his Majeſty; for the Teſtification of all which, We the Parliament of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *publiſh this our Acknowledgement of his juſt Right, Title and Succeſſion to the Crown of theſe Kingdoms, at the* Market-Croſs *at* Edenburgh, *with all uſual ſolemnities in like caſes, and ordain his Royal Name, Portraict and Seal to be uſed in the publick Writings and Judicatories of this Kingdom, and in the* Mint-houſe, *as was uſually done to his Royal Predeceſſors; and command this Act to be proclaimed at all the* Market-Croſſes *of the Royal Burghs, and to be Printed that none may pretend Ignorance.*

1648

The *Scotch* Commiſſioners here, were about this time call'd home, but juſt at their departure, they ſent an Expoſtulatory Declaration to the ſitting Members of our Parliament, wherein they put them in mind of *all their Vows, Oaths, and Proteſtations for the maintenance of the Kings Perſon and juſt Rights*; and upbraided to them *their ſhameful abjuration and infringment of them by what they had lately acted.*

The *Scots* Commiſſioners ſend the Parliament an Expoſtulatory declaration.

This was ſo ill received by the Parliament, that they impriſoned the Meſſenger that brought it, and voted the Paper ſcandalous and ſeditious, and all ſuch Perſons Traytors as ſhould joyn with or adhere to the Subſcribers; they alſo ſent after the Commiſſioners, and ſecured them till a Copy of the Paper was ſent into *Scotland*, to know if the Parliament and Eſtates there would own the ſame, upon which a Meſſenger was ſent from *Scotland* to our States to juſtifie what their Commiſſioners had done, and to complain of the Impriſonment of them, as a thing contrary to the Law of Nations, and thereupon the Commiſſioners were releaſed and returned home: but theſe proceedings on either ſide increaſed the diſtruſt and jealouſies of each other.

They are ſtop'd in their journey home and ſecur'd.

They are juſtified by a Meſſage ſent from the Eſtates of *Scotland.*

They are releaſed.

In the Summer of this year, ſeveral Loyal Perſons ſucceſſfully in many places attempted by Arms to free the laſt King from great oppreſſion and imminent danger, under which he then lay, as was ſhewed in the Hiſtory of that time; of which number the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Holland* and *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen* were about the latter end of *February*, or the beginning of *March* following, tried and condemned by a high Court of Juſtice erected for that purpoſe, (a Copy of that fatal Original made for the deſtruction of the late King) of which the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel* were executed the 9th of *March*; but the Earl of *Norwich* and Sir *John Owen* were pardoned: The Earl of *Norwich* upon an equal diviſion of the Houſe of Parliament in a Vote for his life, was ſaved by the caſting Voice of *Lenthal* the Speaker; but Sir *John Owen* had on his behalf the ſuffrage of many more voices than thoſe againſt him, which was reported to be done at that time in a kind of popular generoſity; for that the Noblemen had all great interceſſion made for them by thoſe of their Allies (in favour with ſome Grandees in power;) but Sir *John Owen* a Commoner coming from a remote part had none that interceded on his behalf.

Duke *Hamilton*, Earl of *Holland*, Lord *Capel*, &c. tried by a High Court of Juſtice.

The Earl of *Norwich* and Sir *John Owen* Pardoned

Duke

1648

The substance of Duke *Hamilton's* Speech before his Execution.

Duke *Hamilton* who first came upon the Scaffold, in his Speech declared his Affection to this Kingdom, and the Reason of his coming into *England* with an Army, that is to say, his being commanded thereunto, by the peremptory Command of the Parliament of his own Countrey, which if he had disobeyed, he had suffered the same penalty he was to suffer here for obeying. He said many things in vindication of himself from the imputation of having been inconstant in his Religion, or false and unfaithful in his Actions towards the King his Master; he seemed also to intimate a readiness to serve them in what they so much desired of him; namely, the discovery of those who were the Inviters of him in, so that his Life might have been spared; with other things which concerned his condition as a dying man.

Of the Earl of *Holland.*

The next that came after him was the Earl of *Holland*, who touch'd upon the Honour of his Family, and the Nobleness of his Education, profest his sincere and constant adherence to the true Protestant Religion, justified himself as to the matter for which he was condemned, alledging his defection from the Parliament, not to have been out of any ill design against the State or Kingdom, or any abjuration from his first Principles, which led him faithfully to serve the Parliament, whose service he should not have deserted, had not the changes and alterations among them carried them beyond what was reasonable, or what perhaps they themselves at first intended. He prayed God to bless this Kingdom, and to settle it in the ancient way of Government by the King, Lords, and Commons, and wish'd the present change might not bring confusion upon it, he wish'd that the Kings Posterity might be look't upon, and owned by the People, and re-established in their Native Rights without Blood-shed, that his Blood might be the last that might be spilt, and concluded, as he was Chancellour of *Cambridge*, with his Prayers to God for a blessing upon that Univerlity.

The substance of the Lord *Capels* Speech.

The last of the three that suffered, was the Lord *Capel*, who having made a very able and substantial defence for himself, both from the ancient Laws and Priviledges of the Nation, and from their own Acts and Consults, (though all in vain) behaved himself at his death, like what he had shewed himself all along to be, in his resolute acting for the Kings service, a person of a high Spirit, and Heroick fortitude, and delivered what he had to say with a fearless and undaunted Deportment, wherein after an ample Account of his Religion, professing his hearty zeal and devotion to the true Protestant Religion, as it was established in the Church of *England*, he took the liberty to urge the unjustness of his Execution, as contrary to the Law of Arms, to Honour, and the word given him at his rendring of himself, against the Justice of the known Laws of the Land, and for no other cause, than his maintaining the fifth Commandment: he expreſt much trouble and repentance, for having been one of those that gave their Vote to the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*, and manifested to the world the high opinion, and venerable Remembrance he had of the late Kings transcendent Virtue, Nobleness of Mind, and ability of Parts: Next he prayed heartily for the King that now is, for his happy Restauration, long life, and continued prosperity, recommending to the People the hopes they were to entertain in him of a most accomplisht person, and most excellent Prince, from the several years experience he had of the greatness of his Apprehension and Understanding, the Honour of his Nature, and the Generosity of his Inclinations. And so shut up all with what they all three generally consented in, *viz.* a chearful readiness to forgive his Enemies, and those that had been the occasion of bringing him to that place.

1648

Several others tried and executed.

The Blood of these Noblemen did not satiate those that caused the effusion of it; for some others were cut off about the same time for the like offences, though not by the same manner of Tryal, as Lieutenant Colonel *Morrice*, and Colonel *Blackborn*, who was hanged and quartered at *York* by a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* for the surprizing of *Pontfract*; one *Beaumont* a Minister was hanged at *Pontfract*, by Sentence of a Court Marshal; and Major *Monday* was shot to death at *Lancaster* by the like Sentence; Colonel *Langborn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel*, three worthy endeavourers in the Kings service in *Wales*, were also by a Court Marshal sentenced to cast Lots for their Lives, and the fatal chance falling on *Poyer*, he was shot to death in *Covent-Garden*.

Judge *Jenkins* and Sir *J. Stowel* tried at the Kings Bench Bar.

Sir *John Stowel*, and Mr. *David Jenkins* (a Judge formerly in *Wales*) had better fortune; for being both arraigned at the Kings Bench Barr as Traytors against the Government, for their Loyalty to the King, though they never owned the Jurisdiction of the Court, the Judges would not give Sentence against them, nevertheless their Estates were seized, and the later of the two was long imprisoned.

The Messengers sent from the *Scots* to the King at the *Hague*, are driven back by Storm.

The Parliament of *Scotland* had sent two Gentlemen to acquaint the King, being then at the *Hague* in *Holland*, with their proceedings on his behalf, who, after being long at Sea, were beaten back by contrary winds, so that he had no publick notification of what was done there, though he wanted not private advertisement of it: they resolved to invite him to that Kingdom, and were in preparation of Propositions to be sent to him in order thereunto, but they were so much diverted by several disorders in the Countrey, that the progress in them was very slow.

A rising for the King in the North of *Scotland.*

Middleton and *Monroe*, two Major Generals, together with the Lord *Rea*, the *Gordons*, and those of the *Clan* of *Makenzey*, being jealous that the *Covenanters* (for so they called the *Scotch* Parliament) would impose so much upon the King, that he could not with honour and safety yield to them, drew many Forces together in the North of *Scotland*, and seized on the Town of *Innerness* in the Kings name, expecting many others to come in to them, intending so to moderate the Counsels of the Estates at *Edenburgh*, that the King might be admitted to his Government without any previous conditions. This rising in the North was not so privately managed but the *Scotch* Parliament had advice of it some time before it was put in Execution, and they thereupon made Levies of about 6000 Horse and Foot upon other pretences, so that upon the first alarm, they dispatch'd a good party towards

1648 wards them under the Colonels *Ker* and *Straughan*, who marched with ſo much expedition, that they prevented any conſiderable conjunction of Forces, and diſperſed thoſe that they had got together.

They are ſuppreſt by *Ker* and *Straughan*.

This breach in *Scotland*, and the ſuppreſſion of it, made the Governours at *Weſtminſter* believe it not unſeaſonable to make ſome overtures to the Eſtates at *Edenburgh*, to tempt them to a breach with the King, with an offer of their utmoſt aſſiſtance againſt him and all his adherents, but they could not prevail.

The Reigning faction in *England* tempt the *Scots* to a breach with the King.

1649

The King being now at the *Hague*, had Intelligence from time to time of the Counſels of *Scotland*, and reſolved to go into *France*, that from thence he might more eaſily paſs to ſome part of his own Dominions to receive their Commiſſioners: in proſecution of which intentions he left *Holland*, and came to St. *Germans* near *Paris*, where the Queen his Mother then was, and all the way as he paſſed both through the Cities of the United-Provinces, and the Spaniſh *Netherlands*, he was very ſplendidly entertained. The Duke of *Lorain* met him on the Frontiers of *France*, and at *Campeigne* the King of *France* received him and accompanied him to *Paris*, and from thence to St. *Germanes*, where he ſtaid a few months together with the Duke of *York*, who repaired to him out of *Holland*.

The King removes from *Holland* into *France*.

In the midſt of this proſperous fortune of the eſtabliſh'd new Commonwealth, there was ſo great a diſturbance made by a Party in the Army, called Levellers, that if it had not been ſuppreſſed, all their Buildings had been tumbled down. For the better underſtanding whereof we ſhall ſhew how this name came to be applyed to them, and then briefly ſet down the diſorders that hapned.

The Original of the Levellers diſperſion and with their defeature.

They were formed out of thoſe Agitators mentioned in the Reign of the late King, and were termed Levellers upon a pretended Principle which they eſpouſed, to endeavour to obtain ſuch an equal righteous diſtribution of Juſtice in Government to all degrees of people, that it ſhould not be in the Power of the higheſt to oppreſs their inferiours; nor ſhould the meaneſt of the people be out of capacity to arrive at the greateſt Office and Dignity in the State. This was very pleaſing to the Inferiour Officers of the Army and Souldiers, but thoſe that influenced them were a more conſiderable ſort of Perſons, who to gain Power and Authority to themſelves, found out means by heightning this diſtemper, to arraign and diſgrace the Adminiſtration of others, and to be pleaſed with nothing that was done by the Parliament or the Chiefs of the Army, and now the infection was ſpread among ſome of the Superior Rank of Officers, who in a jealoutie of the aſpiring greatneſs of *Cromwell* and *Ireton* (though they appeared not openly themſelves) ſpirited the private Souldiers to begin a defection in the Army upon theſe Levelling principles.

Theſe to countenance their proceedings inſinuated, that there appeared a general ſelf-ſeeking in the Magiſtrates, and chief Officers of the Army, whereby that Reformation for which they contended, was not throughly purſued as it ought, either in Spirituals or Civils. *Cromwel* endeavoured to ſuppreſs this in the beginning, and cauſed Orders to be iſſued to forbid their private Meetings; but not ſucceeding herein, ſeveral of the Souldiers were ſeized on, and tried and condemn'd at a Court Martial, and one *Lockier* a buſie Actor in the buſineſs was ſhot to death, and 11 Regiments were immediately by Lot drawn out to be ſent into *Ireland*. But this did rather incenſe than allay the heat; for many of the Souldiers were ſo practiſed with, as to be much diſcontented with their being allotted to the *Iriſh* Service; alledging, *It was a contrivance to divide them, That they were not Mercenaries, but perſons that took Arms upon righteous Principles of Reformation of Government, and that till they ſaw ſuch a ſettlement eſtabliſhed as might anſwer the ends of their firſt Engagements, they would not divide.* And hereupon many Regiments revolted from their Officers and if ſome Great Ones that ſeemed to approve their actions, had not betrayed them, the Parliaments Authority then, and the following Greatneſs of *Cromwel* had been ſubverted and prevented. 1649

At *Burford* five thouſand Horſe and Foot of theſe Diſſenters were drawn together, and ſtaid there as they pretended, in order to a Treaty under the Faith of *Cromwel*'s word, that no part of the Army ſhould draw nearer to them than the diſtance of ten miles, whereby they were leſs vigilant; and in this their ſecurity, Colonel *Reynolds* (one accuſed by them to have diſcovered their Counſels) fell in upon them with a greater Body than they had, and quickly routed them, taking nine hundred Horſe, and four hundred Foot Priſoners, whereof one *Thompſon*, and two or three principal Leaders were immediately ſhot to death, and the reſt by *Cromwel*'s freeneſs or mediation pardoned; And after this great preparations were made to be ſent into *Ireland*.

The Marquiſs of *Ormond*'s diligent acting for the King's ſervice in *Ireland*.

But theſe Commotions gave the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, and thoſe that acted for the King under his Lieutenancy in that Kingdom, a fair opportunity of reducing it to the obedience of the Crown, wherein he was ſo proſperous, that the King had ſome thoughts of going thither, and a peace was made with the moſt conſiderable of the confederate *Iriſh*; but contrary to their Faith and Promiſe, the Popes Nuntio by the interpoſitions of ſome of the Popiſh Clergy prevailed with the *Ulſter-Iriſh* under *Owen Roe Oneal* to refuſe to come under the Kings Authority.

Nevertheleſs, the Lord Lieutenant with the conjunction of the ſeveral Forces under the Marquis of *Glanrickard* Preſident of *Connaught*, the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, the Lord *Inchequin* Preſident of *Munſter*, the Lord *Moor*, Colonel *Mark Trevor*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, the Lord *Taaf* and General *Preſton* had made up a very powerful Army, and had reduced to the Kings Authority all the Cities and Towns in the Kingdom, except *Dublin* and *London-derry*; and *London-derry* was beſieged by Sir *Robert Steward*, and Colonel *Audly Mervin* with a good Brigade, and *Owen Roe* likewiſe was by Colonel *Trevor* with his Army a little before defeated. The Lord Lieutenant being thus ſtrengthned, determined with the whole or the greateſt part of his Army to march before *Dublin*, and came before the middle of *June*, to a Village called *Finglas*, about

two

1649 two Miles distant from it on the North-side of the River.

Dublin besieged by the Marquis of *Ormond.*

Colonel *Michael Jones* was Governour of this City of *Dublin*, a man of Courage, but bred to the Laws; and as he was a person of great Capacity, (by the experience he had gained in the active Wars of *Ireland*) he acquired a very good knowledge and Conduct in matters of War. The Lord Lieutenant attempted by all fair means he could to gain him to a compliance with the Kings affairs, but could not effect it. After a day or two, skirmishes were very frequent between the *Dublin* Horse, and those of the Army; in which those of the City alwayes prevailed, whereby they were much encouraged, and in one of those skirmishes Sir *Walter Dungar* a valiant Commander of the Army was taken prisoner, whilest they lay at *Finglas:* but the Lord Lieutenant perceiving the station of the Army, as it then lay, inconvenient for a close siege, drew it over the River (which was every where fordable above the Bridge) to a place called *Ramines*, and whilest he lay there, it was resolved at a Council of War to raise some Fortifications at a place called *Baggetrath*, near the Colledge of *Dublin* (where there was an old Castle moted) thereby to prevent any relief to the besieged by Sea. This design much alarm'd those in the City, and the Governour was resolved to do what he could to hinder the Fortification, and for that purpose he resolved to give Orders for some Companies to sally out to beat them from the place. The Garrison had been reinforced a little before with a Regiment of Horse under Colonel *Reynolds*, and two Regiments of Foot under the Colonels *Venables* and *Hunks*, and many other parties of Horse and Foot from the Garrisons that surrendred in several parts of the Realm, which additional Forces were to the number in all of Three thousand or thereabouts; besides that, with those from *England*, good store of provisions of all sorts were put into the City, so that the Souldiers were in good heart; the Governour was very private in his design of the sally, which was in this manner perform'd.

The night before he appointed all the Horse and Foot, except such as were employed on the necessary Guards, (which were to the number of 5000.) to be drawn together very early in the morning in the Colledge-Green and Grounds adjacent, within the Works, without sound of Trumpet, or beat of Drum, and with their Colours and Arms trailed; and the Ports were not to be opened till the Forces were all at their Rendezvouz, and Centinels were set all along the Line to prevent the going over of any to give intelligence. After all things were thus set in order, about eight in the Morning, the Forlorn-Hope march'd out to *Baggetrath*, consisting of an Hundred Fire-locks, and after these a party of Horse followed, commanded by Colonel *Theophilus Jones* (the Governours Brother) and Major *Meredeth*, and all the rest of the Troops and Companies went after as fast as they could march with Order and convenience. There was a Ditch made cross the High-way betwixt the Town and the Castle to interrupt the passage to it, which was guarded by a party of Souldiers, but these were presently dispersed by the Forlorn-Hope of Fire-locks, who march'd immediately up to the Castle, and took it by Storm, putting all that were in it to the sword. Encouraged by this success, and some more force being come up, they advanced towards the main Camp, betwixt which and the Castle at *Baggetrath*, they were met with by Sir *William Vaughan* with a party of Horse, who made some considerable resistance (and indeed all that was made;) but he was slain, and all his party routed; and from thence they followed on to the main Camp, which was by this time in so much confusion, that they made no resistance, but were discomfited, notwithstanding that the Forces from *Dublin* march'd only in single Troops and Companies, having not time to draw together in Battalia. My Lord Lieutenant endeavoured to make a stand, but being not able to prevail, he with most of the Horse retreated, and march'd off; some of the Foot that were got within the Walls of *Ramines*, made Conditions for their lives, and had Quarter. 1649

The Siege raised by *Jones*, with the utter defeat of the Marquises Army.

This easie Victory was much admired, but the occasion thereof was said to proceed from the great animosities amongst the *English* and *Irish* in the Lieutenants Army, whereby ensued a manifest carelesness and indifferency amongst many of them; and partly by a consternation among the Common Souldiers. Moreover, *Inchiquin* march'd from them, a Fortnight after they came before the place with a great Body of the *English* to secure the Province of *Munster*, where *Cromwell* (lately made Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the Parliament) was designed to land with his Army consisting of seven Regiments of Foot, and four of Horse, and one of Dragoons.

Cromwell Lieutenant of *Ireland* for the Parliament sent thither with an Army.

About the time that this happened, or shortly after, in the like manner Sir *Robert Steward* and Colonel *Mervin* were beaten from the siege of *London-Derry*, by a resolute sally out of the Town made by Sir *Charles Coot* the Governour thereof for the Parliament. Upon the News of this good Fortune in *Ireland*, *Cromwell* with his Son-in-law *Ireton*, (next to him in Chief Command of the *Irish* Army) altered their purpose of landing in *Munster*, and with all imaginable haste transported their Forces to *Dublin*, near to which City in a short time after the Victory they landed; and after a little stay to refresh the Souldiers, *Cromwell* marched the Army to the Town of *Drogedah*, which a little after the defeat near *Dublin*, had been strengthened with an addition of Five and twenty hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horse, with many stout and resolute Officers, Sir *Arthur Aston*, heretofore Governour of *Reading* and *Oxford* for the late King, was Governour of the place, a person in whose Courage and Conduct great confidence was plac'd. As soon as *Cromwell* came in sight of the Town, he sent a Summons, which being refused, he immediately began his approaches, and was very active at the Siege, making many furious onsets on the Town, with great lots to his Army; but at last he carried it by storm, and to strike a terror in the other Towns, and the rest of the Forces that held for the King, all that were found in Arms were put to the sword; amongst which the Governour himself and

The Siege of *London-derry*, raised by Sir *Charles Coot* sallying out of the Town.

Cromwell takes *Drogedah* by storm, and puts all in it to the Sword.

1649 and Sir *Edmund Varney*, and the Colonels *Warren*, *Tempest*, and *Finglass*, with many other Commanders of note were slain, and though the Orders of *Cromwell* were limitted to such as were in Arms, yet the rage of the Souldiers was so great, that many of the Inhabitants were slain in the heat of the Fight, without respect to either Age, Sex, or Condition.

Ireland subdued to the Parliament.

After the taking of *Drogedah*, in less than a year, most of the Cities and Towns in *Ireland* were taken, and that whole Kingdom in a manner subdued to the power of the Commonwealth of *England*, and the Marquess of *Ormond*, and all those that opposed their Authority were withdrawn.

The King removes from *France* to the Isle of *Jersey*.

The King with the Duke of *York* about the beginning of *September* repaired to the *Isle of Jersey*, where in a few days they safely landed with about three hundred persons in their Retinue. Upon his first arrival he was very solemnly proclaimed King, and after he had settled the Affairs of that *Island*, he had an eye upon the reducing the *Island* of *Guernsey*, which was then under the Parliaments power; but *Castle Cornet* the chiefest Fort thereof, was under his Authority.

A very gracious Declaration after several insinuations was sent into the Island, but it proved ineffectual, for *Russel* the Governour for the English Commonwealth, had got five hundred fresh men into it; and with as bad success Sir *John Berkley*, Colonel *Slingsbey*, and some others attempted to raise Forces for the King in the Western parts, from whence Intelligence came to *Jersey*, that *Dartmouth* and several other places would be put into their hands, and a part of the Army joyn with them; but the watchfulness of their Adversaries prevented all these designs, and Sir *John* and the Colonel as they lay privately in Sir *Charles Trevannions* House in *Cornwall*, were by a Countrey Fellow discovered to the Committees of that County, and by their Command apprehended, and sent Prisoners to *Truro*.

Sir *John Berkley* & Colonel *Slingsbey* apprehended in *Cornwall*.

Mr. *Windram* sent with a Message to the King at *Jersey* from the Estates of *Scotland*.

During these transactions, the Committee of Estates of *Scotland* had been convened at St. *Johnstons*, and sate some time, where they resolved upon a Message to be sent to *Jersey* to the King, in preparation to a Treaty to be had at *Breda*; for they were unwilling (in regard of the distance and hazard of the way) to Treat in that Island; Mr. *George Windram* of *Liberton* was on the twenty fifth day of *September* dispatched with an Express to him on this Errand; but so long was he on his Journey, and the King not advised of his coming, that he became very doubtful of their Counsels in *Scotland*, and had given the Marquess of *Montross* a Commission to make some Levies of men to land in that Kingdom, with Orders to draw together his Friends, hoping thereby the Committee of Estates would be induced the sooner, and with more moderation to a Treaty with him.

Mr. *Windram* landed not at *Jersey* in many weeks after his departure from *Scotland*, but when he came thither, the King received him very well. The substance of his Message was:

That the King would be pleased to acknowledge for lawful their Parliament, and particularly the two last Sessions of that Assembly, which being obtained, they offered to Treat of the means to re-establish Peace and Obedience to his Authority in that Kingdom.

1649 The substance of *Windram's* Message to the King.

This Overture admitted of great Debate in the Kings Council, for as yet the desperate condition of his Affairs in *Ireland*, and other Parts was not known to him; some that had no good opinion of the *Scots*, from their experience of their Dealing with the late King, expected very small fruits of a Treaty with them, and rather advised to rely upon the endeavours of *Montross*, and the other Confederates; but others reasoned, That these in *Scotland* now in Power being the most prevalent Party of that Kingdom, and having with them the conjunction of the Kirk (by which the people of *Scotland* are alwayes much influenced) were more likely to assist him in the obtaining the Crown of *England* (if he agreed with them) than any others, whose Designs were full of hazard and uncertainty.

The result was, that Mr. *Windram* should return into *Scotland* with a Letter to the Committee of Estates, in the words following:

CHARLES R.

The King's Letter to the Committee of Estates in *Scotland*.

We have received your Letters lately presented unto Us by Mr. Windram *of* Liberton, *and We accept graciously all the Expressions of Affection and Fidelity therein contained towards Us, with your tender resentment of Our present Condition, and the just indignation which you profess to have against the execrable Murther of our Father: and we believe that your intentions are as full of Candor towards us, as we are, and always really have been desirous to settle a clear and right intelligence between us and our Subjects of our ancient Kingdom of* Scotland, *which may be an assured foundation of their happiness and peace for the time to come, and an effectual means to root out all the seeds of Animosities and Divisions caused by these late Troubles, and also to re-unite the Hearts and Affections of our Subjects one to another, and of them all to Us their King and lawful Soveraign; to the end that by their obedience to our Royal and Just Authority, we may be put into a condition to maintain them in Peace and Prosperity, and to protect them in their Religion and Liberty, as it appertains to Us, according to our Charge and Office of a King. And as we have always resolved to contribute whatever is to be done by Us to obtain these good effects, and for the just satisfaction of all our Subjects in this Kingdom, We have now thought fit upon the return of* Mr. Windram; *to Command and desire you, to send unto us Commissioners sufficiently Authorized, to Treat and agree with us, both in relation to the Interest and just satisfaction of our Subjects there: as also concerning the aid and assistance, which in reason we may expect from them, to bring and reduce the Murtherers of our late most dear Father of happy Memory, to condign punishment, and to recover our just Rights in all our Kingdoms. And we will that they attend Us on the Fifteenth day of the moneth of* March, *at the Town of* Breda, *where We intend to be in order thereunto. And in confidence of a Treaty, as also to make known to you, and to all the World, that We desire to be agreed; We have resolved to address these unto you, under*

1649 *the Name and Title of a Committee of Eſtates of our Kingdom of* Scotland; *and will and expect that you uſe this Grace no otherwiſe for any advantage to the prejudice of Us, or Our Affairs, beyond what We have given this Qualification and Title for, namely, only for the Treaty, and in order to it; although We have conſideration ſufficient, and very important to diſſwade, and oblige us to do nothing in this kind antecedently at this time. Alſo We hope the confidence which We declare to have in your clear and candid intentions towards Us will furniſh you with ſtrong Arguments to form in your ſelves a mutual confidence in Us, which by the bleſſing of God Almighty, by your juſt and prudent moderation, and by that greateſt deſire that We have to oblige all Our Subjects of that Kingdom, and by the means of the Treaty which We attend and hope for, may be a good foundation of a full and happy peace, and an aſſured ſecurity to this Nation for the time to come, which We aſſure you is wiſhed of Us with paſſion, and We ſhall endeavour by all means in Our power to effect.*

To the ſame effect alſo was a Letter to the Committee of the Kirk.

Montroſs ſollicits foreign Princes to ſend the King Aid.

Montroſs in the mean time was very buſie, ſolliciting the King of *Denmark*, the Queen of *Sweden*, and other Princes for Money, Arms, and Men to be imployed in the Kings ſervice, but yet he was ſo generous, as to write to the King, *To make an Agreement with the Eſtates of* Scotland, *ſo that he might be honourably and with ſafety reſtored to his Rights and Dignities, and rather than break off with them, to give conſent to have him baniſhed the Kingdom, that ſo he might receive no prejudice for his conſideration.*

The King informs *Montroſs* of what had paſſed between him and the Eſtates in order to a Treaty.

But the King would by no means yield to his requeſts herein, declaring that he had found him ſo faithful all along, and to have performed ſuch eminent Services, both to his Father and to himſelf, that he could not in Juſtice or in Honour leave him. And by a Letter which he ſent to him on the thirtieth of *January*, he gave him a full account of the Addreſs to him from *Scotland*, and the progreſs made towards the Treaty according to the tenour of his Letters by *Windram*, wherein he informed him,

That he licenſed the Authority of the Committee of Eſtates for this Treaty only, and that both for their own proper ſatisfaction, and to make known to all the World, that he deſired to bring back his Subjects to their Duty rather by way of Sweetneſs and Amity, than by the rigour of Arms (if their obſtinacy and the injuſtice of their Demands ſhould conſtrain him to recover it by force) adding nevertheleſs, that he gave him full power to proceed very vigorouſly in his Enterprizes, not doubting but all his loyal Subjects of Scotland *would join themſelves with him, and by that means thoſe that were otherwiſe diſpoſed would ſubmit themſelves to Reaſon in the Treaty which he now accepted, or ſhould be forced to it by Arms.*

The Parliament forces the King to leave *Jerſey* and go into *France.*

The Parliament of *England*, not willing to let the King be in quiet in *Jerſey*, ſent a conſiderable part of the Engliſh Fleet at *Portſmouth*, with ſtore of Proviſion in order to the attacquing of that Iſland, which put the King upon a ſpeedy remove from thence to *France*; where he reſided till the time appointed for the Treaty at *Breda*, drew near, and then he repaired thither. 1649

Sir *John Windram* made all the haſte he could to *Scotland*, and as ſoon as the Committee of Eſtates and Aſſembly of the Kirk, who ſate apart, were met, he delivered his Meſſage and Letters to them from the King.

The Committee of Eſtates upon peruſing the Letter, choſe out of themſelves a ſub-Committee of nine Lords and Burgeſſes, to conſider what was moſt expedient to be done therein, and to preſent their opinions thereupon to the Committee of Eſtates, which was done; and thereupon they prepared a ſtate of the Matter, and reported it to the Parliament at their firſt Meeting, which was in a while after; and the Parliament upon that Report choſe a Committee of the Eſtates to meet with a Committee of the Kirk to conſider of all Matters in order to the Treaty, and to nominate Commiſſioners for it, where after ſome Conſultations, a Report was agreed on to be made by one part to the Committee of Eſtates, and by the other to the Aſſembly of the Kirk; and immediately the Commiſſioners were choſen. Thoſe for the Eſtates were the Earls of *Caſſels* and *Lothian*, and the Lord *Burley*, and Sir *John Windram* of *Liberton*; and thoſe from the Kirk were Mr. *John Leviſton*, Mr. *James Wood*, and Mr. *Brody*, who were with all convenient haſte diſpatched to *Breda*, where they arrived a day before the King, and the next day after they went to meet him at *Bergben op Zoom*, and they came thence together to *Breda* on the ſixteenth day of *March*, where the Commiſſioners, after two or three days of reſt to compoſe themſelves, and receive their Viſits from their Friends, were conducted to their firſt Audience in the Preſence-Chamber by my Lord *Weſtworth*, Captain of the Kings Guards, who was ſent with the Kings Coach to receive them. The Earl of *Caſſels* addreſſed himſelf to the King in the name of the Commiſſioners of Parliament in a ſhort Speech to this effect. 1649

The Commiſſioners to treat with the King at *Breda.*

The Earl of *Caſſels* Speech to the King in behalf of the Commiſſioners of Parliament.

" That the Kingdom of *Scotland* upon his late " Meſſage, together with the conſideration of all " former Overtures with him, have now again " ſent to him theſe Propoſitions, which they hum- " bly tender to his Majeſty; not that they have " thought to force him to a Compliance, through " his Neceſſity, to his prejudice, or weary him by " Importunities; but by making their humble " ſubmiſſion, in which their deſires, they hope, " will appear ſo reaſonable and juſt, that he will " ſoon condeſcend unto them, which they hum- " bly beg at his Hands. Aſſuring him, that by " that means he will be moſt powerfull in the ad- " vancing and eſtabliſhing his Throne; it being " the nature of his Loyal Subjects, and all truly " Noble Minds to be ſooneſt overcome with ſuch " allurements. That in theſe humble Addreſſes " they did manifeſt to the World their Loyalty " and Conſtancy to him, neither was it their pur- " poſe to flatter, but to be faithful and free; that " if he would pleaſe to condeſcend to what was " propounded by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, it " would make him happy, and give them ſome " hopes to live at peace, under the ſhadow of the " wings of his Government.

And

1649 Mr. *Levisse's* Speech for those of the Kirk.

And assoon as he had ended, the Commissioners of the Kirk having presented themselves to him, Mr. *John Levisson* made a Speech, wherein, *He prest His Majesty to hearken to the joynt desires of the Estates and Kirk of* Scotland, *that so he might enjoy the Blessing of God, and be received by his People in comfort and peace to promote the work of the Lord, and make them happy.*

After these Speeches, they produced their Commissions, and delivered their Letters, together with the Propositions from the Estates and Kirk of *Scotland*.

The Propositions were immediately read, which were as followeth;

Propositions from the Estates and Kirk of *Scotland* to the King.

1. "That all those who have been and continue excommunicate by the Kirk of *Scotland*, "may be removed from having any access to the "Court.

2. "That he would be pleased to declare, that he "would by solemn Oath under his Hand and Seal, "allow the National Covenant of *Scotland*, and "the solemn League and Covenant of *Scotland*, "*England* and *Ireland*, and that he would pro"secute the ends thereof in his Royal Station.

3. "That he would ratifie and approve all Acts "of Parliament, enjoyning the solemn League "and Covenant, and establishing Presbyterian "Government, the Directory of Worship, the "Confession of Faith and Catechism in the King"dom of *Scotland*, as they are already approved "by the general Assembly of the Kirk, and by "the Parliament of that Kingdom. And that he "would give his Royal Assent to the Acts of "Parliament, enjoyning the same in the rest of "his Dominions; and that he would observe "the same in his own Practise and Family, and "never make opposition therein, or endeavour "any change thereof.

4. "That he would consent and agree, That "all matters civil might be determined by the "present and subsequent Parliaments of the "Kingdom of *Scotland*, and all matters Ecclesi"astical, by the ensuing general Assemblies of "the Kirk, as was formerly condescended and "agreed to by his late Father. After the King had "heard them, he demanded whether these Papers "they had delivered to him, contained all parti"culars which they had to propound or desire; "whether they had power to recede from any "particular proposed, or to be proposed, also if "they had any thing to offer for the carrying on "of his service against *England*.

To which they answered, *That they had acquainted him with the utmost of their Power and Instructions.*

A few days after, the Treaty began, wherein the King found many difficulties in every Article; for though that which related to the prohibiting all whom the Kirk had excommunicated from access to the Court, would deprive him of the service and attendance of the Earl of *Montross*, and many other of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom, he thought not fit to break with them for that, not doubting when he should have obtained the Kingdom he might by degrees make them sensible of their mistaken zeal in their acting towards such persons, and win them to a relaction of their rigour of that injunction; But that which most prest him, was the cause of Religion expressed in the severity of those Propositions which were required of him by solemn Oath under his Hand and Seal to allow the Covenant, and to establish the Presbyterian Government, wherein they insisted so much as to deny him the use of the Liturgie to his own person; The King urged, *That there was no reason why he should relinquish the Religion for which his Father had died a Martyr, and that whilst he was willing to permit to his Subjects Liberty of Conscience, it would be very inconsistent with their so earnestly pretended desires of Peace and Agreement, to deny him the same Priviledge which he was so ready to give them. That the Covenant by them tendred, is the Subjects Covenant to bind them to him, and not for him to take, to swear to himself, so that he thought it sufficient to pass an Act for his People to take it. He likewise offered to confirm the Presbyterian Government in* Scotland; *provided that he himself might have always three Chaplains with him of his own Election.*

1649

During this Treaty, the Earl of *Cantworth* and Mr. *Murray* arrived at *Breda* with new instructions to the Commissioners concerning the Militia, which put a further demur to the conclusion of it; and indeed it was said, The King was willing to admit of a little delay in expectation of what he might obtain from the endeavours of the Marquess of *Montross*, who was after many discouragements (of which some mention shall be hereafter made) about this time embarqued for *Scotland*, and about the midst of *April* landed in the *Isles of Orkney*, accompanied with the Lord *Trendraught*, the Master of *Pitsfodder*, Sir *John Urry*, *Henry Graham* (his natural Brother,) Colonel *Johnson*, *George Drummond* of *Ballach*, and other persons his Friends and Confederates, with two Ships and a small Frigat of 14 Guns, 1500 Arms, and 500 *German* Souldiers; Colonel *King* had promised to come up to him with some Horse from *Sweden*, but did not do it; Colonel *Ogleby*, and Colonel *Cockain*, who were trusted with certain sums of Money for the raising of men and arms, (the one in *Amsterdam*, and the other in *Poland*) fail'd in their duty, and converted the money to their own use; and two of four Ships which he had, (wherein were about 200 *German* Souldiers, and many Implements of War) were cast away upon the Rocks a little before his landing; but these disasters which might have shaken a great resolution, abated nothing of his Courage and Magnanimity.

1650 The Earl of *Cantworth* and Mr. *Murray* arrive at *Breda*, with further instructions to the *Scots* Commissioners. *Montross* lands with Forces in *Scotland*.

The Estates of *Scotland* had no Forces in any of these Islands, whereby he had a good opportunity to raise men to form a little Army for his landing on the Main: the people were raw and undisciplin'd, much fallen from that Courage for which the ancient Inhabitants of these Isles have been fam'd; but nevertheless, he was forc'd to make as good a shift as he could with them; and whilst he was busied here in his Levies, the Laird of *Pluscardy* endeavoured to raise two thousand Men for his assistance in the Earl of *Seaforths* Territories.

1649 And now having got together as many Souldiers as he desired of this sort, hee left Colonel *Johnston* and *Henry Graham* to keep *Kirkwall* in *Pomona*, the chief Isle of the *Orcades*, and transplanted all the rest of his men to *Cathnes*, which is the utmost point of Land in the *Northwest* part of *Scotland*; here he hoped to meet *Plunkerdy*, with the two thousand men he promised to raise, but they came not; for the Parliament of *Scotland* was so vigilant, that they sent into most places where they thought he had any correspondence to prevent the getting men together for him; and very suddenly after the News of his arrival was known, an Army of seven thousand Foot, and thirty Troops of Horse was sent to oppose him. The Horse were commanded by *David Lesley*, and the Foot by Major General *Holborn*, of these they sent three hundred in the Van under the command of Colonel *Straughan* consisting of his own Troop, and three Troops more commanded by Colonel *Montgomery*, Colonel *Ker*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Hacket*, and indeed there needed no other Army; for all that *Montross* was able to do at that time towards the strengthning himself, was little or nothing more than the taking of *Dunbeth-House*, which was soon surrendred to Colonel *Urry* upon demand, the Lord thereof being fled to *Edenburgh*: The Earl of *Sunderland* was a sore *Remora* in his way; for though he had not force enough to encounter the Marquess, yet the power and sway he bore in all those adjacent parts about where *Montross* had to do, both kept back the Countrey from coming in to him, and hindred several of the Gentry from appearing, who otherwise were inclinable enough to have given their assistance; so that *Straughan* surprising the *Montrossians* with the speed and unexpectedness of his appearance, and finding them much disorder'd and tir'd with seeking to recover a certain Pass, (which they fail'd of obtaining,) improved his advantage, and after some repulse at first, redoubled with such fury upon them, that the unseason'd *Orkney* men immediately yielded themselves, and in a short time (though not without much resolution shewn in their resistance) the *Germans* also. Thus was *Montross* his vigorous and loyal undertaking for his Soveraigns service, the labour of much time, and carried on with incredible pains, difficulty and danger, dissipated in a moment by a Party far inferior in number, and doubtless no whit superior in skilful and valiant Leaders (not to mention *Montross*, who was accounted, and worthily, the greatest Captain of his Age:) such was the misfortune of this at least bravely attempted enterprize, occasioned chiefly from the great disadvantage wherein *Montross* his men were set upon; and their necessities and despair of succours and supplyes in a Countrey surrounded with Enemies, or perhaps from a kind of surprisal or pannick fear among the generality of the Common Souldiers, upon an apprehension that *Lesley*'s great Army had been come up against them: However it were, so great was the defeat, that of the whole Body of the *Montrossians* who engaged in this Battel, there escaped not above an hundred from being either taken or slain: Among the prisoners were Sir *John Urry*, Major General of *Montross* his Army, the Lord *Fendraught*, Sir *Francis Hay* of *Dalgetie*, Colonel *Hay* of *Newghton*, Colonel *Grey*, Lieutenant Colonel *Stuart*, with other considerable Officers: *Montross* himself made a shift to escape for the present, by quitting his Horse, together with his Belt and his Coat with the Star, and shifting himself into an ordinary *Highlanders* Apparel. In this Fight the Royal Standard was taken, upon which was portraicted the Head of the late King lying a bleeding, and severed from the Body, and this following Motto, *Judge and revenge my Cause, O Lord.* And the Lord *Pitsodder*'s Son who was Standard-bearer was slain, Colonel *Straughan* received a shot upon his Belly, but in regard it lighted upon the double of his Belt and Buff-Coat, he had no harm thereby. 1649

Montross defeated by *Straughan*

So welcome was the News of this Victory to the State and Kirk of *Scotland*, that they bestowed as a reward upon *Straughan* a thousand pounds *Sterling*, and a Chain of Gold: upon Lieutenant Colonel *Hacket* a thousand Mark *Sterling*. But that which crowned this Victory to them with the highest joy and satisfaction, was the getting of *Montross* his person into their Power: as indeed it was impossible for him to make his escape, so narrowly was he way-laid all the Countrey round, and so strict a search and enquiry was ordered to be sent after him, besides a large reward promised to whomsoever should be his apprehender: yet for the space of three or four dayes he kept himself undiscovered, by wandring up and down in the open Fields with one Associate only in his misery, till being very near famished with hunger, it was his fortune in the end to fall into the hands of the Laird of *Aston*, a person who had formerly adhered to the Marquess, and had been befriended by him, and of whom upon that consideration, he doubtless hoped for the favour of not being discoverd by him, if not of assistance towards his concealment: But *Aston*, for fear of what he must have suffered if he had been known to have concealed him, or for want of opportunity, in regard of his Followers that attended him, or setting his thoughts upon the proposed reward (as the regard of gain, for the most part outballances that of friendship) was not to be perswaded or induced by any respect of old Friendship or Relation to suffer him to escape; so that being seized and secured by a strong Guard, (and having in vain supplicated for death by the hands of those that took him) he was presently sent and delivered up to the Custody of *David Lesley*, and by him hurried away with all speed to *Edenburgh*, much insulted over in the several places he came through, onely the people of *Dundee*, (though none more endamaged by his Souldiers in the former War) were very civil to him, furnish'd him with all things necessary, and were so far from insulting, that they very much commiserated his condition: the chief favour he obtained in his journey, was the permission to call in, as he came along, at the house of his Father-in-law, the Earl of *Southesk*, to see two Children of his that were there. At *Leith* he was met by the Magistrates of *Edenburgh* in a kind of fatal pomp; and as it were to welcome him to the satisfaction of their revenge, he had the reproachful Honour, while the rest of the Prisoners went by him on foot, to be mounted on a Cart-horse (for the better advantage of exposing him to the gazing and scorn of the people: till

He is taken Prisoner.

Brought to *Edenburgh*.

1649

1650 till he came to the end of the *Canon-Gate-Street*, where the Executioner in his Livery-Coat, and ſeveral other Officers, attended with a Cart, having a high Chair placed in it like a *ſella Curulis*, wherein (though he himſelf the Captive faſt bound and bare-headed, while the Executioner had his Bonnet on) he rode as in a Triumphal Chariot, the diſgrace which his Enemies intended him, turning to his Honour, by repreſenting the Heroick Magnanimity of his Nature, which could not chuſe but triumph in the midſt of Captivity. In this manner reproached of many, (as it is uſual when men are in adverſity) pitied of others, even ſome of them who were engaged in the general enmity againſt his deſigns, whom yet the Majeſty of his preſence, and the undiſturbed patience and conſtancy wherewith he demeaned himſelf, melted into a ſenſibility of the miſery of his condition. He was conveyed to the *Tolbooth* the place of his Impriſonment, where the next day being *Sunday* the nineteenth of *May*, he received new matter for the tryal of his patience, by the troubleſome viſits of divers of the Miniſtery and Parliament, who, while they began to perſecute him with their pretended Exhortations, which ſerved but to aggravate the ſenſe of his affliction, he told them, that whereas they thought they had affronted him the day before by carrying him in a Cart, he eſteemed it the moſt Honourable and joyful Cavalcade that ever he made; God having all the while moſt comfortably manifeſted his preſence to him, and furniſhed him with reſolution to overlook the reproaches of men, and to behold him for whoſe Cauſe he ſuffered. The next day being ſummoned to appear before the Lords, Barons, and Burgeſſes aſſembled in Parliament, he came into the Houſe apparelled in a very rich ſuit, thick overlaid with coſtly Lace, and over it a Scarlet Rocket, and on his Head a Beaver Hat with a very rich Hat-band upon it, with Carnation Silk Stockings, Garters and Roſes, with other Habiliments ſuitable, all which he had cauſed to be made for him immediately upon his coming to *Edenburgh*, as if he had been going rather about ſome Feſtival than Tragical Affair. As ſoon as he was brought to the Barr of the Houſe, the Lord Chancellour (who according to the cuſtome of that Kingdom is alwayes Speaker) told him firſt, That he muſt kneel at the Barr. Whereunto he anſwered, *My Lord, I ſhall with all my heart obſerve any poſture you ſhall appoint me to appear before you in, wherehy I may manifeſt to you, that I freely ſubmit to the Authority of Parliament, and to this preſent Parliament in a more eſpecial manner, becauſe you have concluded ſo near a conjunction with his preſent Majeſty my Maſter in the late Treaty.* Then the Chancellour made a Speech to him, the ſubſtance whereof was this.

Montroſs is brought to his Tryal in Parliament.

SIR,

The Lord Chancellours Speech to him.

I am commanded to mind you of the laſt judgement of God befallen you for your perfidious breaking of the Covenant, which might juſtly provoke God thus to divert your Counſels and Affairs, for having been ſo eminent an Author and Actor of miſchief againſt this Nation; you abandoned the Covenant, and deſpiſed the Oath of God, and did invade your Native Country, and with moſt inhumane and barbarous cruelty did burn and waſte di- 1650
vers parts thereof, and have ſpilt much Blood of his Majeſties good Subjects, taking advantage of that time, when the prime Commanders and Forces thereof were employed elſewhere. For theſe Crimes you were excommunicated by the Church, and forfaulted by the Parliament of this Kingdom, and yet ſtill continued in the higheſt contempt againſt God, under that fearful Sentence of Excommunication: and to this day have you remained without the ſmalleſt ſhew of Repentance. And God by his Providence hath now juſtly brought you hither to receive the Sentence of your Condemnation.

Hereupon *Montroſs* humbly deſiring to know of his Lordſhip, whether it were the Parliaments pleaſure that he might be permitted to ſpeak what he had to ſay for himſelf, and humbly craving that liberty from them, he was told by the Chancellour, that the Eſtates in Parliament did give him free liberty to ſpeak what he could ſay for himſelf. Then *Montroſs*.

My Lord, *ſaid he*,

"I am glad that I may have liberty to anſwer for my ſelf, though I am here your Priſoner, yet my Cauſe is good, nor is there any breach of the *Covenant* on my part, in which I ſwore to be true to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors. Concerning what I have acted in relation to the Wars and Affairs of this Kingdom, I had not only a general Commiſſion, but particular Orders for what I have done from His Majeſty, which I was engaged to obey by the ſaid *Covenant*. And concerning my coming over now, I was aſcertained that you had profeſſed to comply with his Majeſty in the preſent Affairs, in which he hath employed me; and upon that account it was that I have acted. I deſire to refer my ſelf, and do ſubmit unto this preſent Parliament, and the Authority thereof, to be my Judges in this caſe, whom I own as a true Parliament by Authority from his Majeſty, and I ſhall be content, however it ſhall pleaſe God to deal with me. As for my life, if you take it away by this Authority, it is well known unto all the world, that I regard it not: Death is a Debt which all owe, and muſt once be paid by every one: And I ſhall be willing and much rejoyce to go the ſame way which my Maſter went before me, and it is the joy of my heart not only to do, but alſo to ſuffer for him. His Anſwer.

Moreover, he added to this effect, "That he appeared before them with ſo much the greater reſpect and reverence, by reaſon of the agreement he heard they had made with his Majeſty, that he was never engaged in the League and Covenant, and therefore was not juſtly to be condemned for oppoſing it, ſince he was ſenſible of how ſad conſequence it had proved to theſe diſtreſſed Kingdoms, and the welfare of his late Majeſty, againſt whom thoſe that roſe up in Arms in *England* were plainly aſſiſted and upheld by a faction of this Kingdom: that as he had never been the occaſion of ſhedding Blood but in Battel, and by the neceſſity of War, ſo he had been ever careful to prevent all diſorders as much as could be, and to ſave as many lives as poſſibly lay in his power. That 1652

what

1650 "whatever he had acted formerly against them "to make a diversion of those Forces that were "going from thence against his late Majesty, was "meerly in obedience and zeal to his Majesties "service, at whose Command he as readily sub- "mitted to lay down his Arms and retreat, as he "had before chearfully taken them up in his Ma- "jesties defence. That as for his coming in at "that time, it was in order to the accelerating of "the Treaty betwixt his present Majesty and "them, to the end that his Majesty being not dri- "ven to rely wholly upon their assistance, might "be enabled to make the better Conditions with "them. That since he had done nothing but "what became a good Christian, a good Subject, "and a good Neighbour, he desired them not "to be rash and partial in their Judgement, but to "judge him according to the Laws of God, of "Nature, of Nations, and of the Land, as they "would answer the contrary to the righteous "Judge of the World.

After he had been thus examined and tried, he was commanded to withdraw; the Parliament were not very long debating the matter, ere they unanimously resolved to proceed to Sentence of Condemnation; which, (he being called in again) was denounced against him in this Form.

The Sentence pronounced against him by the Parliament.

You are to be carried back to the place from whence you came, and from thence you are to morrow, being the One and twentieth day of May, 1650. *to be carried to* Edenburgh-Cross, *and there to be hanged upon a Gallows thirty Foot high, for the space of three Hours, and then to be taken down, and your Head to be cut off upon the Scaffold, and hanged on* Edenburgh-Tolbooth, *and your Legs and Arms to be hanged up in other publick Towns in this Kingdom, and your Body to be buried at the place where you shall be executed, except the Kirk shall take off your Excommunication, then your Body shall be buried at the common place of Burial.*

After the denouncing of the Sentence, at which he altered not his countenance, or seemed in the least manner to be moved, he was again guarded back to Prison, where being again haunted and importuned by the Ministers, he expressed how much he was beholding to the Parliament for the honour they had put upon him; for that he accounted it a greater honour to have his Head stand upon the Prison-Gate for this Quarrel, than to have his Picture in the Kings Bed-Chamber; and lest his Loyalty should be forgotten, they had highly honoured him in designing lasting Monuments to four of the chiefest Cities to bear up his Memorial to all Posterity, wishing he had had Flesh enough to have sent a piece to every City in Christendome to witness his Loyalty to his King and Countrey.

He is brought to Execution and hanged upon a Gallows 30 Foot high.

The next day being the One and twentieth day of *May*, the day appointed for his Tragedy, he was led forth to his Execution, at which time, so winning was his deportment, and his Speeches so powerful, that they made a very great impression upon the Spirits of the people, insomuch as some who observed the passages of his Death, were of opinion, That he had drawn away more more from the Kirk-party by his manner of dying, than he could have vanquisht in the Field by force of Arms. 1650

Upon the Scaffold he delivered his mind to the people in this following Speech:

His Speech.

"I am sorry if this manner of my Death be "scandalous to any good Christian. Doth it not "often happen to the Righteous according to the "wayes of the Wicked, and to the Wicked ac- "cording to the ways of the Righteous? doth not "sometimes a just Man perish in his righte- "ousness, and a wicked Man prosper in his malice? "they who know me, should not disesteem me "for this; many greater than I have been dealt "with in this kind, yet I must not say, but that "all Gods Judgements are just; for my private "sins, I acknowledge this to be just with God, I "submit my self to him; but in regard of man, I "may say they are but Instruments: God forgive "them, I forgive them; they have oppressed the "Poor, and violently perverted Judgement and "Justice; but he that is higher than they, will "reward them. What I did in this Kingdom, "was in obedience to the most just Commands of "my Soveraign, for his defence in the day of his "distress against those that rose up against him. "I acknowledge nothing, but fear God, and ho- "nour the King, according to the Commandments "of God, and the Law of Nature and Nations; "and I have not sinned against Man, but against "God, and with him there is mercy, which is "the ground of my drawing near to him. It is "objected against me by many, even good peo- "ple, that I am under the Censure of the Church, "this is not my fault, since it is onely for doing "my duty, by obeying my Princes most just com- "mands, for Religion, his Person and Authority: "yet am I sorry they did excommunicate me, "and in that which is according to Gods Laws, "without wronging my Conscience or allegiance, "I desire to be relaxed; if they will not, I ap- "peal to God, who is the Righteous Judge of the "World, and who must and will, I hope be my "Judge and Saviour. It is spoken of me, that I "should blame the King, God forbid; for the "late King, he lived a Saint, and died a Martyr; "I pray God I may so end as he did: If ever I "should wish my Soul in another mans stead, it "should be in his. For His Majesty now living, "never people, I believe, might be more happy in "a King; his commands to me were most just, "in nothing that he promiseth will he fail, he "dealeth justly with all men, I pray God he be so "dealt withal, that he be not betrayed under trust "as his Father was. I desire not to be mistaken, "as if my carriage to you at this time, in relation "to your ways were stubborn; I do but follow "the light of my own Conscience, which is se- "conded by the working of the good Spirit of "God that is within me. I thank him, I go "to Heavens Throne with joy, if he enable me "against the fear of death, and furnish me with "courage and confidence to embrace it, even in "its most ugly shape, let God be glorified in my "end, though it were in my condemnation; yet "I say not this out of any fear or distrust, but out "of my duty to God, and love to his People. I "have no more to say, but that I desire your cha-

rity

1650 "rity and prayers. I ſhall pray for you all, I leave "my Soul to God, my Service to my Prince, my "Good will to my Friends, and my Name and "Charity to you all. And thus briefly I have "exonerated my Conſcience.

Having concluded his Speech, and afterwards with cloſed eyes and lifted up hands ſpent a good while in private, *In pouring forth his Soul to God, and recommending his Spirit into his Hands, who was pleaſed* (as he ſaid) *to give him a full aſſurance of his Mercy in Jeſus Chriſt.* He received from the Executioner a certain Cord, by which hung his Declaration and Hiſtory to hang about his neck; affirming, *That he thought not himſelf more honoured by the Garter, which honourable Order his preſent Majeſty had been pleaſed to confer upon him, than by that Cord and Book, which he would embrace about his Neck with as much Joy and content as ever he did the Garter, or a Chain of Gold*, adding, *that if they had any more Diſhonour* (as they conceived it) *to put upon him, he was ready to accept it.* And then preſently with a chearful reſignation, ſubmitted himſelf to the Execution of the Sentence.

Thus was this famous, but unfortunate man, ſacrificed to the revenge of his Enemies after a moſt ſhameful and deſpightful manner, even at that very time when they were treating with the King, whom they knew full well to have a very great regard and affection for him. Together with *Montroſs*, though not in ſo diſgraceful a way, were executed Sir *John Urry*, and Colonel *Spotſwood* Laird of *Darcy*, (who had both the Favour to be beheaded) with ſome others of Note that came with the Marqueſs into *Scotland*.

The Treaty was now near a concluſion; for whatever the Kings juſt reſentments were, his Council perſwaded him to comply and accord with the Kirk in the exigence of his preſent condition: and as for the Militia, he offered to confirm it in the Hands of the Eſtates for five years: but whilſt matters were in this neareſs of compoſure, news was brought of the defeat and execution of *Montroſs*, which much ſurpriſed the King, conſidering the time of doing it; and though he omitted not in an expreſs by Mr. *Murray* to manifeſt his great diſlike of the Action; (for he was much afflicted at it) yet he was prevail'd on with much regret not to urge it ſo far as to a rupture; He told them in his Letter,

The King's Letter to the *Scots* about their ſevere proceedings againſt *Montroſs* and others

'That he was very ſorrowful and grieved to 'hear a report which came to him by credible 'Perſons, that notwithſtanding thoſe hopeful over-'tures lately made between him and them, tend-'ing to their Peace: Yet that there hath been 'ſome Blood ſhed of his good Subjects of the 'Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that the manner and 'reſult thereof according to the report he had heard 'of it did very much trouble him; but that he 'might know the particulars more certainly, he 'deſired to underſtand the buſineſs fully from 'themſelves, of whom he required an account.

A while after, the Treaty being ended to the ſatisfaction of the Eſtates, They ſent a ſolemn Meſſage to invite him to *Scotland*, and in anſwer to what he writ about *Montroſs*, they beſought him *Not to ſtumble at it, aſſuring him that there was nothing in what they did, but to accompliſh its ends, and to ſerve his Intereſts to the beſt Advantage.* They likewiſe requeſted him, *To make all poſſible ſpeed in coming to them, proteſting they would with their Lives and Fortunes aſſiſt to eſtabliſh him in the Throne of his Kingdoms.*

1650 The Treaty at an end. A Meſſage of the *Scots* to invite the King, with their Anſwer to the King's Letter.

The rigorous Proſecution of *Montroſs* in that violent manner, was chiefly from the inſtigation of the Kirk, who at that time had great Authority, and did ſo much influence the People, that it was almoſt impoſſible to appeaſe the ſtorm they raiſed againſt him. He had been excommunicated long before, and in that Church, Excommunication is ſo terrible, that few will have any manner of converſation with a perſon excommunicated; and the generality of the people, when they ſee a man whom their Miniſters declare to be excluded from Heaven, are eaſily induced to think him unworthy to live on Earth. Many, if not the greater part of thoſe that purſued his life, were earneſt for the admiſſion of the King, but ſo much did their Zeal exceed their Diſcretion, and ſo ſtrongly were they intoxicated with the Covenant, and ſeduced by the Inventors and Aſſertors of it, that they believed neither their Laws nor Religion in ſafety whilſt he lived.

The King upon the Meſſage ſent to him, prepared for his journey to *Scotland*, and about the beginning of *June* took Shipping at *Schevelin* in *Holland*, and after a happy evaſion of double danger that threatned him in his Voyage, one from a ſuddain ſtorm which aroſe and caſt him upon certain *Dauiſh* Iſlands, (yet without any loſs or ſhipwrack, but on the other ſide much reſpect and civil uſage from the Inhabitants;) the other from a Fleet of Parliament-Veſſels, which were ſent out under *Popham* to intercept his paſſage, he landed ſafe at a place called the *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*. The Eſtates and Parliament of *Scotland* in the mean time employed their conſultations about the forming of an Army for the ſervice of the King, as they pretended, and an Act was publiſhed for the rating of every fourth man through the Kingdom, who was capable to bear Arms: The Earl of *Leven* was made General of the Foot, and *Holborn* Major General, *David Leſley* Lieutenant General of the Horſe, and *Montgomery* Major General. the ſupreme command of the whole Army being reſerved for the King himſelf, whom at his firſt Arrival they entertained with high Complements, and much Acclamation, and ſeemed to congratulate his coming with great demonſtrations of joy and affection: and on the fifteenth of *July* they again ſolemnly proclaim'd him King at *Edenburgh Croſs*, and had deſign'd (had not certain obſtacles come in the way) to have crowned him the following Month: but he had not been long among them, e're they began to diſcover their native Rigour, imperiouſly to take upon them according to their uſual manner of Kirk-Authority and Diſcipline, and to obtrude upon the King ſuch curbing conditions, as but very ill ſuited with Regal Dignity.

The King lands at the *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*.

He is proclaimed King at *Edenburgh* Croſs.

And

1650 And not long after when the City of *Aberdeen* presented him with Five hundred pounds *Sterling*, the Committee of Estates seemed displeased thereat; and left other Cities and Towns should in the like manner testifie their Duties to him, they declared, *That what Money or Plate any had a purpose to bestow on the King, should be brought into the Publick Treasury*; and in conformity to this dealing towards him, they proceeded to reform (as they called it) his Retinue, interdicting all whom they styled Malignants (which were most of his faithfullest Servants) from all imployment both about his person and in the Army.

The Commonwealth of *England* send an Army against *Scotland*

The Commonwealth of *England* had sufficient Intelligence from the beginning of all these Occurrences, and of the Engagement of the *Scots* to establish the King in the Thrones of all his Dominions, and that they might not be surprized by them, they drew many Troops and Regiments together, and formed an Army which they sent to the Borders of *Scotland*.

Fairfax, who was to command this Army, refused to accept the charge, notwithstanding that they offered him a Commission with larger power than that by which he had formerly commanded their Armies, excusing his refusal by reason of great indisposition of health occasioned by his wounds and other incommodities of the late War. Upon this, *Cromwell*, who was newly returned from *Ireland* (where he had been very victorious) had the Chief Command of the Army conferred upon him, which he (after some little formal shew of denial) accepted of, and about the later end of *June* he marched towards *Berwick* in order to his advance into *Scotland*. The *Scots* whilest this preparation was making, sent many expostulatory Letters to Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* then at *Newcastle*, urging the breach of *Covenant* and the *Union* between the two Nations, which availed nothing; yet they did not neglect the raising an Army for their defence, for matters were at this time grown to a greater height than to be decided by the Pen.

Cromwell is made General of the Parliaments Forces in stead of *Fairfax*.

The *Scots* raise an Army.

Cromwell upon repair to the Borders, published a Declaration in the name of the Parliament of *England* to justifie their proceedings in this manner towards the *Scots*, and to reproach a perverted part of them for that breach of the *Union* betwixt the two Nations, which they imputed to the English, (for they would not lay the blame of their imputations on the whole Nation) but so great was the affection of the generality of the people of *Scotland* towards the King, that this Declaration made little impression on them, though some privately kept intelligence with *Cromwell*, to the ruine of themselves and their Countrey.

About the end of *July* the English Army to the number of sixteen thousand effective, Officers and Souldiers, marched into *Scotland*, and came after little resistance (in the defence of some Passes) to *Mordington*; most of the *Scots* who inhabited the Borders had left their habitations, which put the Army into more streights for subsistance than they expected, but a Fleet of English Ships waited on their motions on the coasts of *Scotland*, yet *Cromwell* pretending to commiserate the condition of the Scotch people, set forth a Declaration, promising Protection of their persons and goods to all that would return to their Dwellings, with a strict prohibition on pain of death to any of the Souldiers to molest or do them any harm, or take from them any Victuals or other necessaries without full recompance in money for the same. 1650

From *Mordington* the *English* Army marched to *Haddington*, and the *Scotch* Army lay encamped betwixt *Edenburgh* and *Leith*, consisting of six thousand Horse and Dragoons, and fifteen thousand Foot; *Cromwell* marched from *Haddington*, and came in view of the *Scotch* Army, where he observed them to be too strongly entrenched to be forced, and after he had tac'd them a day and a night without being able to draw them from their entrenchments, he marched away towards *Musselburgh*: The *Scots* upon this retreat drew out all their Horse, and fell into the Rear of the *English* Army, which was commanded by *Lambert*, and made so brisk a Charge, that *Lambert* himself was wounded, and like to have been taken Prisoner, but *Cromwell* came to his relief, and drove them back to their Camp, not without some loss. The next day betwixt three and four in the morning fifteen Coronets of the *Scotch* Horse commanded by Major General *Montgomery* and Col. *Straughan*, came out of their Line with design to beat up the Quarters of the *English* about *Musselburgh*, they surprized the out-Guards, and routed the first Regiment that appeared to oppose them, and advanced to another Body, which was drawn together to succour the others; but there they met with so great resistance, that *Montgomery* was wounded, and the whole Party put to great disorder and confusion, and pursued to their Army, and the Camp had been in danger of surprizal, had not the King himself (appearing unexpectedly amongst them) opposed the hazard of his Person, and the Authority of his Name against their precipitated flight. Of the *Scots* in this Engagement seventy four were taken Prisoners and many slain, and *Straughan* himself was once taken, but got off again.

The *Scots* routed at *Musselburgh*.

The pretended Parliament at *Westminster* were no less active there than *Cromwell* was in *Scotland* to carry on the designs and interest of the Republique, proceeding with all imaginable rigour against all persons that they could discover in any manner acting against their tyrannous Usurpation. And about this time one Doctor *Levens*, a Doctor of the Civil Law being apprehended with some Commissions of the Kings, which he had intention to disperse for his Service, was therefore arraigned at a Court-Marshal, and condemned and executed by hanging by the neck till he died, on the thirteenth day of *July*, over against the *Royal Exchange* in *London*.

Dr. *Levens* hanged over against the *Royal Exchange* for his Loyalty.

But in further manifestation of their Impiety, they were not contented to have inhumanely murdered the King, and seized on, and disposed of all his Goods and Revenues, but they insulted over those Statues which his Vertues had caused to be set up in the *Royal Exchange*, and the West end of St. *Pauls* Church; the first of these they ridiculously (in imitation of their barbarous cruelty decollated, and Ordered it to be taken out of the Nich, and under the Basis thereof these words

The Kings Statues destroyed by Order of Parliament.

1650 words were written, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, Annoque Domini* 1648. which remained many years a teſtimony of their guilt, and a memorial to ſtrangers of their bold-fac'd Treaſon, which gave not only Truth, but even Time it ſelf the lye: for never was there ſuch a thing as the firſt year of the peoples Liberty under their Anarchical Uſurpation. The other Statue of the King being thrown from the place where it ſtood, fell upon its feet, which was then taken by many as a preſage that his glorious Memory, Fame, and Poſterity ſhould recover and continue, maugre all the deſigns and contrivements of his and their implacable Enemies.

In *Ireland* the Kings affairs proſpered very ill, inſomuch that in five or ſix weeks time the Parliamentarians had taken *Waterford*, *Duncannon*, *Caterloe* and *Charlemont*, and had great hopes of a plenary Conqueſt of that Country.

The Battle at Dunbar.

The Scotch and Engliſh Armies lying near one another without Engagement (becauſe of the advantageous poſture in which the Scots Troops were placed, having a great Hill for their ſecurity on one ſide, and a River and the City of *Edenburgh* on the other) *Cromwel's* Army began to be diſtreſſed by ſcarcity of proviſions, which made him retreat to *Pentland* Hills, and thence with ſome difficulty (by reaſon of bad weather) to *Muſſelburgh* to be near the Sea to have ſupply of Victuals from the Engliſh Fleet that attended him: and after a few days ſtay there, he marched to *Dunbar* on Sunday the firſt of *September* with intention to ſhip his Foot much wearied by ſickneſs and long marches, and march away with his Horſe into *England*; but the Scotch having intelligence thereof, preſſed ſo hard upon him with their Army that he could not effect his purpoſe; and the ſame day at night that he arrived at *Dunbar*, the Scots being cloſe at his Heels, drew up their whole Army (conſiſting of between twenty and four and twenty thouſand men) upon a high Hill, within a mile of the Town; the Engliſh exceeding not the number of twelve thouſand, drew out in Battalia in a Corn-field near adjoyning, having a neck of Land to encamp on, whoſe breadth was not a mile and a half from Sea to Sea. The next morning being the ſecond of *September*, early in the morning *David Leſly* Lieutenant General of the Scotch Army drew down his men to the Foot of the Hill, and about four in the afternoon his Train of Artillery followed to the ſide of a great Ditch, which divided the two Armies. The Engliſh that Evening ranged themſelves cloſe to the Ditch, and placed their Field-pieces in the moſt uſeful manner they could, to be ready to ſecure their Regiments, and annoy the Enemy if they ſhould aſſail them in the night, and finding the Paſs at *Copperſpath* between *Dunbar* and *Berwick* very neceſſary to them both for the ſecurity of their march homeward, and their more eaſie advance to the Scotch. On *Tueſday* at four in the morning they attempted with three Regiments of Horſe and two of Foot to poſſeſs themſelves thereof; this gave the Scots an hot Alarm, and a fierce diſpute hapned, ſo that both Armies became engaged. The Engliſh word was *The Lord of Hoſts*; Theirs, *The Covenant*.

The Scotch Right Wing of Horſe which were moſt of them Launceers, made a very bold charge and put the Engliſh Horſe to a little confuſion, but they immediately rallied, and were ſo ſeconded by their foot, that by ſix in the morning the Right Wing of the Scotch Horſe was routed, and the left without ſtriking a ſtroke ran away, and the Foot ſeeing this rout and flight of their horſe, and not able in any order by reaſon thereof to engage (without any reſiſtance) threw down their Arms and fled, giving the Engliſh the full purſuit of them eight miles beyond *Haddington*. The Scots were ſo preſumptuous the day before as to ſend to *Edenburgh* to aſſure their friends of a certain Victory over the Engliſh, and it was reported that ſome of the Miniſters declared it in their Sermons as the mind of God to have them delivered up into their hands; but in the midſt of this confidence they found themſelves miſerably fruſtrated, and their diſpairing and deſpied Enemy a Conqueror. The number of the Scotch ſlain in this Battel were reckoned to be four thouſand, and nine thouſand were taken Priſoners with all their Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, and ten thouſand Arms. The Officers and Priſoners of moſt note were Sir *James Lumſdale*, next Commander in Quality to *David Leſley*, the Laird of *Liberton*, Adjutant General *Bicherton*, Scout-Maſter-General *Campbel*, Sir *William Douglas*, and Colonel *Gourdon*, twelve Lieutenant-Colonels, ſix Majors, forty two Captains, ſeventy five Lieutenants, ſeventeen Cornets, two Quarter-maſters, an hundred and ten Enſign-bearers, and two hundred Horſe and Foot colours, with ſeven and twenty great Guns; and all this obtained with the loſs of not above three hundred Engliſh Souldiers, and one Officer (Major *Rooksby*) who ſurvived the Battel, but died afterwards of his wounds. 1650

The *Scotch* Army defeated by *Cromwell*

The Scots after this days loſs quitted *Leith* and *Edenburgh*, whereof the next day *Cromwell* took poſſeſſion, and the King retired to St. *Johnſtons*, where the Committee of Eſtates were aſſembled. The defeat of the Scotch Army produced not thoſe effects as the King expected upon the Ruling part of the Nobility and Clergy of the Kingdom; for inſtead of enlarging their intereſt, by taking into their conjunction thoſe whoſe help they had before rejected for their affection to their King, they aſcribed the overthrow of the Army to the admitting of him into *Scotland* before he had given full ſatisfaction to the Kirk in what they required of him; and in proſecution of theſe Counſels, they began very much to impoſe upon him, and remove from his perſon the moſt faithful and Loyal of his ſervants.

The King could not brook this inſolent carriage toward him, and therefore reſolved at any hazard to free himſelf from the trouble of it, and by advice of ſome few of his beſt and moſt truſty friends, he took Horſe one morning, with three of them in his company, pretending to ride out a little way a Hawking, and rode directly to the Lord *Dedups* houſe near *Dundee*, where he was receiv'd by ſome of his Loyal Subjects and Servants, with whom he kept intelligence, and from hence he intended to have gone further North, where he heard the Marquels of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Seaforth*, and the Lord *Ogleby* and *New-*

The King departs from St. *Johnſtons* in diſcontent.

1650 *Newburgh*, and Major General *Middleton*, with the *Gordons* and the men of *Atholl*, were ready to appear for him with no contemptible force, but he ſtaid till by an expreſs ſent to them he ſhould be inform'd of the certainty of their condition.

The Eſtates at St. *Johnſtons* ſend Major General *Montgomery* to fetch the King back.

This ſecret and ſudden departure of the King did much perplex the Committee of Eſtates, who were very apprehenſive of the conſequence of his joyning with the *Gordons* and the *Atholl* men, and hearing he was gone to the Lord *Dedups* Houſe, they reſolved to ſend Major General *Montgomery* with a party of Horſe to perſwade his return to them (many of the Chiefs of the Noblemen and Miniſters being by this time ſenſible that theſe breaches and diviſions would but give the Engliſh (then in the bowels of their Country) greater advantage againſt them, and that nothing could ſave the whole from ruine, but a general uniting of all parties under the King againſt the common Enemy.) *Montgomery* arriving at the Houſe, ſent in to the King to acquaint him that he came thither by order of the Committee of Eſtates, humbly to entreat him to come back to St. *Johnſtons*, and being admitted to his preſence, he fell at his feet, beſeeching him to forget what ever had been hitherto committed derogatory to his Royal Authority, aſſuring him that he ſhould hereafter be obſerved with all imaginable duty and reſpect. The King having heard this Meſſage, conſidered with his friends what to do thereupon, and though he could not eaſily forget the impoſitions and reſtraints he had ſo lately endured, being perſuaded by their advice, that his return might be a means to unite all intereſts to him; and being aſſured by *Montgomery* of the reality of thoſe at St. *Johnſtons* to his ſervice, he condeſcended to return with him thither, to the general joy of the moderate of all parties as well Covenanters as Royaliſts; yet he wanted not at the ſame time an aſſurance from the *Gordons* and the reſt in the North, to ſecure him againſt the Kirk and all their adherents that ſhould oppoſe his Authority.

The King returns back with *Montgomery* to St. *Johnſtons*.

A grand Coventi-on held at St. *Johnſtons*.

The Committee of Eſtates were much more compliant with the King at his return than before, and having ſummoned a general meeting to be held at St. *Johnſtons* conſiſting of the King, Lords, Barons and Burgeſſes, to conſult for the good of the Kirk, King and Kingdom; together with the Commiſſioners of the Kirk then at *Sterlin* to adjourn their ſitting thither; They applied themſelves to compoſe all differences amongſt diſſenters, of which the moſt formidable were, *Huntly*, *Middleton*, and thoſe in the North; but after a while, by the prudence of this aſſembly, and the good advice of the moderate Clergy, all was concluded; and the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Marqueſs of *Huntly*, and the Earls of *Lythgow*, *Lauderdale*, *Calendar*, and *Craford*, *Lyndſey*, and the Lords *Buchein*, *Dedup*, and *Middleton* of the Scots, with many other were received into favour and promiſe of imployment in the Army; and of the Engliſh, The Earl of *Cleveland*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and ſome few other Royaliſts were continued about the King; for before, none of that Nation but the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Maſſey*, *Graves* and *Titus*, were permitted near his Perſon.

Divers of the Royal Nobility received into the favour of this Aſſembly.

1650

Whilſt theſe matters were agitated betwixt the King and the Committee of Eſtates at St. *Johnſtons*, *Cromwell* was not idle, he had begun to fortifie *Leith*, and laid a cloſe ſiege to *Edenburgh Caſtle*, and on the fourteenth of *September* he marched to *Lithgow*, and from thence to *Falkirk* within a mile of *Sterlin*, (near which place the main of the Kings Army lay) and ſent a ſummons to the Town, but was reſolutely denied by the Governor; and he returned back to *Lithgow*, where General *Deane* came to him from *England* with recruits of men and ſupplies of all ſorts of proviſions: But ſince he could not effect any thing againſt *Sterlin*, he reſolved to ply what might be done in the Weſt of *Scotland*, and in *October* he marched to *Glaſcow*, upon intelligence that Major General *Montgomery* was ordered by the King to march into thoſe parts, to ſecure that County which was then wavering in their allegiance. In this expedition he hoped to prevail very much either by ſubduing *Ker* and *Straughan* (who lay in thoſe parts) to his power, or gaining them to his party; which was a deſign he had long before projected, and ſo far by his inſinuations proceeded in it, that Mr. *John Guthry* Mr. *Patrick Gilleſpy*, and Mr. *Rutherford* Miniſters, with many others of that order withdrew from the Aſſembly at St. *Johnſtons*, and in print remonſtrated in the name of themſelves and the Weſtern Churches *againſt the preſent proceedings, and the admiſſion of Malignants* (ſuch they call'd the Kings beſt Subjects) *to power and imployment*; And with theſe *Ker*, *Straughan*, the Laird of *Warreſton*, Sir *John Chriſly*, and Sir *James Stuart*, and others confederated.

The diſſatisfied Miniſters remonſtrate againſt the proceedings of the Eſtates at St. *Johnſtons*.

The Eſtates and Commiſſioners of the Kirk at St. *Johnſtons* reſented much this Remonſtrance and the defection of the Miniſters, but no means they could then uſe was of force to reconcile them; inſomuch, that the diviſion of publick Reſolutioners and Remonſtrators (for by thoſe names they were diſtinguiſhed) continued in that Kingdom with much animoſity till the year 1660. that the King was reſtored to the full exerciſe of his Authority, though the cauſe thereof (which was the joyning all intereſt to oppoſe the invaſion of a foreign Army) had long ceaſed, but by that occaſion *Cromwel's* Conqueſt was made very eaſie, and his fomenting that rent in their Church, made their ſubjection to his authority more laſting than otherwiſe it would have been.

The King was deſirous to compoſe this diſorder, or at leaſt to prevent the dividing ſo great a force as was under *Ker* and *Straughan* from his ſervice; and to that end, the Earl of *Caſſils* and the Lord *Broody*, and Mr. *Robert Douglaſs* the Miniſter, were ſent to treat with them; but they were ſomewhat averſe to a compoſure, yet they declared againſt any conjunction with *Cromwell*, profeſſing equally againſt Malignants and Sectaries: nevertheleſs, *Ker* upon information that *Straughan* held intelligence with *Cromwel*, was at length ſo far induced to comply, that he took him

1650 him Prisoner, and sent him to *Dunbarton Castle*, from whence he was afterwards removed to *Cathnes*; but after a while by the negligence or connivence of his Keepers he escaped to *Edenburgh* to the English.

Cromwel, whilst he was at *Gloscow*, had intelligence that the Kings Army intended to relieve *Edenburgh Castle*, which made him return thither, and leave Major Gen. *Lambert* with a good Brigade to make impression in the Western parts. He after some inquiry discovered a Ford over *Hamilton* River, over which on the last of *November* he marched his Souldiers; *Ker* had intelligence of this, and at a Town of that name, he resolutely fell into *Lamberts* quarters, but the English Horse had so soon the alarm, that they drew together, and so well received his Charge, that a hundred of the Scots were kill'd, and the rest routed and pursued as far as *Ayr*, and *Ker* himself (having his right hand almost cut off) was taken Prisoner.

Col. *Ker* defeated, and taken Prisoner by Major General *Lambert*.

Lambert left Colonel *Whally* with some Troops at *Ayr* to command in those Western parts, and return'd himself to the gross of the Army.

In *England* some attempts were made for the Kings service, but without success, and particularly in *Norfolk*, many Gentlemen and others were drawn together, but before they could be form'd into Troops, they were surprised and suppressed by two Troops from *Lyn*, and some Forces of the Militia of the County joyned with them, and twenty of them being afterward found guilty by an illegal High Court of Justice, were sentenced to death, and executed thereupon.

The rising in *Norfolk* for the King suppressed.

Edenburgh Castle had been besieged some months with little loss on either side, and *Derbyshire* Miners were brought out of *England* to undermine it, who carried on the Work sixty foot, but the Rock was so hard they could work no further.

The Governour was one *Dundass*, a Son-in-Law of old *Leven*, who was so practis'd on by *Cromwell*, that he surrendred the Castle on the 24th of *December* upon the ensuing conditions.

Edenburgh Castle surrendred to *Cromwell*.

1. *The Castle be surrendred to* Cromwell *with all the Ordnance, Arms, Magazine and Furniture of War.*

2. *The Governour and all the Officers and Souldiers to march out with Colours displayed, Drum beating, Match lighted, and Bullet in Mouth, and to be conveyed to what place they should desire, and every Souldier to have what Baggage he could carry.*

3. *The Publick Moveables, Records, Writs and Evidences to be removed to* Sterlin, *or to* Fife.

4. *Proclamation to be made, that all that had Goods in the Castle, might come or send to own and receive them.*

5. *All sick or wounded Officers and Souldiers to have liberty to stay in* Edenburgh.

6. *Horses and Waggons or other Carriage to be by the English provided for the Governour and the Officers for their convenience of Travel.* 1650

7. *Hostages to be given mutually for the performances of the Conditions.*

The King and the Committee of Estates were much troubled at the News of this loss, and the more, because thereby they perceived, that what the force of their Enemies could not gain from them, their own divisions, and the perfidious treachery of false Friends would deprive them of. There were found in the Castle five French Cannon, nine Dutch Demi-Cannon, two Culverins, two Demi-Culverins, two Minions, two Faulcons, eight and twenty brass Drakes, two Petards, eight thousand Arms, near eighty Barrels of Powder, and a proportionable store of Cannon-shot, with good store of Oatmeal, Butter, fresh Water, Beef and Pork.

The Master-gunner reported, that when the Guns were drawing to the Batteries, he had so planted his Pieces, that those of the Enemy could not have been planted but with great loss of men in the action; but when he prepared to give fire, he was forbidden so to do by the Governour, on pain of death.

Abernethy his Confident went often out of the Castle, on pretence to get intelligence, but the business was to make a bargain with *Cromwell* for the Castle, and when it was surrendred, he staid at *Edenburgh*, and was ever after a promoter of the Designs of the English for the Conquest and enslaving of his Native Countrey.

After the loss of *Edenburgh* Castle, all the Forts on this side of *Sterlin* were taken by the English, so that those of the Scots that were loyal to the King, applied themselves with all diligence to raise what Forces they could to complete an Army; and that his Authority might have the greater strength and reverence of the People, they immediately proceeded to his Coronation; which was on the first of *January* solemnized at *Scoon*, a few miles distant from St. *Johnstons* (the accustomed place for Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*) the King being the forty eighth Monarch of that Kingdom there crowned.

The King solemnly crowned at *Scone*.

It was celebrated with loud Acclamations, Bonefires, shooting off of Guns, and with as much pomp and ceremony as the present state of things would permit. The Nobility, Barons and Burgesses went from St. *Johnstons* to *Scoon* in their Robes, bringing thither with them the Crown, Sword, and Scepter; (the whole Scotch Army, which stood all the way as a Guard between those two places, making a Lane for them as they went along. In the Presence-Chamber, (where the Lord of *Angus* attended as Lord Chamberlain for that day,) was plac'd a Chair of State, where the King sate with all his Lords and Attendants about him: after a low obeysance made to him by all the Company, the Marquess of *Argyle* made a Speech.

1650 *Wherein he declared the Affections of the Parliament, Assembly, and People to him, and of their hopes of good from him, to make them happy, in bringing* England *and all their Enemies in subjection to him and them.* Moreover he added, *That the Parliament of* Scotland *were come to present His Majesty with the Crown, Sword and Scepter.*

Then he was attended by all his Train marching in Order before him to the Kirk of *Scoon*, where in the midst of a large Stage of Four and twenty Foot square, a plat-form was erected with an ascent of two Steps, and on the top thereof a Chair of State was plac'd for the King to sit on; the Canopy of Crimson-Velvet, under which the King went, was supported by the Lords *Drummond, Carnegie, Ramsey, Johnston, Brechin* and *Tester*, his Train by four other Earls Sons, the Lord *Ereskin, Montgomery, Newbottle, Machlene*; the Supporters of the Canopy being likewise supported by six others, the Sons of Noblemen. On the Kings right hand went the Lord Great Constable; on his left, the Lord Great Marshal: the Honours were carried before him by the chiefest of the Nobility in this order: Immediately before him went the Earl of *Argyle* carrying the Crown, next before him the Scepter was carried by the Earl of *Craford Lindsey*, the Sword by the Earl of *Rothes*, the Spurs by the Earl of *Eglington*. As soon as they were entred into the Kirk, and the King seated in his Throne, he took the usual Oath which his Predecessors the Kings of *Scotland* were wont to take at their Coronation. One of each of the Three Estates of *Scotland*, namely, the Marquess of *Argyle* (as being of the Nobles) one Baron, and one Burgess holding the Crown among them; then they delivered it to three Ministers of the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, who were appointed by the Estates in Parliament to present it unto them. At the presentation of the Crown to the King by the three Ministers, one of them made his Address in this form:

SIR,
I do present unto you, King Charles, *the Crown and Dignity of this Realm.*

Then turning his Face towards the People, he said,

Are you willing to have Him for your King, and to become subject to Him?

Whereupon the King turning himself to them, the People cried out with a loud Voice, *God save King* Charls *the Second.* Then after he had been annointed by the three Ministers with the Regal Unction, the Crown was set upon his Head by the Marquess of *Argyle*, the Scepter was also given into his Hand by the Earl of *Lindsey*, and the Sword carried before him by the Earl of *Rothes*. As soon as the Crown was put upon his Head, he made this short Speech to the People,

I do esteem the Affections of my good People more than the Crowns of Many Kingdoms; and shall be ready, by Gods assistance, to bestow my Life for your defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see Religion and this Kingdom to flourish in all Happiness.

Adding many other expressions of his Love and Affection to the people, and afterwards Mr. *Robert Douglas* made an hortatory Oration or Sermon to his Majesty. 1650

The Ceremonies of the Coronation ended, and a plentiful Entertainment prepared, the King sate at one Table, and the Lords at another, there passing many Caresses and Testimonies of joy all Dinner time between them; after which they all returned to St. *Johnstons*, in the same order and pomp they came from thence to *Scoon*.

After the Coronation, the King intended to march Northwards to hasten the Levies there made, by his presence; but the Nobility and Gentry of the *High-lands*, promising to complete their numbers with all expedition, He went no farther than *Aberdeen*; in the mean time, that those *Scots* that opposed his Authority might be less able to seduce others, *Straughan, Swinton*, Colonel *Dundass* (the late Governour of *Edenburgh*) Major *Abernethy*, Captain *Giffan*, and *Andrews*, were on the fourteenth day of *January* Excommunicated for complying with the *English*.

The King having visited *Aberdeen, Dundee*, and several other good Towns, returned to St. *Johnstons* to be present at the assembling of the Parliament, which met there on the second of *March*, and the Duke of *Hamilton* and many of the Lords that were reconciled to the Kirk, were admitted to their Seats therein. The Parliament applied themselves with all imaginable care for the raising of Souldiers, and proscribed and sequestred the Persons and Estates of all that held correspondence with the *English*, and that the Levies might be better made, they adjourned the Parliament to the seventeenth of *April*, and sent *Middleton* into the North to raise Forces there, and others of Authority in other parts to imploy their interests to draw Souldiers together; and till they should again be convened, a Council of State and Committee of War were appointed of select persons out of each of the three Estates.

1651 Great care was taken for the fortifying of the Town of *Sterlin*, the King himself going often to view the Works, and encourage the expediting thereof. In the mean time on the fifteenth of *April*, in a Mist, the Lord *Montgomery*, Son to the Earl of *Eglington*, and the Lord *Cranston*, with five hundred Horse and Dragoons, march'd from *Sterlin*, and resolutely fell into *Lithgow*, whence having taken what Prisoners they could in haste meet with, they retreated; yet before they could get to *Sterlin*, Major *Sydenham* the Governour of *Lithgow* with a good party pursued, overtook and charged them, but were so well received by the *Scots*, that Sixty of the *English* were slain, and *Sydenham* himself so wounded, that he died shortly after. This good fortune of the *Scotch* did not long continue; for a while after the Earl of *Eglington*, the Father of this Lord *Montgomery*, with one of his Brothers, were taken at *Dunbarton* by one Captain *Crook* of Colonel *Berry*'s Regiment.

Major *Sydenham* worsted by the Lord *Montgomery*.

The Earl of *Eglington* taken by Capt. *Crook*.

Cromwell being at *Edenburgh*, having notice how the Kings Army lay encamped at *Sterlin*, and that abun-

1651 abundance of Provision was brought in dayly in order to an intended March into *England*; and that he might be in readiness to prevent it, he drew all his Forces together, and encamped near *Edenburgh*.

The Parliament of *Scotland* were about this time again assembled at St. *Johnstons*, and very busie in consultation about their *Militia*, and providing for the Peace and security of the Kingdom. *Middletons* Northern Levies amounted to near eight thousand, and it was much controverted, whether those Forces should make a distinct Army, or joyn with the Southern Army; but at last a conjunction of all was agreed; but because there was some emulation betwixt *Lesley* and *Middleton* about Chief Command of the Army, the King resolved to take it himself to prevent all discontents therein.

The Kings Birth-day celebrated by the *Scots*.

The 29th of *May*, being the Kings Birth-day, was celebrated in *Scotland* with great solemnity and feasting, and there was a Muster of all the Troops and Companies, and at night all the streets blazed with Bon-fires, & the Cannons were shot off from *Sterlin*, *Brunt-Island*, and the rest of the *Scotch* Garrisons; but not any place shewed their affection to the King in so particular a manner as the Town of *Dundee*, from which a large contribution of Money was collected towards his assistance, and the Citizens presented to him a rich and stately Tent, and six pieces of Ordnance, and raised a Regiment of Horse at their own charge.

About the beginning of *June* the Parliament of *Scotland* ended, having before their dissolution given large Commissions and Instructions for the Pressing of Men in all parts of the Kingdom beyond *Fife*, and in the Western parts for a new Army, which was to consist of fifteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse and Dragoons.

An Act of Oblivion in *Scotland*

They concluded in a very calm and admirable temper, having passed an *Act of Oblivion* for all things done thitherto, inviting thereby all parties to joyn in carrying on the service of the King, and a new Engagement with the Sacrament was taken by all the Nobility, and Officers and Souldiers of the Army to adhere to him; whereby all Faction and division seemed in a great measure to be obliterated, and *Warreston* and those with him that were treacherous or dissenters not before summoned, were on the penalty of Excommunication to appear at the Assembly at *Sterlin* by a limited time.

Cromwell was very vigilant all this while, and waited greedily for any opportunity to draw the *Scotch* Army to an Engagement, and for that purpose he marched to *Newbridge*, and from thence to *Lithgow*, where from the Battlements of the Castle he discerned the Tents of the *Scotch* Army encamped in *Torwood* about four miles on this side *Sterlin*, having cast up a regular and well-fortified Line, with Bulwarks and Guns mounted for their defence, and having a River behind them, over which they might at pleasure pass.

The King did not think the Force he should raise in *Scotland* able to fight *Cromwell* and invade *England*, without some preparations there for his assistance, to divide the *English* Forces at home, to which end he kept intelligence with several of his friends in *London*, *Lancashire* and other parts. And it was contrived that the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and Major General *Massey* should with a Body of Horse march into *England* to joyn with a Party in *Lancashire*, who were by a prenxt time to be in Arms: but in the midst of these endeavours all their hopes were blasted by the taking of a Ship at *Ayr* in *Scotland*, which had been bound to the Earl of *Derby* in the *Isle of Man*, and the seizing of Mr. *Berkenhead* an Agent in the business, by whose Letters all was detected; and thereupon were apprehended Mr. *Thomas Cook* of *Grays-Inne*, Mr. *Gibbons* a Taylor, and Mr. *Potter* an Apothecary, together with Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, and Dr. *Drake*, and several other Presbyterian Ministers, who were brought before a *High Court of Justice*, and tried for their Lives, and about the later end of *July*, *Gibbons*, *Potter*, and *Love* were sentenced to death, and a while after *Gibbons* and *Love* were executed: for at this time the *English* Parliament thought it necessary to shew some severity to the Presbyterian Party, to deter them from joyning with the *Scots* upon their coming with the King into *England*, which was dayly expected.

1651

The intended rising in *Lancashire* unfortunately disappointed

Mr. *Love* and others tried for their lives.

Love and *Gibbons* executed.

Cromwell finding his Provision begin to be scarce, marched on the third of *July* close to the *Scotch* Trenches, and drew up his Army in Battalia, to provoke them to Battel; whereupon they in the night planted most of their Cannon on the brow of the Hill, and the next morning saluted the English with fifty great Shot, which made *Cromwel* draw back, and give over a Resolution he had to force the Trenches; but since he could not effect any thing here, he made it his next work to land some of his Forces on *Fife* side; and for that Service Colonel *Overton* was sent with 1600 Foot, and four Troops of Horse, who at *Queens-ferry* without much difficulty forced his landing, and *Cromwell* at the same time marched up with his whole Army close to the *Scots*, with an intent to have fallen upon their Rear, in case they should have moved that way to disturb the enterprize. Yet to drive the *English* out of *Fife* four thousand Horse and Foot were appointed to march against them, under the Command of Sir *John Brown*, which was not done so privately, but *Cromwell* had notice of it, and he sent Major General *Lambert* and Colonel *Okey* with two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, who were transported over the water, and being united with the rest, they engaged Sir *John Brown*, and gave him an overthrow, and took himself and Colonel *Buchanan*, and fourteen hundred more Prisoners, and slew about two thousand; by which Victory the *English* gained so firm a footing in *Fife*, that they were not easily to be repelled: and soon after *Brunt-Island*, and a strong Castle upon the River called *Inchgarvie* were taken by surrender. And now the King and his Army were necessitated to take that course which long since had been designed, to march directly for *England*. *Cromwell* that he might make himself Master of the Pass at *Sterlin*, resolved first to set upon St. *Johnstons*, which after one days Siege was gained. And the King

The English land Forces on *Fife* side.

Sir *John Brown* defeated by Major General *Lambert*.

Brunt Island and *Inchgarvy* Castle taken by the English.

1651 St. *Johnstons* taken by *Cromwells* Forces.

as soon as he had knowledge of this loss, marched with his Army with all haste Southwards: this departure of the King altered *Cromwell's* designs upon *Sterlin*, and he drew his Forces back again over the *Frith*, making what expedition he could to overtake his Majesty; but the *Scots* were many days march before him. Major General *Harrison* with about three thousand Horse and Dragoons that lay nearest *England*, had Orders to march to attend the Kings motions, and Major General *Lambert* with about as many more was appointed by advice of a Council of Warre to speed after them, and endeavour to fall upon their Rear: and *Cromwell* himselfe began his march from *Leith* with a thousand Horse and Foot, the very same day the Royal Army entred upon English ground by the way of *Carlisle*, which was on the sixth of *August*. Upon the expectation of the Kings coming into *England*, a party in *North-Wales* began to rise, intending to have joyned with the Earl of *Darbey*, who was to come from the *Isle of Man*; but this design vanished to nothing.

The King enters *England* with his Army.

The great opposition that he meets with.

By that time the King was come with his Army as far as *Lancashire*, he was somewhat hard beset, both by the Forces that followed him out of *Scotland*, and those that in a short time were raised in *England* against him. He had in his Rear General *Cromwell*, (who had left General *Monk* Commander in Chief in his absence with a small dis-joynted Force to carry on the Work in *Scotland*:) In his Van were the two Major Generals, *Lambert* and *Harrison*, who by long marches got before him, unto whom there came up two thousand of the Countrey-Militia out of *Staffordshire*, and four thousand under the Command of Colonel *Birch* out of *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and other parts: and to Flank him, the Lord *Fairfax* in *York-shire* appeared in the Field with many Troops. Moreover, the City of *London* poured out a good part of its Militia, and the adjacent Counties, were by strict Order of the Parliament enjoyn'd to set out Men and Horses at their own charges: nor (which was the worst presage) did the Scotch Army it self keep entire, being curtailed off about five thousand men, which dropt away by degrees, there remaining not complete, as was generally supposed, by that time they came to *Worcester*, thirteen thousand men. The Kings hopes also failed him of the general coming in of the Countrey; for the most considerable supply that came to him, was only one Troop of Horse commanded by Captain *Cecil Howard*, Son of the Lord *Howard* of *Estrich*. Nor is it much wondered at, since the Parliaments Forces had so powerfully over-spread the Countrey, that none could well have the opportunity to stir in behalf of the King; so that before the deciding blow was given, they appeared to be in a very lost and hopeless posture: but the condition of the Scotch Army at this time is best discovered in some intercepted Letters of the Earl of *Lauderdale* and others. In one of the Earls, he writes thus:

The Earl of *Lauderdale's* intercepted Letters.

Never men (saith he in one of them) *were more hearty, for all their toyl, and seriously you would not know this Army; a natural Purge is wholsome,* (speaking of those that withdrew themselves) *and I hope ours is so, since the ill humours are gone. The Countrey is kind, and we might have men enough. His Majesty received the Lord Howards Son graciously, and Knighted him; he is the first, but I have no reason to believe he will be the last that will return to his Duty.* 1651

And in another he hath to this effect;

His Majesty is advanced into England *as far as* Perith *with a very good Army, able (by the blessing of God) to do his business. They are, I dare say, near double the number of those with which the* * *King of* Sweden *entred* Germany. *Never was any Army so regular as we have been since we came into* England; *I dare say we have not taken the worth of Six pence; and what you hear of our misfortune in* Fife, *or whatever our Enemies Print or Write, trust none; this is the best* Scotch *Army that ever I saw, and I hope shall prove best. All those that were unwilling to hazard all in this cause with their King, have, upon a specious pretence, most of them left us. This is a natural Purge, and will do us much good.*

* 6000 Men were all with which the King of *Sweden* first entred *Germany*.

And my Lord *Wentworth* in a Letter to my Lord *Crofts*, writes thus: *By Gods Grace we are come as far as* Perith *in* Cumberland, *with a good Army of fourteen or fifteen thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, all absolutely at the Kings Command, as much as any Army that ever I saw under the Command of his Father.*

The Lord *Westworth* his Letter to the Lord *Crofts*.

But in one of Duke *Hamiltons* to the same Lord, things appear not so well as those Relations describe; his Letter says thus:

We are now laughing all at the ridiculousness of our present State: We have quit Scotland *being scarce able to maintain it, and yet we grasp at all, and nothing but all will satisfie us, or to lose all. I confess, I cannot tell you whether our hopes or fears are greatest; but we have one stout Argument, Despair; for we must now either stoutly fight, or die; all the Rogues have left us. I shall not say, whether for fear or disloyalty; but all now with his Majesty are such as will not dispute his Commands.*

Duke *Hamilton's* to the same.

The King at his first entrance upon English ground was proclaimed King of *Great Britain* at the Head of the Army with great acclamations and shooting off the Cannon, he being then at *Perith* in *Cumberland*, and so afterwards at every Market-Town through which he marcht. He met no considerable resistance till he came to *Warrington*-Bridge, where *Lambert* endeavoured to impede his passage, but the King made his way through with loss to his opposer; and the Parliament at *London* began to apprehend the prosperity of his Fortune; but his wearied Forces could not, it seems, hold out a march of that length, so that he came on the 22d. of *August* to *Worcester*, where after one or two Repulses by the Forces that kept that City, he quickly entred, through the ready assistance of the Inhabitants, who not only not opposed, but also helpt to beat the Parliament Souldiers out of the Town. Advice came to the King of the distracted condition of those in *London*, which occasioned a debate in Council there-

The King proclaimed at the Head of his Army in *England*.

The King comes to *Worcester*.

1651 thereupon for his repair thither, but upon the result it was resolved on as a thing most agreeable to their present condition to stay where they were, and to make good all the Passes that were thereabouts for their better security. On the 27*th* of *August* they kept a solemn Fast, and the next day had a general Rendezvouz, at which the Countrey came in far more considerably than at any time before, since their arrival in *England*. The King as he was in his march to *Worcester*, dispatched away Messages and Invitations unto several Governours of Towns and Castles, to deliver up unto his use those places which they had of his in their possession, and principally to Sir *Thomas Middleton* Governour of *Chirk*-Castle in *Shropshire*, and to Colonel *Mackworth* Governour of *Shrewsbury*: To the first the Earl of *Derby* also writ, and the Letters were sent by one *Simkins*, whom Sir *Thomas* caused to be seized and sent to *Wrexham*: To the Governour of *Shrewsbury* both a Letter and a Summons were sent by a Trumpeter, which we think remarkable enough to be here inserted, together with his Answer, to shew the temper of those then in Authority.

The Kings Letter and Summons to Colonel *Mackworth* Governour of *Shrewsbury*.

Colonel Mackworth:

Having sent you herewith a Summons to render into my hands my Town, with the Castle of Shrewsbury, *I cannot but perswade my self you will do it, when I consider you a Gentleman of an ancient House, and of very different Principles (as I am informed) from those with whom your employment ranks you at present, If you shall peaceably deliver them unto me, I will not only pardon you what is past, and protect you and yours in your persons, and all that belongs to you, but reward so eminent and seasonable a Testimony of your Loyalty with future trust and favour, and do leave it to your self to propose the Particular, being upon that condition ready to grant you presently any thing you shall reasonably desire, and to approve my self.*

Your Friend
C.R.

The Summons was in these words:

Colonel Mackworth:

Being desirous to attempt all fair ways for recovering our own, before we proceed to force and extremity, and (where the Controversie is with subjects) accounting that a double Victory, which is obtained without effusion of Blood, whereby the hearts that of right belong to us, are gained as well as their strengths: We do hereby summon you to surrender unto us our Town with the Castle of Shrewsbury, *as in Duty and Allegiance by the Laws of God and the Land you are bound to do, thereby not only preventing the miseliefs which you may otherwise draw upon your self and that place, but also opening the first door to peace and quietness, and the enjoyment of every one both King and People, of that which appertains to them, under certain and known Laws, the end for which we are come. Given at our Camp at* Tong-Norton, *this* 20th *of* August.

Unto this Letter and Summons the Governour returned this answer.

1651

For the Commander in Chief of the *Scottish* Army.

SIR,

Col. *Mackworth's* answer.

By your Trumpet I received two Papers, the one containing a Proposition, the other a direct Summons for the Rendition of the Town and Castle of Shrewsbury, *the Custody whereof I have received by Authority of Parliament; and if you believe me a Gentleman (as you say you do) you may believe I will be faithful to my Trust; to the violation whereof, neither allurements can perswade me, nor threatnings of Force, especially when but Paper ones, compell me. What Principles I am judged to be of, I know not, but I hope they are such as shall ever declare me honest, and no way differing herein (as I know) from those engaged in the same employment with me, who, should they desert that cause they are embarqued in; I resolve to be found, as I am immoveable, the Faithful Servant of the Commonwealth of* England.

H. Mackworth.

The Earl of *Derby* comes with forces to the King.

About two or three days before the Kings arrival at *Worcester*, the Earl of *Derby* having landed at *Weywater* in *Lancashire*, came to him with two hundred and fifty Foot and sixty Horse, which he brought with him out of the *Isle of Man*, and immediately returning back into *Lancashire* to raise a more considerable force, he soon gathered about 1200 men, and so much was he beloved in those parts, that a little more time had made him formidable; with these he was marching upon a design to fall upon *Cromwell*'s own Regiment then quartered at *Lancaster* in their march towards him; but news came to him of Colonel *Lilburn*'s approach towards him with ten Troops of Horse (which were ordered out of *Yorkshire* on purpose to hinder his Levies) and two Regiments of *Cheshire* Foot: The Earl nothing dismayed at this Force, resolved to engage *Lilburn* and his party, before the other Troops could come to him, and accordingly he charged them so furiously, that he routed the first Troops, and had made an impression so far into their Body, that they begun to be disordered, till the accession of fresh Reserves both of Horse and Foot so overpowred his numbers, that they were totally vanquished: most of the Kings party were Horse, and the fight was in Lanes, were they were much annoyed by the Enemies Musquetiers. There were taken prisoners of Quality, the Lord *Widdrington*,, Sir *Thomas Tidersley*, Colonel *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *Francis Gamul*, Major *Trollop*, Sir *William Throgmorton*, Colonel *Richard Legg*, Colonel *Ratliff*, *Gerard*, and some others whose names we know not, and many of these named died of their wounds. The Earl of *Derby* (having lost his George and Garter) fled with about thirty Horse towards *Worcester*, having sheltred himself one night in his way in a house called *Boscobel*, which Heaven by this means had prepared for the Kings retreat and preservation.

The Earl of *Derby* routed by Col. *Lilburn*.

Cromwell surrounds *Worcester*.

By this time *Cromwell* had surrounded *Worcester* with his spreading Host, in as near a compass as the Rivers and Passes would suffer him, the Kings Army as yet lying out of the Town a mile in the fields. The first Pass endeavoured to be taken

1651 ken was *Upton*-Bridge on *Fleetwood*'s ſide, which Major General *Lambert* attempted with five hundred horſe and Dragoons, and after a brisk diſpute wreſted from Colonel *Maſſey*, who in defence thereof received a wound in his hand.

The Paſs at *Upton* taken by *Lambert*.

The *Scots* having thus abandoned the place where they were, it was preſently poſſeſt by a ſtrong party of Horſe and Foot, in order to the preſent advance of the reſt of the Army.

The Kings Army was drawn up very near to *Worceſter*, and made many excurſions, breaking down two or three Bridges over the River *Team* betwixt the Enemy and them, and ſhewing a well-order'd and governed courage; but *September* the Third, that ominous day being arrived, *Cromwel* reſolved to venture the event upon it former *Auſpicia*, and to that purpoſe having his Boats in readineſs, he paſſed over his men in the afternoon of that day, and drew them all into a fighting poſture, and having given the ſignal to the whole Army to fall on, the fight was begun in this manner.

Worceſter Fight.

Cromwell himſelf in perſon (about four of the Clock) with his Life-Guard and Colonel *Hackers* Regiment of Horſe, with part of his own Foot Regiment, with the intire Regiments of Colonel *Ingoldsby* and Colonel *Fairfax*, marched directly towards the City, and after him Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* advanced with Colonel *Goffs* and Major General *Deans* Regiments; the Kings Forces encountring them at the Hedges betwixt the City and them, and diſputing every field with them, in ſuch Order and with ſuch Gallantry, that thoſe already engaged (leſt they ſhould be wholly diſcouraged with the hotneſs of this ſervice) were relieved by Reſerves, and they by others, no conſiderable progreſs was yet made, the *Highlanders* proving excellent Fire-men, and coming to the butt-end of Muſquet, till wearied with continual action, and their Ammunition ſpent, the King being then upon the place) commanded them in ſome haſte into the City, and haſtened himſelf to the other ſide, where Colonel *Hayns* his Regiment with *Cobbets* ſtood about *Powick*-Bridge, and were entertained with no leſs Man-hood and ſlaughter, than thoſe on the other ſide; and though one Colonel *Matthews* was the Reſerve to theſe two Regiments, yet did the Scotch Foot fairly drive them from their Ground, till at laſt being haraſſed out, and no Seconds or Supplies to be expected, in a careleſs regard of the Enemy, as if they feared not to make which way they pleaſed, they drew likewiſe into the Town, as did another Brigade which oppoſed the Regiments of the Lord *Gray* and Colonel *Gibbons* joyned with two others on another part. The Kings Army was drawn very cloſe together, and ſent out ſeveral Bodies, who charged very briskly on the Generals ſide, where the fight was hotteſt, (He having brought on the Militia Forces to relieve his other Troops.) In the Head of one of theſe Bodies the King himſelf charged with marvellous Gallantry and Conduct, and preſs'd ſo hard upon *Cromwells* Life-Guard, that the Troop was very much diſordered, and the Captain very dangerouſly wounded, and in another Charge Duke *Hamilton*, (who behaved himſelf with undaunted Courage and Reſolution) received a Shot on his Thigh, whereof preſently after he died.

Duke *Hamilton* ſlain at this fight.

The Militia Regiments of *Eſſex*, *Surry*, and *Cheſhire* were much annoyed by the *Scots*, and many of their men ſlain; but *Cromwell* drew on freſh and intire Brigades and Regiments, which were in Reſerve, of the Veterane Bands, by which the Royalliſts were ſo overpowered, that they were forced to retreat into the City, which they could not do with ſuch Order, but many of the *Cromwellians* got in with them. *Leſley* with two thouſand Horſe (upon what account not known) not ſtirring out of the Town to relieve his Party, when the Enemy entred. The King retired to his Quarters for a while, and about ſeven at night the Enemy gained the Fort-Royal; at which time His Majeſty left the City, paſſing out at Saint *Martins* Gate, accompanied with about ſixty Horſe of the chiefeſt and moſt confident of his Retinue (though many more preſſed to bear him company) and it was reported, that *Cobbet* very narrowly miſt of him as he left his Lodging.

1651

The King defeated at *Worceſter*, but made his eſcape.

The Enemies Foot was now got into the Town, and, according to their order, fell a plundering the Inhabitants in a moſt barbarous manner, giving no Quarter to any that they found in the Streets: and through this their greedineſs of ſpoil, they kept the Gates ſhut, and the Horſe out, leſt they ſhould have ſhared the better part; and thereby favoured (as God would have it) the Kings eſcape. Some *Scots* who had got into one of the Churches held out till next morning, when they obtained Quarter for Life; by which time there was not an Inhabitant in *Worceſter*, Friend or Foe, left worth a Shilling of what they had in the Town; but the Royal Inhabitants loſt leaſt by the Ravage, being ſupplied with freſh Wares to their deſires by the honeſt Citizens of *London*, without any ſcruple of Credit or Payment, and their Debts were forborn till ſuch time as God ſhould enable them to pay, which the Gentry and Inhabitants round about them endeavoured to bring to paſs, by their more than ordinary reſort to that Market for all Neceſſaries, and upon all Occaſions. The Mayor (who was Knighted by the King) and all the Aldermen were committed to Priſon, and the Wife of one *Guyes* (whoſe Husband for betraying the deſigns of the King in that Garriſon, was hanged) was rewarded by the Parliament with two hundred pounds *per Annum*, and two hundred pounds in Money.

Worceſter miſerably plundered

There were ſlain in the Field, in the Town, and in purſuit ſome 2000, and about 8000 were taken Priſoners in ſeveral places: moſt of the Engliſh Common-men eſcaping by their *Shibboleth*; but at *Newport* in the purſuit were taken the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Earl of *Rothes*, Earl of *Carnworth*, Earl of *Kelly*, Earl of *Derby*, Earl of *Cleveland*, Sir *John Packington*, Lord *Spyne*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*, Colonel *Graves*, Mr. *Richard Fanſhaw*, Secretary to the King, many alſo whoſe names we have not, (*viz.*) 6 Colonels of Horſe, 13 of Foot, 9 Lieutenant-Colonels of Horſe, 8 Lieutenant-Colonels of Foot, 6 Majors of Horſe, 13 Majors of Foot, 37 Captains of Horſe, 72 Captains of Foot, 55 Quarter-Maſters, 89 Lieutenants; there were taken alſo ſome General Officers, with 76 Comets of Horſe, 99 Enſigns of Foot, 90 Quarter-Maſters, 80 of the Kings Servants, with the

Kings

1651 Kings Standard which he had set up when he summoned the Country, the Kings Coach and Horses, and Collar of SS's, but the Kings Person they had no power to touch, which recompensed all the other loss.

The King deliberates whither to flye.

He (as was said before) departed in the dusk, leaving Colonel *Careloss* in the Rear, to keep the Enemy in dispute, while he was something forward on his way, and the approaching night might favour his escape. To which end, all Persons about him were commanded to speak French, and a present Consultation was held which course they should steer, and it was resolved by my Lord of *Derby*, that they should make what speed they could, and recover a place called *Whiteladies* before morning, which was some 25 miles from *Worcester*; and thereupon one Master *Giffard* then in the company, was called for his guidance thither; and one *Walker* (that had been formerly a Scoutmaster in the Kings Army) was his assistant, yet the way was mistaken as they passed a Heath, but by good providence soon recovered.

Betwixt three and four a clock the King reached this place, and Master *Giffard* (after some knocking at the door,) called up one *George Pendrill*, a Servant in the House, who hearing and knowing his voice, ran down in his shirt and opened the door, and the King and his Retinue entred; where after a little debate about the security of his person, the said Earl having called thither *William Pendrill* the House-keeper of *Boscobell*, and dispatch'd another towards *Tong* to see if the Coast was yet clear; His Majesty in the mean while had his hair cut off, and his Buff-doublet and Linnen-breeches buried, and he was disguised in Country habit, with adjuration of the fidelity of the *Pendrills* (who were now with their Brother-in-Law *Francis Yates* in number five) committed and entrusted by the Earl of *Derby* to their fidelity, which they most solemnly and dutifully promised. Then the Earl and the rest of the Lords, *viz.* the Duke of *Buckingham* and that Train, with tears took their leave (*Derby* would have staid, but there was no probability of secrecy for two) and my Lord *Wilmot* with *John Pendrill* withdrew himself from that company to another retreat; the rest (except the Duke who lay concealed in other friends houses about that Country) were taken as aforesaid at *Newport* by *Lilburns* Horse, the same who had defeated the Earl of *Derby*, who now rendred himself a Prisoner to one Captain *Edge* of *Lancashire*, on promise for quarter for life.

The Lords leave him at *Whitelakies.*

Assoon as the King was thus left by his Company, with a Wood-bill in his hand, he was conducted into a Wood or Coppice near adjoyning, taking the name of *William Jones* a Wood-cutter, newly come thither for work, and was accordingly instructed in his Tongue and Behaviour: That day proved very wet, so that *Yates* his Wife brought him a blanket to cover him, and a dish of Milk and Apples for his refreshment; and at night against his coming home (where the Mother of the *Pendrills* at her Son *Richard's* house most joyfully welcom'd him) and provided an ordinary Country Supper; which ended, the

The King personates a Wood-cutter.

King with *Richard* his guide resolved for *Wales*, and went to one Master *Wolfes* of *Madely*, where for fear of search, he was fain to take up his Quarters in the Barn, where Master *Wolfe* and his Wife attended on him. Here his Majesty understood that the Passes over the Water, and the River *Wy*, were so guarded, that it was unseasonable for him to adventure into *Wales*; so that on *Friday* night he retreated in his woollen accoutrements about his legs (in which he had lain in that hard lodging in great pain and soreness to *Boscobell*, where he found Colonel *Careloss* (who had also betaken himself thither for shelter; and by his direction, that *Saturday* the King went into the Wood, (from the pleasantness whereof the house took its name) and ascended into the top of that most celebrated Oak, which being thick with branches stretching and shadowing fore-right, was altogether impervious to the sight: and here the Colonel bore him company while he laid his head, and slept upon a pillow in his lap. At night they both descended, and came into the house and refresh'd themselves, and the King perceiving the secrecie of the place, was not willing to keep longer abroad. He past away the Sunday in a kind of Arbour or Banquetting-house at the end of the Garden, and there *John Pendrill* came to him from my Lord *Wilmot*, to conduct him to Mr. *Whitgraves* house at *Mosley*; wither with much difficulty and danger he himself had arrived, but the safety there answered all. The King approved of my Lord *Wilmots* advice, and on Munday night (with the guard of the five brethren) and the help of the Millers horse, he came to Mr. *Whitgraves*, where he was gladly received by my Lord and that Gentleman, and conveyed into a secret place; and there it was considered what course to take for a further progression in the Kings escape; and to this purpose one Colonel *Lane* of *Bently* was made acquainted with it, and by them it was agreed, that Mistress *Jane Lane* upon pretence of assisting at the Child-bed of her Sister, should ride to *Bristol*, and the King as her Servant ride before her; with one Mr. *Lassels* and his wife behind him, and a Pass for their more security in travel was procured.

1651

He quarters in a Barn at *Madely*

Comes to *Boscobell*, where Col. *Careloss* directs him to the Oak.

To Master *Whitgraves* at *Mosley.*

Mrs. *Jane Lane* undertakes to convey him to *Bristol*

On their way thither, my Lord *Wilmot* (as of chance) met with them, having a Hawk on his fist, and so they journeyed together to *Bromsgrave*, where the Kings Horse loosing a shooe, He was forc'd to carry his Horse to a Farrier, who inquiring of News of the King, and being answered by his Majesty, *that he believed the King was escaped into* Scotland; he replied, *that no doubt the King was secretly somewhere in* England, *and wish'd he knew where; for that he could get a* 1000 l. *by taking of him.* The King departing from thence, comes to *Evesham*, where advising how to avoid Troopers then grazing their Horses in the Meadows adjoyning, they leighted upon them in a near Village as they rode, but they civilly let them pass on their way to *Cirencester* to the Crown, where they lodged that night, and went the next day towards *Bristol* within three Miles of the City, to the House of Mr. *Norton* of *Leigh*, the designed journeys end. Here the King feigned himself sick, and took his Cambet

1651 by the order and care of Mrs. *Lane*; but the next morning coming into the Cellar, he was taken notice of by the Butler, one *John Pope*, a Souldier formerly in the late Kings Army, who upon an intent look discerned him, and in all dutiful manner discovered himself to him, with such assurance of fidelity, that he gained his Majesties belief so far, as to be imployed by him in getting a Ship for his transportation: thence the King was conducted by my Lord *Wilmot* to one Colonel *Windhams* House at *Trent* in *Dorsetshire*, where he continued almost three weeks in expectation of a passage from *Lime*; Soon after his arrival here, Mrs. *Jane Lane* with Mr. *Lassels* parted, being openly entertained as Kinsfolk, and came in safety back again to *Staffordshire*.

The King at Colonel *Windhams*.

My Lord *Wilmot* and he prevailed with a Merchant to procure a Pass, but were disappointed.

The occurrences that hapned here, we cannot certainly relate, only the King was disappointed of a passage which a Merchant had procured for him at *Lime* (by my Lord *Wilmot* and Colonel *Windhams* means;) and though the fault was not in the Merchant, but the dejected spirit of the Master of the Bark; yet this disappointment had like to have proved the Kings ruine, by the shooing of my Lord *Wilmots* Horse, (there was one Mr. *Henry Peters* that attended him for his Guide.) The Hostler and the Smith discovered by the shooes, that they were come somewhere from the Northern parts by their manner of nailing, and presently raised a rumour of the Kings being thereabouts; and whilst the Smith went to advise with a Minister of the matter, my Lord was got away by providence, and the King came to *Bridport*, where as 'tis since reported, he had like to have been known by an Hostler, as he was setting up the Horses, who welcom'd him as having formerly seen him at *Exeter*, but did not distinguish who he was, and the King with a proffer of drinking with him when he was more at leisure, withdrew himself from any further discovery. That night they touched at *Broad-Windsor*, where again the King met with some disturbance by Souldiers then filling those places, in order to their shipping for *Jersey*. But after all these surprizing adventures, he got again to Colonel *Windhams*, with the Lord *Wilmot*, who had overtaken them, and passed by them at *Bridport* as was agreed, and thence (for it could not be safe to continue longer in that place) he was sent to *Salisbury* to look out for another Sanctuary, and to confer to that purpose with Master *Coventry*, who agreed to bring him to Mrs. *Hides* house at a Village called *Heal*. The King in his way to *Salisbury* came to a Town called *Mere* to the *George*, an acquaintance of the Colonels, where drinking in the Cellar, the Hoste seeing the King stand off as a servant, said, *Thou lookest like an honest Fellow, Here's an Health to the King*; who unreadily answering it, made the man expostulate with the Colonel what Fellow he had brought. The King from *Mere* went to the House of Mrs. *Hide*, and was joyfully there received, and introduced to a secret place in the House, and here Colonel *Robert Phillips* came to him, and Colonel *Windham* took his leave of his Majesty, and returned; and Dr. *Hinchman* after made Bishop of *London*, had the honour to be made acquainted with his condition; and *Phillips* was presently dispatch'd to procure some shipping at *Southampton*, where the Barks being all taken up, and employed by the Parliament, he returned with his labour lost, but meeting with Colonel *Gunter*, he (being informed of the business) undertook to provide a Bark at *Brightemstead* in *Sussex*, which he effected, and thither the King (and my Lord *Wilmot*) having taken leave of this Noble Matron and the Doctor, accompanied with Colonel *Phillips*, (passing by night near *Portsmouth*,) came in two days to an Inn at *Brightemstead*, where Colonel *Gunter* and one Master *Mansfil* the Merchant, who at *Gunters* request hired the Ship, and the Ship-master *Tetersha* (now a Captain in his Majesties Navy) met him, and at Supper they set down together with his Majesty, when the Master presently discovered him, having formerly seen him in the *Downs*; when he obtained the release of his Ship loaden from *Newcastle*; whereupon the King conferr'd with the Master, who (being wrought upon by promises and money paid down, and his own Loyalty) agreed to transport him to *France*, and departed to call up his Mariners then on shore (pretending his Ship half-laden with coals was a drift; but coming home for a bottle of *Aqua-vitæ*, his Wife by the unseasonableness of the night suspecting the truth, encouraged him to the undertaking, not caring (as she said) *if she and her little ones begged their bread, so the King were in safety*. About five of the clock in the dark of the morning on the 20*th* of *October* the King embarqued, with my Lord *Wilmot*, and keeping the shore all that day, in the evening croft over, and at dark night landed neer *Diep* in *France*. In their passage, the King sitting upon the Deck, and directing the course, or, as they call it, conning the Ship, one of the Mariners blowing Tobacco in his face, the Master bid him go further off the Gentleman, who murmuring, unwittingly replied, *That a Cat might look upon a King*. At *Rouen* the King had his clothes changed by two English Merchants residing there, and was there saluted (though at first hardly known) by Dr. *Earls* late Bishop of *Salisbury*, and upon notice of his arrival, the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Orleans*, and that whole Court went out to meet him, and congratulate his wonderful deliverance: a Providence indeed not parallel'd in History, and able to have convinced his Rebels, if their rage had not blinded them; but it cheared the minds and hopes of his Subjects, by this Pledge of their deliverance from thraldome, in this marvellous protection of Gods Anointed; (no less than two and fifty persons being privy to his Escape.)

He is received by Mrs. *Hide* at *Heal*.

1651

He is safely transported into *France* by *Tetersall*.

He is met by the Queen-Mother and Court of *France*

Very few of the Nobles and Officers that came in with him from *Scotland* escaped, *David Lesley* and Lieutenant General *Middleton* were taken in *Lancashire*, and carried Prisoners to *Chester*, from whence with the Earl of *Lauderdale*, *Kelly*, *Rothes*, and others they were committed to the *Tower*, from whence my Lord *Middleton* happily escaped, the rest were not long after sent to *Windsor-Castle*, where they continued till the Restitution of the King to his Government.

Most of the Scots taken Prisoners.

On the 21*th* of *September*, *Cromwell* came to *London*,

1651 *London*, and was met about *Allon* with the Speaker and the Members of Parliament, and the Lord Major of *London* and Recorder *Steel*, who in a set speech congratulated his great successes, and like a false Prophet, by a mistaken *Prolepsis* applied to him these words of the Psalmist, *To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron*, in an arrogant exaltation of his Atchievement: next day the Common Prisoners (being driven like a herd of Swine) were brought through *Westminster* into *Tuthil* fields (a sadder spectacle was never seen, except the miserable place of their defeat) and there sold to several Merchants, and sent to the *Barbadoes*; the Colours taken were likewise hanged up in *Westminster*-Hall, with those taken before at *Preston* and *Dunbar*.

Cromwell comes with his Prisoners to *London*.

We have hitherto without any digression related the fortune of the King from the time of his quitting *Scotland* to his safe arrival in *France*; but we shall now briefly describe the transactions that passed in *Scotland* at that time: *Cromwell* when he left the King constituted (as is hinted) General *Monk* Commander in Chief of the English Army there; which was an Action that carried great envy with it from those of his own party, because *Monk* had but lately engaged with them; and it was objected, that he had been heard to say he will never draw a Sword in *England* against the King or his Interest, and therefore they could not expect faithful service from him in *Scotland* against the same party; but it is said, he gave such assurance to *Cromwell* of his fidelity in that station against that people, (who were the first raisers of those unhappy storms that overspread our Nation with the miseries of War and Sedition) that he would not be perswaded to alter his choice.

The English Army left with the General exceeded not six thousand men, and many of these were sick and weak by long marches, but they had by several successful encounters gained a great reputation, and the Scots were much dispirited thereby, so that whilst he found part of his forces were in good heart and his enemies dejected, he immediately march'd to *Sterlin*, and came thither by that time *Cromwel* got into *England*.

Sterlin with the Castle surrendred to General *Monk*.

Sterlin was at that time governed by Colonel *Cunningham*, who was so surprized at the suddain approach of the English Army, (believing them to be of much greater numbers than they really were) that after a short siege he surrendred the Town and Castle upon Articles on the 14*th* of *August*; where the Kings Royal Robes, the Cloath of State, and all the Scotch Records were found and seized, together with five thousand Arms and forty piece of Ordnance, and great store of Ammunition; but all the goods of private persons there depositted, were delivered to such as would own them: over the door of the Chappel that belongs to the Castle this Motto in the time of King *James* was written, *J. C. R. Nobis hæc invitis miserunt Centum sex Proavi* 1617. which shews that that place had remained unconquered during the Reigns of an hundred and six Kings, and so continued all his time and his Sons.

The next place to which the General marched after the taking of *Sterlin* was *Dundee*, to which Town the chief of the Inhabitants of *Edenburgh* and many other Towns and places had conveyed the best part of their Moveables, as a secure depository, so that there was great riches in it. 1651

Major *Lumsdale* was Governour of the Town, who had therein eight hundred Souldiers, besides some Companies of armed Inhabitants, whereby he thought himself in so good a condition, that when the General drew near the place, and sent a summons to him, he returned a very slighting answer: hereupon he environed the Town with his Army; but at his first coming thither, hearing that old General *Lesly* and several of the Lords of *Scotland* were met at *Elliot* (about fourteen miles from *Dundee*) to raise Souldiers, he sent Colonel *Alured* and Colonel *Morgan* with a thousand Horse and Dragoons to disturb the Levies, leaving privately the chief conduct and care of the design to his confident Colonel *Morgan*, the other (though the elder Colonel) being not very competent for such a service. These, as soon as they had their Orders, marched in the night and took Scotch Guides to shew them the way to the Town, and by the help of some few Scotch Souldiers, who had revolted to the English, they so dissembled their march, that the Country took them for part of their own forces going to *Elliot*, so that they were got undiscovered beyond the Town about three of the clock in the morning, and then they marched into it with little or no resistance, and took 300 Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ministers, with about 70 of their Servants, the one of which was General *Lesly* (who was found hid in a close Cupboard-bed) the Earls *Marshal*, *Crawford*, *Lindsey* and *Keith*, and the Lords *Ogilby*, *Burgenny*, *Hume* and *Lee*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen of note; these were all shipt for *London*, but old *Lesly* putting in at *Newcastle*, was by the favour of Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* (then Governor thereof) permitted to stay in *Northumberland* with one *De la Val* his Son-in-law, upon promise to be a true Prisoner.

Old General *Lesly* and divers other Scotch Nobles surprized at *Elliot*.

Dundee taken by storm.

The General by this means had prevented all possibility of disturbance in his Siege, and seeing he could not by fair means prevail with the Governour to yield up the Town, though he knew by the surprize of *Elliot* all hope of relief failed, on the first of *September* he took it by storm, putting all to the Sword that were found in Arms. The Governour with some few for a while saved themselves in a Steeple, but were smothered out by the burning of wet straw, and then they yielded on mercy to one Captain *Kelly* of Colonel *Morgans* Regiment, who was carrying him to the General with purpose to intercede for his life, because of the gallantry of his behaviour in defence of the Town, but as he was going with him, one Major *Butler* barbarously shot him dead. The Souldiers had very rich booty in this Garrison, for it was at this time the richest Town in *Scotland*, and there were sixty sail of Ships in the Harbour. After this taking of *Dundee*, St. *Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, with other Towns, Castles and strong places either voluntarily submitted or rendred upon Summons.

These successes did not mitigate the severity of the Rulers at *Westminster*, who about the end of *September* appointed a Court-Marshall to sit at *Chester*, for the Tryal of the Earl of *Derby* and several

1651 several other Prisoners taken after the Battel at *Worcester*, or some little time before.

The Earl of *Derby* beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*.

The Earl upon his Tryal pleaded the Quarter given him by Captain *Edge* that took him prisoner, which was over-ruled by the Court, and he was sentenced to be beheaded, and on the 15th. of *October*, that rigorous Sentence was executed on him at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*; and for the same cause of Loyalty to their Sovereign, and by the same Court, Sir *Timothy Fetherstonhaugh*, Captain *Benbow*, and Captain *Sympkins* were sentenced to death, and executed.

Several Royalists taken and imprisonned in the Tower.

This sad occasion obliges us to a further account of those English Royalists who were taken in, and after the same Battel of *Worcester*, among whom were (besides others mentioned) the Lord *Grandison*, Sir *John Packington*, Colonel *Blague*, Colonel *Edward Braughton*, and Major General *Massey*; these were all except *Massey* presently imprisoned in the Tower; but he being much wounded and tired with riding as he endeavoured to escape, delivered himself up to the Countess of *Stamford*, who secured him in her house till he was cured of his wounds, upon his engagement to be a true Prisoner; and when he was recovered, he was also sent to the Tower, from whence by a disguise not long after he made his escape. Colonel *Wogan* was much sought after by the pursuers, but he got safe to the High-lands in *Scotland*, being resolved to prosecute the Kings Quarrel where Nature had fixt her *Non Ultra*.

The Isles of *Man* and *Jersey*, &c. surrendered to the Parliament.

There remained nothing in *England* of the antient Dominions and Territories thereof unsubdued to the Power of the Parliament, except the Isle of *Man*, and the Island of *Jersey*, and Castle *Cornet* in the Isle of *Guernsey*, which were all about this time surrendred to the Authority of the English Common wealth, and not only these adjacent Islands, but what was in *America* appertaining to the Crown of *England* came quickly into their Jurisdiction, as did the Island of *Barbadoes* (whereof the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* was Governour for the King) which was yielded up upon Articles to Sir *George Ayscough* about the beginning of *January*. The Articles were very favourable both to the Governour and Inhabitans, the first having liberty of returning to *England*, with freedoom to his person and estate, and the later being indemnified for what ever they had done in hostility against the Parliament. It is said, the gaining of this Island was much facilitated by one Colonel *Muddyford* then in difference with the Governour, whom Sir *George* had drawn to his party, and by whose power and influence in the Island it was easily obtained. Hereupon the Islands of *Nevis* and St. *Christopher* thought it in vain to stand out, but both submitted to Sir *George Ayscough*.

Barbadoes yielded up to Sir *Geo. Ayscough*.

Popham and *Ireton* yield to Fate.

Towards the End of this year two eminent Commanders of the English Common wealth were taken away by death, *viz.* General *Edward Popham*, one of the Generals at Sea; and *Ireton*, Son-in-law to *Cromwell*, and Deputy of *Ireland* who died of a contagious feaver contracted at the Siege of the City of *Limrick* in *Ireland*, which (after an obstinate resistance) he had newly gained. His Corps was transported to *England*, and brought to *London*, and interred in *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel in *Westminster* with a magnificent funeral pomp and state. He was no doubt a man of much dispatch, of dextrous and able parts, had they been imployed in honester designs; and was thought to have been a greater contriver and prompter in the cheifest of his Father-in-laws stratagems. For a time after his decease, Lieutenant General *Edmund Ludlow* executed his Office, till Colonel *Charles Fleetwood* who had succeeded him in his wife, was thereby preferred to succeed him in the Deputiship of *Ireland*.

1651

Col. *Fleetwood* succeeds *Ireton* in the Deputiship of *Ireland*.

The English Common wealth having in some measure quieted things at home, and thinking themselves in a fair way to a calm of Peace and Tranquillity, took upon them now to give Laws to their subjected Dominions, as also to make Acts of Grace to encourage their Subjects quietly to submit to them: The first related to *Scotland*, which being in a short time totally brought under, (for besides the gaining of *Dunbarton* Castle, which was delivered up by Sir *Charles Erskin*, and *Dunnotor* Castle which was taken by Colonel *Morgan*, and the Isles of *Orkney*, the *Hebrides*, and even *Schetland*, which is thought by some to be the same that the Antients called *Ultima Thule*, could not escape their Conquest, which was the work of Colonel *Overton*) they take into consideration a project, which however it being attempted in former times, could be brought to no effect, they resolved to go through with; namely, an Union of *England* and *Scotland*, and Incorporating of both Nations into one Commonwealth: This was mainly opposed and remonstrated against by the Scotch Kirk, though in vain; for the Parliament of *England*, (as they called themselves) had resolved upon an *Act for the Union of* Scotland, *and the Abolishing of Kingly Government in that Nation; intending that the Shires or Burghs should chuse their Deputies to represent them in Parliament, in such a proportionable number as the Parliament should think fit.* And Commissioners were sent from hence in behalf of the Common wealth of *England*, to treat concerning this Union with the Natives, whom they found but very cold entertainers of their Proffer, besides the tough opposition of the Clergy. These Commissioners were *Oliver* St. *John*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major General *Dean*, Major *Salway*, Colonel *Fenwick*, and Alderman *Tichburn*: And not long after were sent down as Itinerant Judges to hear, determine, and make inspection into all things belonging to the Government of that Nation, Mr. *George Smith*, Mr. *John Marsh*, Mr. *Edward Mosely*, and Mr. *William Lockart* a Scotchman: But these Judges were several times altered at pleasure. But to the Commissioners there came in and submitted divers of the Scotch Nobility; as the Marquess of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Weems*, *Angus*, and *Calender*, and the Lord *Belcarris*, and others; but of all that came in of the Nobility, the Marquess of *Argyle* was he that most complied and adhered to the Common wealth Interest, notwithstanding all the professions and shew he made when the King was in *Scotland*, and of the Lairds that acted amongst the

The Parliaments provision for the Government of *Scotland*.

1651 the Engliſh, the Chief were *Swinton* and *Warreſton*.

The Parliaments Act of Oblivion.

The next Act of Grace was to *England*, and was an Act of *Oblivion*, wherein they publiſhed it to be their intention to forget all injuries, and pardon all hoſtilities hitherto committed againſt them, upon condition of taking an Engagement, which they impoſed upon all people, wherein they were to promiſe *To be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of* England *as then eſtabliſhed, without King or Houſe of Lords*; out of which nevertheleſs were excepted the Lord *Goring* and his Sons, Sir *John Webſter* of *Amſterdam*, the Executors of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the ſlayers of *Doriſlaus* and *Aſcham*.

The occaſion of the War with Holland.

Scarce were theſe and ſome other little tranſactions finiſht at home, when there began to be in preparation new Matter for the exerciſe of their Arms abroad, in reſpect of a ſecret grudge which had lain a pretty while ſmothering between them and their Brother States of *Holland*, which was probably in a great part occaſioned through the ſlight and indifferent reckoning of *Doriſlaus* (whoſe Aſſaſſination they thought, perhaps, not ſufficiently enquired into;) and afterwards of their Embaſſadours *Oliver St. Johns*, and *Walter Strickland*, who being affronted by the Common People in *Holland*, thought themſelves not ſufficiently vindicated by the States, nor reſpected according to the Dignity of their Maſters, and therefore came away in diſcontent; and though the States ſent hither afterwards as their Agent *Myn Heer Joachim* with ſeveral Complements and Excuſes, with Commiſſion to treat about a fair Correſpondence and Commerce with *England*; yet our States at *Weſtminſter* were now reſolved they ſhould not have their Friendſhip on ſuch eaſie tearms as before they offered by their Embaſſadours, ſince they then made no more account of it: ſo that they diſmiſt *Joachim* after a prefixt time, beyond which he was not to ſtay, and then proceeded to make an Act, *For the Encouragement of Navigation*; wherein they prohibited *the importing of any Foreign Commodities except upon Engliſh Bottoms, or ſuch as were of the Country whence the Commodities came*; beginning withal to ſtand high upon claims of Dues and Reparations for the prejudice done us in our Trading: upon which occaſion was taken oftentimes to ſearch the Dutch Ships, and ſometimes to make prize of them. To complain of theſe damages, but more eſpecially, if it were poſſible, to obtain a ſuppreſſion of the ſaid Act ſo prejudicial to their Trade, they ſent over into *England* their Embaſſadors, *Myn Heeren Catz*, *Van de Peere*, *Sharp* and *Newport*; theſe men however coming as moſt zealous Advocates for a ſpeedy pacification, and relying much upon the favourable reception they ſhould meet with here, were nevertheleſs at their very firſt Audience accoſted with ſuch high demands about the Herring-fiſhing, the buſineſs of *Amboyna*, and a free Trade in the *Scheldt*, from *Middleburgh* to *Antwerp*, that they were able to give but a cold account to their Maſters in the Affair they came about: and though ſome Meſſages for a while paſt to and fro for the Vindication of each others actions, the Dutch all the while making great Proteſtations of their ſincere and real intentions towards this Commonwealth) yet ſtill preparations for War were privately made on both ſides. 1651

This year ended with an Act for the Baniſhment of *John Lilburn*, who being a perſon of a turbulent nature, had with reſtleſs impatience oppugned all Government, in ſo much that it was ſaid merrily of him, *If all the World were diſpeopled to him alone*, John *will be againſt* Lilburn, *and* Lilburn *againſt* John. It was provided in this Act, that if ever he returned without leave from the State, he ſhould ſuffer as a Felon. That which cauſed this ſeverity againſt him at this time was his violent oppoſition of Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, a leading Member of the Parliament about a Coal-pit in his poſſeſſion, claimed by one *Primate*: wherein he did not only lay many oppreſſions and ſcandals to the charge of *Hazlerig*, but in the publication thereof arraigned the Juſtice of the whole Commonwealth. *Lilburn* baniſhed.

The States of *Holland* ſet out a very great Fleet for the ſecurity of their Trade for this year, and in their inſtructions to *Martin Harperz Van Trump* their Admiral, they directed him not to ſtrike his Flag to the Engliſh Admiral, and the ſame Orders were given to every of the Ships of War, if occaſionally they met any ſingle Ships of *England* or others, that were not too numerous for their oppoſition. 1652 The Hollanders ſet forth a great Fleet.

The Engliſh on the other ſide they knew would not eaſily loſe the Dominion of the Sea, which in all ages they exerciſed without controul; ſo that *Van Trump* coming into *Dover*-road on the *17th.* of *May* with two and forty Sail, lay there at Anchor, as to dare them to oppoſition, and notice thereof being given to *Blake* the Engliſh Admiral, he made haſte to play up towards him with about 15 Ships and Frigats: but when *Trump* deſcried the Engliſh Fleet, he weighed his Anchor, and ſtood away by a wind Eaſtward, intending (as *Blake* ſuppoſed) to leave them to avoid the diſpute of the Flag; but about two hours after they altered their Courſe, and bore directly with the Engliſh Fleet, and *Van Trump* was headmoſt, whereupon the Engliſh lay by, and put themſelves into a fighting poſture, judging the Dutch had a reſolution to engage. Being come within Muſquet-ſhot, *Blake* gave Order to fire at his Flag, which was done thrice, and after the third ſhot, *Trump* let fly a broad-ſide, and it was well returned by the Engliſh Admiral; and after the exchange of Broad-ſides Major *Bourn* came in to *Blake*'s aſſiſtance with eight good Ships, and then both the Fleets engaged from four in the afternoon till it was dark, and though there were not leſs than two thouſand ſhot of Cannon exchanged on one ſide and the other, the loſs of men was not great, and the greateſt was of the *Hollanders*, of whom one Ship was ſunk, and another taken, and about an hundred and fifty men ſlain; the Engliſh had not any Ship diſabled, and very few men killed. *Van Trump* drew his Fleet in the night to the back of *Goodwin* Sands, and the next morning ſailed away for *Zealand*. The firſt Sea fight between the Dutch and Engliſh. The Dutch come off with loſs.

The *Holland* Embaſſadors at *London* by their Memorials endeavoured all they could to per-

1652 swade the Parliament, that this Action of *Trumps* was without the privity or consent of their Masters, and thereupon demanded a restitution of the Ship taken by *Blake* in the fight; but the people at *London* were so inflamed with the news of the fight and *Trumps* carriage in it, that they insisted not on that demand, and the Parliament was necessitated to appoint a Troop of Horse to guard the Embassadors from the rage and fury of the multitude.

The States apprehended this business might cause a Rupture betwixt them and the English, and therefore they dispatched the *Heer Paw* to *England* in the Quality of an Embassador Extraordinary, who was so very well received at his arrival at *London*, that he believed he should not only extinguish the flame already kindled, but perfect that Negotiation formerly treated on by the other Embassadors. But in this he was much deceived, for when he and the other Embassadors had joyntly presented a Paper to the Parliament to excuse the late enterprize of *Trump*, they returned an answer that did not at all content them, for they peremptorily required, *To be paid and satisfied for all the Charges and Damages they had been put to and sustained by the preparations of the States General, and other attempts this Summer, before they would treat on any other proposition.* The States of the United Provinces being advertised of this proceeding, immediately recalled their Embassadors, and thereupon the War was vigorously prosecuted on both parts, and in a very little time *Van Trump* was again at Sea with an hundred and twenty sail of men of War; but he got not out soon enough to prevent General *Blakes* sailing Northward with seventy sail of Ships of War to interrupt the Dutch fishing-Trade, and look for five Dutch East-India Ships which were at that time expected to return home that way.

Trump out again at Sea with an 120 Sail.

In the mean time about the *6th* of *June* Sir *George Ascough* arrived in the *Downs* with the *Barbadoes* Fleet, consisting of 15 Men of War, having taken in his way ten Dutch Merchant-Ships and four men of War, one whereof was a Ship of Advice, to give notice to their Merchant-Ships of their present differences.

The Parliament upon his arrival sent Orders to him to stay there, till a Fleet then providing in the *Thames* should be made ready to joyn with him.

Trump having intelligence thereof, about the beginning of *July* clapt in with part of his Fleet between Sir *George* and the River, and sent the other part Westward to prevent his going that way, resolving either to surprize those coming out of the *Thames*, or to sink and disperce those with Sir *George Ascough*; but the Governour of *Dover* gave so speedy advice of the posture of the Enemy, that the Navy in the River moved not, and then *Trump* on the eighth of *July* made towards Sir *George* to assail the Fleet, but the wind failing, they came to an Anchor a League off, and before the next Ebb, the Militia of that Country was ready upon the Coast, and Sir *George* his ships well re-inforced with men, and a Platform was cast up betwixt the Castles of *Deal* and *Sandown*, whereon good store of Cannon were planted to receive them, but at the next Ebb whilst they were under 1652 sail the wind came about South-West, and blew so directly in their teeth, that they could not possibly make in to them.

Trump upon this disappointment, returned to *Holland*, to convey several Merchant-men for the Northern and Eastern Trade, that lay ready for him; with which he sailed towards the *Sound*, and in his way he received advice, that *Blake* had spoiled and dispersed their Herring-Fishing, and taken twelve Men of War that guarded them, and was with his Fleet in Harbour about the Isles of *Orkney*, wherefore he sent part of his Ships to guard the Merchant-men on their Voyage, and with the rest he sailed to find out *Blake*, having met in his way the five East-India Ships, but when he came near those Northern Islands, such a storm arose, that he was forced to put to Sea, and his Fleet was so scattered, that he came home but with two and forty sail, and three of the East-India ships, but shortly after the other two East-India ships, and all the Fleet, except six, came home in safety; and *Blake* came safe to *Yarmouth* with all his Fleet and six of *Trumps* Frigots, which he had met with, and nine hundred Prisoners.

In this time Sir *George Ascough* had got a Fleet together of about forty sail, with which he sailed to *Plymouth* to secure our Merchant-ships homeward bound, where there safely arrived five ships from the East-India's, and two from the Streights. Whilst Sir *George* lay there, *De Ruyter* was passing that way with a Fleet of fifty men of War to convey about the like number of Merchant-ships that way: about two in the afternoon on the *16th* of *August* the English Fleet got sight of the Enemy, and *De Ruyter* sent away his Merchant-ships, and made ready for the fight, and about four, Sir *George* with nine of his headmost ships charged through the Dutch Fleet, and got the Weather-gage of them, and charged them again, but the rest of his Fleet being Merchant-men, and not coming up, and the night being already entred, both Fleets drew off from each other; the Dutch into one of the *French* Ports, and Sir *George* to *Plymouth* to mend and repair the damages of the Fleet; Captain *Peck* his Rear-Admiral lost his Leg and soon after died, and several other Captains were wounded, but not one ship lost; what loss of men the Dutch sustained was not known, but none of their ships were disabled.

Sir *George Ascough* and *De Ruyters* engagement at *Plymouth* being the second combate with the Dutch.

Van Trump was at this time very much discontented upon some rumours spread of his failure of conduct in the last expedition, so that he desired the States that he might leave his charge and retire; the States seemed very unwilling to comply with his request, but at last they consented to it, and *Wit Witsens* was appointed in his place, to whom *De Ruyter* was joyned in Commission. These two Commanders made what speed they could to get their Fleet to Sea, and in *October* they made their stations on the side of the North *Foreland*; *Blake* assoon as he had notice thereof hastned with his Fleet towards them, having been on the Western Coast to Convey some Merchant-ships homewards, and taken in his way five Dutch West-India ships of great value, and six Streights-men, valued at two hundred thousand pounds.

He

1652

He divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, one commanded by himſelf, the other by *Penne* the Vice-Admiral, and the third by Rear-Admiral *Bourn*, and the 28*th* of *October* the Fight was begun by *Bourn*, and ſeconded immediately by the whole Fleet, wherein great Courage was ſhown on both ſides, the Rear-Admiral of the Dutch was boarded and taken, and two more of their Ships were ſunk, and one blown up, ſo that *Wit Wittens* was glad to give over the conflict, and to ply his Sails to get off, being purſued by the Engliſh Fleet within twelve Leagues Eaſt South-Eaſt of the *Maze*, and he with the remainder of his torn and much ſhattered Ships came into *Goree*. The Engliſh preſerved all their Ships, though many of them were much battered, and *Blake* came in Triumph into the *Downs*.

De wit worſted by *Blake* being the third engagement with the Dutch.

The Dutch were much troubled at the loſs of this Combat, which was by *Wittens* imputed to the Cowardize of ſome of his Commanders, & the advantage of the Engliſh ſhips over them in number and ſtrength.

But nevertheleſs the States thought it not convenient to hazard another Combat till they had a more ſufficient Fleet than before, both in the goodneſs and ſtrength of their ſhips, and the number alſo.

Both they and the Engliſh in the firſt beginning of the War had ſent to the *Swedes* and *Danes* to invite them to their Party, becauſe the Materials for ſhipping came from the Seas where theſe Princes had the chief Dominion; the *Swedes* were very favourable to us, and at laſt would be Neuters, if not Partakers with us, and the Queen ſent hither Monſieur *Spiering* her Embaſſadour, who died ſhortly after his arrival at *London*, and after his death Monſieur *Appleboom* ſucceeded: but the *Danes* declared for the States of the *United Provinces* againſt us. And about this time their King ſent a Meſſage to them, that he was ready to ſuccour them with twenty good ſhips of War, provided they would re-eſtabliſh *Trump* in his late Employment as Admiral. The States were very willing to comply with this Propoſition, and *Trump* was again prevailed with to re-aſſume his former charge.

The Dane ſides with the Dutch

In the *Levant* Captain *Badily* with four or five Engliſh Frigots was ſet upon by *Van Galen*, who commanded a Fleet of 16 Sail of Dutch Men of War in thoſe Seas, in which encounter the *Phœnix* was taken by the Dutch, and the reſt of our ſhips were forc'd to retire under the protection of the Port of *Longone*; but *Van Galen* bought this Victory with the loſs of his Life, and the *Phœnix* was on the twentieth of *November* regain'd by the valour of Captain *Cox* a former Lieutenant to the ſame ſhip.

The Engliſh come off with loſs in the *Levant*.

Van Trump being reſtored to the Office of *Admiral*, was very induſtrious to give a proof of his courage in ſome valiant Enterprize; and to that purpoſe having got together Eighty Men of War, and Ten Fire-ſhips, he ſailed directly to the backſide of the *Goodwin*, near the place where the former Battel was fought. *Blake* was in the *Downs* with few more than Forty ſail, but was nevertheleſs reſolved not to refuſe an Engagement, and for that purpoſe he hoyſed his ſailes to find out *Trump*, and ſent out ſeven ſhips to diſcover his Fleet, which were met by nine of the Dutch ſhips ſent out on the ſame Errand. Theſe began the Fight with their Cannon, and immediately the two Admirals advanced at the Head of their Squadrons, and the Fight was very furious, and laſted from two in the Morning on the twenty ninth of *November*, Old Style, till ſix in the Evening. The *Triumph*, wherein *Blake* himſelf was, with the *Victory* and *Vantguard* bore moſt of the ſtreſs, being engaged at one time with twenty of the beſt Dutch ſhips, and though it was long doubted on which ſide the fortune of the day would turn, yet at laſt the numbers of the Dutch drew it to that ſide, with the loſs of the *Garland* and *Bonaventure* which were taken, and of one that was burnt, and three ſunk; and indeed had not the Night been favourable to our retreat, the whole Fleet might have been in much danger. But the Dutch could not much boaſt of this Victory; for they loſt many men, and one of their Flag-ſhips was blown up, and all the Mariners and Souldiers therein loſt, except two; and the ſhips of *Van Trump* and *De Ruyter* were much damaged.

1652

The fourth Combate with the Dutch.

Blake defeated in the *Downs*

Blake after this defeat drew his ſhattered Fleet into the River of *Thames* to be repaired, and it is ſaid, *Trump* triumphantly ſailed through the *Channel* with a Broom on his main Topmaſt, pretending to ſweep the *Channel* of all Engliſh ſhipping; and having ſent home all his diſabled ſhips, after ſome little ſtay about *Guernſey* and the Weſtern Parts, he arrived at the *Iſle of Rhe* to ſtay there for a Fleet of Merchants ſhips which were to be convoy'd homewards. In the mean time all poſſible care was uſed by the Engliſh States to equippe a Fleet to meet him as he return'd, and General *Monk* was added to the number of the Generals at Sea, and General *Dean* being newly arriv'd from *Scotland*, was ordered to go to Sea with *Blake* and *Monk*; ſo that under the joynt Command and Conduct of theſe three Generals, the War at Sea was to be managed.

The expence of this War made this Parliament contrive all ways they could to husband their Treaſure, and becauſe they thought the entertainment of the Duke of *Glouceſter* (whom ſince the murder of the late King they had kept at the *Iſle of Wight*) too great an expence, they reſolved to ſend him abroad, and about the beginning of *February* they ſent him with two Servants to *Dunkirk*, promiſing to allow him a ſmall Exhibition for his maintenance, if he would not come near his Brother, nor any of his Relations.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* ſent away to *Dunkirk*.

But as ſoon as he came on that ſide of the Water, he was received according to his Birth and Quality, and from *Bruxels*, he was attended to the Princeſs of *Orange* at *Breda*, where he ſafely arrived, to the great joy of her and all the Royal Family, who had been in continual fear, that his life would be taken away by thoſe that ſpared not the life of his Royal Father.

He is conveyed to *Breda*.

From whence he is conducted to *Paris* to the King his Brother.

After he had been a while at *Breda*, he was conducted from thence by the Earl of *Lauderdale* to *Paris* to the King his Brother, to whom as alſo

1652 also to his Mother the Queen, and his other Relations, he was welcomed as one risen from the dead, and was very civilly treated by the King and Queen-Mother of *France*, and that whole Court.

The King of *Denmarks* Confederacy with the States of *Holland* made the Parliament very solicitous to draw the Queen of *Sweden* to their interest, but she continued in a resolution of Neutrality, and offered her Mediation for a Peace betwixt the two States, which yet took no effect; but the Dutch to strengthen their party, were very earnest with the French by their Ambassadour *Boreel* at *Paris* to conclude a League Offensive and Defensive with that Crown, and herein they doubted not to succeed, because the English were in a kind of Hostility at this time with the French. For, about the later end of *August* in this year, some of the Parliaments Frigots had taken seven of the King of *France* his Ships which were going to the relief of *Dunkirk*, then besieged by the Arms of *Spain*, by which means that Town came into the hands of the Spaniards: But the reputation of the English Commonwealth was at this time so great, that Cardinal *Mazarine*, who then managed the Affairs of *France*, endeavoured rather an Accommodation with them than otherwise; so that the Dutch missed of their purposes in that Negotiation, and about the month of *December* Monsieur *De Bourdeaux* was dispatched as Agent from the King of *France* to acknowledge the English State. This action of the French at this time was looked on with much reflection by those that were Friends to the Crown of *England*; for our King had by his excellent wisdom and address newly composed the Civil Commotions of that Kingdom, wherein the Princes of the Blood had possessed themselves of *Paris*, and begun and formed a great Party against the King, demanding to have the Cardinal banished, and several real or pretended Grievances redressed, and so formidable were they grown, that the Cardinal withdrew himself to *Calen* for fear of them, and the Duke of *Lorrain* was on their behalf entred into the Bowels of *France* with an Army, whereby a great effusion of Blood had ensued if his Majesties Mediation had not prevented it; by which the Crown of *France* was not only raised to a great lustre, but the Cardinal, whose Fortune was by most men judged desperate, was with the Peace restored to his former Authority and Greatness.

The Parliament solicits the Queen of *Sweden* to espouse their interest.

Monsieur *Bourdeaux* sent Agent from the French King to the English States.

The King reconciles the differences between the King and Princes of *France*.

The States of *Holland* having advice that the Parliament was equipping a Fleet to be put to Sea under their three Generals, sent an express to *Trump* (then at *Rhe*) to hasten away with what Merchant-men were ready, and to block up the River of *Thames* to prevent their going out; *Trump* upon receiving this Order made what haste he could; but contrary to the expectation of the States, and even to their amazement, on the eighth of *February*, the English Generals set sail from *Queenborough* with sixty sail of Men of War, to which on the eleventh of the same month twenty Sail more joyned from *Portsmouth*, and with this Fleet they sailed overagainst *Portland*, where they lay cross the Channel half Seas over to discover the Dutch Fleet; on *Friday* the eighteenth of *February* by break of day the Southermost ships of the English descried the Dutch, consisting (as their own Prints reported) of seventy six men of War, who had the charge of three hundred Merchants Ships to convey homewards. 1652

The English Fleet out at Sea again.

The English Fleet made what sail they could towards the Enemy, and *Van Trump* having recollected his ships of War, prepared to receive them, and about eight in the Morning, the *Triumph*, wherein *Blake* and *Dean* were, with twelve ships more (for the rest of the Fleet could not get up) engaged Board and Board with the gross of the Dutch Fleet, and the *Triumph* was hardly put to it, having received seven hundred Cannon-shot in her Hull, but was gallantly relieved by *Lawson* Commander of the *Fairfax*. By this time the whole English Navie came up, and a furious fight ensued betwixt the two Fleets, which continued till the Night parted them.

The two Fleets engage near *Portland*. The fifth time.

The Ship wherein General *Monk* commanded, being a slow sayler, could not perform so much as he desired, but she lost many Men, and had as great a share in the Fight as any of her condition. The *Triumph* and *Fairfax* being enclosed by the greatest of the *Holland* ships, had in each an hundred killed and wounded, and *Blake* received a hurt in his thigh with a piece of Iron which a shot had driven out, and *Ball* the Captain thereof was slain, together with *Sparrow* the Secretary. The *Prosperous*, a ship of four and forty Guns, was boarded by the Dutch, but recovered by the *Merlin* Frigot, Captain *Mildmay* of the *Vanguard* was killed; the English lost not a ship in this Fight, but had many disabled: but six Men of War of the Dutch were taken and sunk, whereof one was a Flag-ship, and it is said, that most of the Officers in *Trumps* ship were killed or wounded, and many of the Mariners. Such of the English Fleet as were disabled got into *Portsmouth*, and the wounded men were set on shore, and on *Saturday* Morning the Dutch Fleet was again discerned seven Leagues off *Weymouth*, and over against *Dungeness*, whither the English plied; and in the Afternoon both fleets engaged with so much fury, that they were quickly environed with flame and smoke. *Trump* had put his Merchant-men before him, and after the first shock, he drew off and fought retreating towards *Bulloign*, and in his way thither the English Frigots at large took many of his Merchants ships, and *Lawson* boarded a Dutch Man of War, and brought her off. The next day early in the Morning the Fight was renewed, which continued very fierce till four in the Afternoon, but the wind being cross to the English at North North-East, *Trump* got to *Calice* Sands, and there anchored, and thence tided it home.

The Dutch beaten in this Fight.

The Dutch lost in these three days Fight eleven Men of War, and thirty Merchants Ships, and by the calculation of their own Prisoners, they had no less than fifteen hundred men kill'd; but of the English, though many ships were shattered, there was but one sunk named the *Sampson*, but Captain *Batton* the Commander thereof (though much wounded) and most of the Men were saved. The number of the English slain is not reported, but by the best conjecture that could be made, they were not much less than those of their enemies.

This

1652 This Year died the Lady *Eleanor Davys.*

This year died the Lady *Eleanor Davys*, whose Prediction concerning the late Duke of *Buckinghams* Death, was thought remarkable enough to be commemorated by several Writers of the History of those Times, amongst the Presages that threatned the untimely end of that Great Man: And this coming from a Person of her Quality, was so much the more subject of Critical Discourse and Censure among the Wits of those Times; and whence, perhaps, some later Observers have taken Aim: but, since common Fame in these cases is ever apt to take things upon trust, and for want of due examination, to fix reproach as soon upon the best as the worst, it may much conduce to the rectifying of misinformed Judgements, and the vindicating of the Memory of so Vertuous a Lady from the injurious reflexions of unwary Writers, to give this faithful account of her:

She was the fifth Daughter of the Lord *George Audley* Earl of *Castlehaven*, and was married to Sir *John Davys* the Kings first Serjeant at Law in *England*, and sometime Attorney General in *Ireland* (whose Worth his own Learned Writings, and the known Credit he had with his Prince, sufficiently speak) by whom she was the Mother of one only Daughter, *Lucy*, who was married to *Ferdinando* late Earl of *Huntingdon*, and (by her) Graud-mother to the present Earl. As for her Character, there needs little more to be said (since nothing can be more advantagiously) than to repeat what hath been delivered of her by the Elegant Pen of the Learned Doctor *Du Moulin*: She was (saith he) *Erudita supra sexum, Mitis infra sortem: Learned above her Sex, Humble below her Fortune, having a Mind so great and Noble, that Prosperity could not make it remiss, nor her deepest Adversity cause her to shrink, or discover the least pusillanimity, or dejection of Spirit; for being full of the Love of God, to that fulness, the smiling World could not add, nor the frowning from it detract.* Hence as from a Living Spring, flowed a full Stream of Christian Graces, redounding to the benefit of many, as well as to her own comfort. She had a fineness of Wit, but so temper'd with Prudence and Consultation, that she early addicted her self to serious Speculation, and the Study of Divine Truths. Wherefore, since our Saviour bids us examine (especially in these Cases) the Tree by the Fruit, we recommend it to the consideration of the Judicious, whether a Person so qualified and so addicted, might not with most equity be judg'd on this occation, to have been favoured with some beam of a Divine Knowledge of future things: Certain it is, that not only in the above mentioned, but in divers other Events both of private and publick Concernment, her Predictions proved undoubtedly true. In the most flourishing condition of the Nation, she foretold its unparallell'd Troubles, and in the depth of those Troubles she foretold that happy Restauration to Peace and Settlement which we at this day (through the Mercy of God) enjoy under our most Gracious Sovereign, and in every one she long before prefix'd the time of their accomplishment.

This busie Year ended with the safe arrival of Prince *Rupert* with the *Swallow*, and a prize laden with Tobacco, and a little Frigot at *Nantes* in *Britany*, from the *Carib* Islands. He had been sometime in those Seas with seven or eight Ships, and his Brother Prince *Maurice* with him, endeavouring to give what annoyance he could to the Enemies of the Crown of *England* in those parts, till some serviceable occasion might render him more favourable elsewhere; but the said strokes of adverse Fortune, which yet eclipsed the Royal Throne of *England*, did even in those distant parts pursue this Illustrious Pair of Princes, and by the violence of a *Hurricane*, the life of one of them (the valiant Prince *Maurice*) was taken away; a person who in our unhappy Civil Wars gave eminent proof of as much courage and generosity as any one man could be Master of, than whom death has left few worthier behind, to dignifie the World with Actions of Glory and Renown. Prince *Rupert* at his first arrival fell sick, but upon his recovery he was invited to *Paris*, and complemented by the King of *France*, and cordially welcomed by the King our Sovereign, where now almost the whole Royal Family were met together.

1652 Prince *Rupert* arrives in *Britany* from the *Carib* Islands.

Prince *Maurice* drown'd in the *West Indies.*

It is commonly observed, that it is easier much to obtain a Conquest than secure it; and in nothing was this more visible than in the present posture of Affairs in *England*, where the New Commonwealth now advanced to as great prosperity and security as their ambitious hopes could aim at, having, together with the death of the late King, as much as in them lay, even buried and eradicated Monarchy it self, began to sink under its own weight, and by intestine divisions at home, to meet that ruine, which all the strength and power of their Enemies abroad, and their Confederates could not reach to.

1653

The Officers of the Army who effected this change, had met in Council some Months before in meditation of altering the Government; and these being of two Parties, and of different interests, it was scarce believed they could agree in the design. *Harrison*, who was one of the Heads of that Party at this time, known by the name of the Sect of the *Fifth Monarchy*, had gained a great part of the Inferiour Officers, and these were so much intoxicated with that Notion, that they never could approve of any Government, but *where* (as they said) *Christ was to Rule*, which, as they explained, (was a Dominion to be exercised by Saints under him) Men of such Holy and Sanctified Lives, that nothing but Plenty and Happiness could be expected from their Government, and to such, all Offices of Trust and Power, Military and Civil were to be committed, and of this sort they resolved to chuse by nomination a new Representative. *Cromwell* mingled with these Zealots in this projection, knowing the inconsistency of their intentions, and that the Reins of Power would be by them managed (as the Poets feigned *Phaeton*'s conduct of the Chariot of the Sun) to set the World in a flame, and introduce such confusion as would necessitate his taking to himself the Government to rescue his party from destruction.

The Officers of the Army consult about a change of Government.

1653 The Parliament were very ſenſible of theſe actings, but knew not how to prevent their progreſs, yet that they might not be wanting to their own ſecurity, they had many Conferences with theſe Officers, wherein they repreſented to them the Inconveniences of their proceedings, telling them, *as the temper of the Nation now ſtood, no ſafety could be adminiſtred to the Government, but by filling up the Houſe with Elections by the Countrey, of perſons qualified, and when they were by that method arrived to a full Repreſentative of the Nation, their Acts would be received with greater Authority, and by the concurrent Advice of ſo great a Body of intereſſed perſons, their cauſe would be ſtrengthened, and the good they would do in reforming the Law and all Abuſes, and adminiſtring Juſtice impartially, and ſettling a due Liberty to the people in Civil and Spiritual things, would make the Government in a few years ſo acceptable, that there would be no need of an Army to ſupport it.*

To this anſwer was made by the Officers, *That they could not expect any good Fruits to the People of God from this Parliament, wherein there was ſo great a Party of Carnal Men of corrupt Principles, that the perſons by their Authority to be choſen would be of the like temper and ſpirit as they are, and joyn with them in perpetuating themſelves in the Supreme Government:* Concluding, *That the people of the Land, who were diſtinguiſhable from the people of God, were not yet to be truſted with the choice of their own Repreſentatives: But they* (they ſaid) *would take care to devolve the Supreme Authority upon known perſons fearing God, and of approved integrity.* This reaſoning on both ſides tended to make the breach wider, but the Parliament in the mean time went on according to their own purpoſe, and prepared an Act for the ſetling of Qualifications of Members to fill up their Houſe, wherein ſuch ſpeed was made, that on the twentieth of *April* the Queſtion was ready to be put to paſs it into a Law, when *Cromwel*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, and ſome eight Officers more of the Army, by intelligence with ſome of their Members, entred the Houſe, and after a ſhort Speech ſpoken by *Cromwell*, ſhewing ſome reaſons for the neceſſity of their Diſſolution, he declared them diſſolved, and required them to depart, but the Speaker would not leave the Chair, till by *Harriſon* taken out by the Arm; and *Cromwell* commanded the Mace to be taken away, and not any more to be carried before him, and then they cauſed the Doors of the Parliament Houſe to be locked, and placed a good guard thereon to prevent the aſſembling of the Members.

The manner of *Cromwell's* diſſolving the Parliament.

This Revolution could not but be very pleaſing to the King, for now the Stone was rowling, in all probability it would not fix (as in the ſequel it appeared) till that juſt Government ſhould be attained under which this Kingdom had enjoyed as much happineſs, for many Centuries of years, as any Nation in the World.

A Council of State conſtituted.

The firſt thing done by theſe Officers after this change, was to conſtitute a Council of State conſiſting of the Chief Officers of the Army, and ſuch of the late Parliament as were their Confederates, in whom the Supreme Authority was placed, and till a Repreſentative ſhould be choſen, all obedience was required thereunto as fully as when the Parliament was ſitting, and all Judges, Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Civil Officers and Publick Miniſters whatſoever were to proceed in their reſpective Offices and Places, and Writs were to run in the Style of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England* as before. 1653

The Dutch thought to profit themſelves by this alteration, and made all poſſible haſte to get out their Fleet, but our new Governours omitted nothing that might advance their Maritime preparations. And the firſt thing they did after their eſtabliſhment, was to make an Ordinance for the raiſing of ſix Months Aſſeſſment from the twenty fourth of *June* enſuing, which was readily obeyed, becauſe it exacted not ſo great a ſum as the laſt Acts of Parliament for Aſſeſſments.

A ſix months Tax ſetled.

Whileſt theſe things were in Action, all Officers and Souldiers in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and all the Officers in the Fleet were practiſed on to approve of the Armies proceedings, and did comply therewith, ſo that no Commotion followed in any part upon this mutation of Government.

The next conſiderable matter that occurr'd, was a Naval Combat betwixt the Dutch Fleet under *Trump* aſſiſted with *De Ruyter*, *Wit Wittens*, and the two *Everſons*, conſiſting of 104 Men of War, 12 Galliots, and nine Fire-ſhips; and the Engliſh Fleet under the Command of General *Monk* and General *Dean* who were both in one Ship) aſſiſted by *Penne* the Vice-Admiral, and *Lawſon* Rear-Admiral, conſiſting of 100 ſhips of all ſorts. It was about eleven of the Clock at Noon on the ſecond of *June* that both the Fleets engaged, that at the firſt Broad-ſide of the Enemy, *Dean* was ſhot almoſt off in the middle by a Cannon-Bullet, as he ſtood by General *Monk*; but he without any diſturbance was ſo preſent to himſelf, that he cauſed him to be removed, and proſecuted the Battel with great Reſolution, without any further notice of the accident. The noiſe and Thunder of the Cannon was very great, and had been very deplorable to both Parties, if a ſudden calm had not abated the fury of the Fight for ſome time after it began; but after two hours ſuch a freſh gale of Wind aroſe, that the Fight was renewed in ſo violent a manner, that it continued with very little intermiſſion whilſt there was any light; *Lawſon* preſſed ſo hard upon *De Ruyter* with his Squadron, that he had carried him, if *Trump* had not come into his relief, but he could not prevent *Lawſon*'s ſinking a Ship of *Holme* of 42 Guns, that had in her a hundred and forty men; the General with his Squadron was in the thickeſt of them, and greater execution had been done, but that the Wind blew croſs to the Engliſh, and ſo favoured their Enemies, that they bore away before it. The next morning early General *Monk* found himſelf near them, but the Wind was ſo ſlack, he could not come up till Noon to engage their Fleet, but then the Combat was begun with greater vigour than at any time before, and continued till ten at Night; ninety of *Trumps* Fleet in the heat of the Engagement were in ſo great confuſion, and ſo unwilling to ſtand to the Fight, that he fired upon them, and ſent his Boat to Command them to come up to him, but nothing he could

Trump engaged by Gen. *Monk* and *Dean*: which was the fifth Sea Fight.

Gen *Dean* ſlain in the fight.

1653 could do or say, could perswade more than twenty of them to return, the rest steered away East and by South, but the Wind being fresh West-wardly, the General press'd so hard upon them, that he sunk six of their best Ships, and two were blown up amongst their own Fleet, and eleven Ships and two Hoyes were taken, and thirteen hundred and fifty Prisoners, whereof six were Captains of very good note, and of the Ships one was a Vice-Admiral, and two were Rear-Admirals.

Trump defeated.

At the end of this days Fight, General *Blake* came in with eighteen fresh Ships, and if the Dutch had not been upon the Flats of *Dunkirk* and *Calice*, whereby our great Ships could not get up to them, most of their Fleet had been ruin'd or taken. The English had not one Ship lost or disabled, and, except General *Dean*, but one Captain slain.

Van Trump imputed this overthrow to the ignorance and unskilfulness of his Captains, but his Masters were so humbled by it, that a resolution for Peace was immediately taken up, and a Vessel with a white Flag, and a Messenger to prepare a way for two Embassadours, was sent into *England*.

The Council of Officers had now agreed upon the several persons all over *England* (who were the most sanctified Creatures they could nominate) to form a Representative, and a Summons was sent to every one of them in the name of *Oliver Cromwell* Captain General of all the Forces, &c. to take upon them the trust to which they were summoned, and to meet at *White-hall* to that purpose on the fifth of *July* then next coming.

The New Parliament summoned.

These according to the respective Summons assembled at the time appointed, and went to *Westminster* to the Parliament House; and chose one *Rouse* a Cornish-man (made by the late Parliament Provost of *Eaton*) to be their Speaker, and appointed several Committees in the manner as other Parliaments used to do, to make their business easie to them.

The Dutch in this Conjuncture had underhand made Overtures of a Peace to *Cromwell*, which was not ill received, but that they might make it on better tearms, they were resolved once more to try their Fortunes at Sea, to regain their lost Reputation; and in order thereunto, they prepared a Fleet to the number of an hundred and twenty five Sail, with so much confidence of success, that they posted *Van Trump* out with 95 Ships before the rest were ready, which were to be brought to him by *Witt Wittens* from the *Texel*.

It was upon the 29th of *July* in the Morning when the English Fleet of about 106 Ships descried the Dutch, they had time to draw together, and divided their Fleet into four Squadrons, (*viz.*) the first under *Trump*, the second under Vice-Admiral *Everson*, the third under Rear-Admiral *Floris*, and the fourth under *Witt Wittens* for a Reserve.

The English Fleet was commanded by General *Monk* in Chief, having *Penn* for his Vice-Admiral, and *Lawson* Rear-Admiral; *Blake* was discomposed in his health, and not with the Fleet, the English were all a-stern, and could not get up till six of the clock to come to any Engagement, and then it was begun with a few of the nimblest Frigots, which were afterwards re-inforced to the number of thirty, who continued the Battel till the night parted them, though the rest of the Fleet could not get up to joyn with them. 1653

The last Dutch Engagement between Gen. *Monk* and *Trump*, being the fifth combat.

The Dutch by the darkness of the night sent away many of their maim'd disabled Ships, and got by the English Fleet to joyn with the twenty five Ships that *Wittens* brought to them, which much encouraged the rest to renew the Fight, in hopes to be reveng'd of their late affront; and now both Fleets met in the most fierce and cruel Fight that ever was fought, (General *Monk* observing this War to be very burthensome to the Nation, thought the best way of ending it to be in the sharpness of it, and therefore gave Orders to all his Captains, neither to give nor take Quarter; for he had found by experience, that the taking of Ships oblig'd him always to send other Ships off with them, and so the Fleet became weakned,) the Air was quickly fill'd with scattered Limbs of men blown up; the Sea was died with the Blood that flowed from the Veins of the slain and wounded. *Witt Wittens* and *Everson* did bestir themselves, and often attempted to board the Ship in which the General himself was: *Cornelius Everson*'s ship was sunk, and he taken, and the famous *Van Trump* himself standing upon the Poop of his ship with his drawn Sword encouraging his men, was slain with a Musquet-Bullet; whereby the rest of the Fleet was so discouraged, that they hoysted out all the sail they could to haste away towards the *Texel*: The English pursued little, (having bought the Victory at a dear rate) but tack'd about to *Sole-Bay*, there to repair their shattered ships, and dispose of their Prisoners, whereof five were Captains, *viz. Everson, Zanger, Fomeen, Scotten*, and *D' Hayes*, and about 1200 Common men, by the mercy and compassion of the English taken out of Boats, and swimming in the Sea; Thirty three sail of Ships, out of which they were sav'd, was sunk to the bottom of the Ocean, and in regard that these Prisoners were belonging to so many lost Ships, by this means the number of them was known; but it is supposed that some were sunk, out of which no men were saved. The English lost 400 Common men, and eight Captains, *Graves, Peacock, Taylor, Crisp, Newman, Cox, Owen* and *Chapman*, men of great resolution; and had about 7000 wounded, whereof five were Commanders, but they lost but one ship, which was called the *Oak*.

Van Trump slain.

Van Trump was a man of so great Courage and Experience in Maritime Affairs, that he justly merritted the fame of being the most Renowned Sea-Captain of this Age, and perhaps there were few better at any time before. He was a Person of much Vertue, Honour, and Fidelity, and a great lover of his Countrey, which made him bear a grateful respect to the House of *Orange*, by whom the foundation was laid of that (*High and Mighty*) greatness they now assume and enjoy; and by whose

A Character of *Van Trump*.

1653 Prudence and Courage their Liberties were reſcued and preſerved againſt one of the moſt potent Princes of *Europe*. Out of his great ſenſe of Honour, he had much commiſeration for the ſufferings of our Royal Family, and did endeavour to perſwade his Maſters to eſpouſe the Kings Intereſt, as that to which they were in Juſtice and Conſcience obliged to adhere, and though he was without ſucceſs in that undertaking, he omitted not on all occaſions to teſtifie his affections to his Majeſty.

The War was not only proſecuted in thoſe great fights, but in all parts of the World where the Trade of the Two Nations was uſed, the ſhips of each engaged one the other,& many ſore conflicts were made in ſeveral places; but becauſe the particular deſcription of theſe encounters would ſwell this Treatiſe to too large a bulk, we do omit the doing thereof.

This new Parliament (for ſo for diſtinction we muſt call it) began to be ſo troubleſome in their conſultations, that the whole Nation, and the moſt of thoſe Army Officers that named them, grew wearier of them than thoſe that were before removed; for they were ſo Seraphical and Notional in their debates, that the whole Magiſtracy and Miniſtry was to be ſo modelled,as would make the Government ridiculous; but the Miniſtry and the Maintenance thereof by Tythes was that they moſt arraigned as an Antichriſtian Conſtitution; ſo that now all things ſucceeded to *Cromwell*'s expectation, and their diſſolution was earneſtly preſſed to ſave a threatned confuſion in Government, if they continued in Authority; and of this ſome amongſt themſelves were ſo ſenſible,that *Rouſe* the Speaker on the twelfth of *December* acquainted the Houſe, that their ſitting was no longer neceſſary, and being ſeconded by ſome others privie to the intention, he roſe from the Chair, and went out of the Houſe with the Mace before him, and with as many as would follow him (being the major part of the Members) he came to *White-hall*, and there reſigned to *Cromwell* the Inſtrument by him formerly delivered to them at their firſt ſitting; *Harriſon* and ſome few ſtaid in the Houſe after the reſt went, but were quickly diſperſed by a party of Souldiers ſent to diſſolve them.

The new Parliamen diſſolved.

About four days after, the Officers of the Army had prepared an Inſtrument or Syſteme of Government, on which the foundation of a new Dominion was to be erected, and they entreated *Oliver Cromwell* to accept of the Government under the Title of *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland: He at firſt ſeemingly refuſed the Dignity; but when the exigence of Time and neceſſity of Affairs were laid open to him, he did accept of it, and was that day at one in the afternoon inſtall'd at *Weſtminſter* in manner following:

The Protector inſtall'd.

He came from *White-hall* to the Chancery Court in *Weſtminſter-hall*, attended by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Barons of the Exchequer and Judges in their Robes, and after them the Counſel Learned of the *Commonwealth*, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London* in their Scarlet Gowns, then came the Protector attended with many of the chief Officers of the Army; there was a Chair of State ſet in the Court, and the Protector ſtood by it, till the Inſtrument of Government was read; then the Oath was adminiſtred to him, which he took in the following words: 1653

I promiſe in the preſence of God, not to violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained in the Inſtrument, but to obſerve and cauſe the ſame to be obſerved; and in all things to the beſt of my underſtanding, Govern the Nation, according to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms thereof: and to ſeek their Peace, and cauſe Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſtred.

Having ſubſcribed this Oath and the Inſtrument, he ſate in the Chair of State, and put on his Hat, and the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal delivered up the Seal to him, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance, all which he reſpectively returned to them again; and then the Protector in the ſame manner as he came, returned to *White-hall*. To publiſh the Inſtrument of Government is not very neceſſary, and will be too long, but ſome Heads thereof are here inſerted:

The Heads of the Inſtrument of the Protectors Government.

1. *A Parliament to be called every three years.*
2. *The firſt to Aſſemble on the third of* September, 1654.
3. *No Parliament to be diſſolved till it have ſate five Months.*
4. *Such Bills as are offered to the Protector by the Parliament, if he aſſent not in twenty days, to be Laws without him.*
5. *That his Council ſhall not exceed the number of one and twenty, nor be leſs than thirteen.*
6. *That immediately after the death of the preſent, and ſucceeding Protectors, the Council ſhall chuſe another before they riſe.*
7. *No Protector after the preſent, ſhall be General of the Army.*
8. *The Protector ſhall have power to make War and Peace.*
9. *That in the Intervals of Parliament, the Protector and his Council may make ſome Laws that ſhall be binding to the Subject.*

The firſt Council choſen in purſuance of this Inſtrument, were,

Col. *Edward Mountague.*
Col. *John Lambert.*
Philip Lord Viſcount *Liſle.*
Col. *John Desbrow*, newly made alſo one of the Generals at Sea.
Sir *Gilbert Pickering.*
Sir *Anthony Aſhly Cooper.*
Sir *Charles Wolſey.*
Major Gen. *Skippon.*
Walter Strickland, Eſq;
Col. *William Sydenham.*
Col. *Philip Jones.*
Francis Rouſe, Gent.
John Lawrence.
Richard Major, Eſq;

The

1653 The first Act of these Counsellors after their establishment was a Proclamation notifying the Government, with a direction therein, *That all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and all other publique Officers, and Ministers whatsoever within this Commonwealth or any part thereof, do proceed in their respective places and offices till further Order to the contrary.*

The States of the United Provinces were brought into so low condition by the two last fights, and their people so much dispirited, that a general Revolt was feared in the Provinces; nevertheless they put as good a Countenance as they could on their condition, and chose the *Heer Opdam* to be Admiral of their Fleet in the place of *Tromp*, but thought it more advisable to prosecute overtures of peace than venture another Battel; and certainly if the War had been continued, their Mariners were so baffled, they would very hardly have procured men to furnish a Fleet, and one Battel more might have brought us a blank Paper for our own conditions; but *Cromwell* was not so well settled in his Throne to hazard any thing, and therefore the Dutch Embassadors, *Newport*, *Youngstal*, and *Bevering*, & *Vander Perre* were well received by him; and in the beginning of this year they were so diligent in their Negotiation, that on the 5*th* of *April* the Articles of Peace were signed in *London*, and on the 26*th* of the same month they were proclaimed in *London* and *Amsterdam*, and in this Peace the King of *Denmark* was included.

Opdam supplies the place of *Tromp*.

1654 The Protector concludes a Peace with the Dutch.

For the King of *Denmark* espousing the interest of the States of *Holland*, had arrested two and twenty English Ships which were in his Ports, and at their instance confiscated the Merchandizes therein; so that they were obliged to compose that difference, and this was that which had more difficulty than any other matter in the Treaty.

The Articles of the Peace we think not very essential to our History to be inserted at large, but the two which were of most importance, were these, (*viz.*)

The Men of War and other Ships of Holland *meeting the English Ships in the Narrow Seas shall lower their Sayls to them.*

The States shall cause restitution to be made by the King of Denmark *of all the ships and goods of the English by him seized which are yet undisposed, and a full compensation in value for such of them as had been sold, to be ascertained in a time prefixt by six English Merchants, and six Dutch, who should meet for that purpose.*

A Peace with the Queen of *Sweden*.

And the Spanish Embassadour was as early to congratulate the Protectors Authority: and peace was made with the Queen of *Sweden*, and the Conde *del Sa* Lord Chamberlain of the Kingdom of *Portugal* came in a splendid Embassie to sue for a Peace of him: nor were the *French* backward to own his power, having given to Monsieur *Bourdeaux* their Resident here the Quality of Embassador to qualifie him the better for his Negotiation, and added to him the Baron of *Bas* for a Colleague. *Cromwell* being now owned by many of the Neighbour Princes and States abroad, and by most of those of his own party at home, thought himself insecure from none but the Royalists, and to give them some terrour by his Agents, formed a Plot to draw in some honest credulous persons of that party to their destruction; and in prosecution hereof in the month of *May* Colonel *John Gerard*, and his Brother Mr. *Charles Gerard*, Mr. *Phillip Porter*, Mr. *Peter Vowel*, and Mr. *Somerset Fox* were apprehended for a pretended intention to assassinate the Protector, and brought before a High Court of Justice erected for that purpose, proclaimed on the 13*th* of *June* following, and sitting on the 31*th*; before whom they were tried for their lives, and three of them, (*viz.*) Colonel *John Gerard*, Mr. *Vowel*, and *Somerset Fox* were condemned. The last of these was reprieved and pardoned upon his confession of the fact, and craving mercy, but the other two were executed. Mr. *Vowel* was hanged at Charing-Cross, where with an undaunted spirit, tempered with a Christian constancie and patience, he gave up his life. Colonel *Gerard* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, and died with great courage and Magnanimity. With him upon the same Scaffold suffered the *Portugal* Embassadors Brother Don *Pantalion Sa*, who had a-while before made a riot in the New Exchange upon conceit of some affront offered there to him, and killed one *Greenway* a Gentleman standing quietly at a shop, no opposition being made but by this Colonel *Gerard*, who was fatally joyned with him in death. The Murder was committed by a Knight of *Malta*, who escaped; but this Gentleman and four more of the Embassadors Servants being taken (one whereof was an Irish youth,) they were arraigned in *Westminster-hall* before Judge *Roller*, and others by special Commission of Oyer and Terminer thereunto appointed; and the *Portugese* were tried by a Jury of half English and half Strangers, and the Irish Boy by a Jury of English; they were all found guilty, but none suffered but the above-mentioned Don *Pantalion* and the Irish youth, who was hanged at *Tyburn*.

1654 *Spain Portugal* and *France* seek *Cromwells* friendship.

Col. *Gerard* and others tried before a High Court of Justice.

Col. *Gerard* and *Pantalion Sa* beheaded.

Our King had remained in the Court of *France*, between two and three years, with an expectation sometimes flowing, and sometimes ebbing, of gaining at length some opportunity to recover his Kingdoms; some hopes he had of assistance from several other Princes of the Empire, as the Dukes of *Brandenburgh*, *Lunenburgh*, *Brunswick*, &c. as also the Emperour himself, to whom was sent in a decent and Honourable equipage the Lord *Wilmot* created Earl of *Rochester*, and his Address received with much civility and respect. Moreover, the *Dutch* seemed very inclinable to the owning and adopting his Interest in their War with *England*, and Prince *Rupert* was designed to have had the Command in his Majesties Name, of a Squadron of their Ships; yet so little speed was made in putting this Overture into act, and so suddenly was the Peace made up between this Nation and them, that whatever they hoped for and expected from them, quickly vanished and came to nothing. His next and more probable expectation was from the Success of those earnest endeavours that were made by the Pope and other

The Kings hopes from Foreign Princes and States.

The Earl of *Rochester* sent Embassador to the Emperor.

1654

The King sollicits a Peace between *France* and *Spain.*

other Princes, for a Reconciliation between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, in which Affair he also interposed himself a most zealous Sollicitor, as not doubting but that from the united Forces of two such powerful Monarchs, he should receive considerable assistance: and matters were once in a fair way to a peaceful Conclusion, had not the Politick Reasons of State, as it was thought, of Cardinal *Mazarine* put a stop to this Grand Work; so that taking his leave of the King of *France* (and the other Great Ones) from whom he received many Complements and Apologies, he went, accompanied with his Brother the Duke of *York*, his Cousins Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Edward* Palatine, to *Chatillon*, a House belonging to the Prince of *Conde*, where they stayed a while to determine how most commodiously each of them should dispose of themselves. The King with Prince *Rupert* resolved for *Germany* (the Earl of *Rochester* being at that time with the Emperour at *Regensburgh*, to sollicit in his behalfe;) and the rather, because about that time a general Dyet of the Estates of the Empire was to be held in that City: Prince *Edward* took his Journey to *Bourbon*, and the Duke of *York* remained in *France* till a good while after the Conclusion of the Peace with *England*, being Lieutenant-General of the French Kings Army, Commanded in Chief by Marshal *Turenne*. Prince *Rupert* parted from the King to go to *Hidelburgh*, the Chiefe Seat of his Brother *Charles* Prince Palatine, and thence to the Imperial Court at *Vienna*, and the King took his Journey by the way of *Cambray* and *Liege* to the *Spaw*, which he made his first place of Residence in *Germany*. Here his Sister the Princess Royal of *Orange* met him, and after a few Months stay in this place, accompanied him to *Colen*, where they were received with great Honour and Magnificence: as they made their entrance into the Town, the great and small Guns were discharged, and the Deputies of the City came in a solemn manner to complement them: the Duke of *Newburgh* also entertained them very splendidly at his House at *Dusseldorp*, from whence the Princess of *Orange* returning into *Holland*, the King her Brother brought her onward of her way as far as *Bedinguen*.

He departs out of *France* towards *Germany.*

The King removes to the *Spaw.* Thence to *Colen.*

The conclusion of the War with *Ireland.*

From the time we left *Ireland* in so declining a Condition, and so almost lost to his Majesties Hopes, and the Lord Lieutenants endeavours, the most considerable Force that was left, was in *Ulster*, under the Leading of *Emir Mac Mahon* Bishop of *Clogher*, who (*Owen Roe Oneal* being dead) succeeded him as General in those Parts, besides the united Forces of *Clanrickard*, *Muskerry*, and *Castlehaven*, and some few Parties that now and then sailed from their Fastnesses; these for a while gave check to the Republicans and *Cromwell*'s Substitutes; till in the end the said Prelate being overthrown (even to the taking of his person mortally wounded in the Fight) by Sir *Charles Coot*, and Colonel *Fenwick*; the Lord *Muskerry* by my Lord *Broghil*; the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, soon after a defeat he received at *Finagh*, forced to lay down his Arms in the Isle of *Carrick*; the remnant of the *Ulster* Forces Commanded by the Lord *Jinkillen*, Colonel *O-Rely*, and the *Mac-Mahons*, Relations of the aforesaid Bishop, yielding upon Articles; as likewise did *Murrogh O-Brian*, having all of them stood it out to the last Extremity: the remaining Towns, Castles, and Forts which held out, as *Athlone*, *Gallaway*, *Ballishannon*, *Ballimote*, the Isles of *Arran* and *Enishuffen*, and other places, were all constrained to surrender themselves to the Conquerers Power; the Marquess of *Ormond* and the Lord *Inchequin*, having in time provided for their Safeties, (when they saw things in a desperate condition, and still growing worse and worse) by imbarquing for *France*, nothing was left but to dispossess and extirpate the vanquish'd, and take possession in their room. Some they removed out of the World by an Itinerant *High Court of Justice*, which went in Circuit from one place to another, the President whereof was one Justice *Donellan* an Irish-man, and *Cook* (notorious for his officiating in another *High Court*) his assistant. Others were sent out of the Land by the Articles of Transportation, which the Marquass of *Clanrickard* and others upon their laying down Arms had concluded with them; namely, to have free liberty to go beyond Sea to serve the King of *Spain*, or some foreign Prince in his Wars: those Inheritors that remained and escaped the *High Court*, were transplanted to the Province of *Connaught*, so that there was a large extent of Territory left for the Adventurers and Purchasers of Irish Lands. The main pretence of this foresaid *Court* which sate at *Kilkenny*, and thence removed to *Waterford*, *Dublin*, *Ulster*, and other places, was for the Tryal of those that were judged guilty of the Irish Rebellion in One thousand six hundred forty one. The Chief of Quality that suffered, (for there was a number of less note) were Colonel *Mac Hugh*, Colonel *Tool*, and Colonel *Walter Bagnal*, and who was of all the most Eminent as in Quality, so in Crime (had he been judged by a Lawful Authority) as having been one of the principal leading Men in that Insurrection, and likewise one of the chief obstructors of the Union, endeavoured by the Lord Lieutenant to the advantage of his Majesties Service, Sir *Philem Oneal*, who being taken near *Charlemount*, tryed and condemned, was hanged and quartered near my Lord *Canfields* House, at the place where he had caused his Father to be murdered. Thus was *Ireland* become subjugated to the English Usurpation. And so likewise was *Scotland* thought to have been at this time, when on a suddain a new Hostility springs up in the *Highlands*, headed by divers of the Scotch Nobility, who had the most powerful influence in those parts, the Earles of *Glencarn*, *Athol*, *Seaforth*, *Kinoule*, the Lord *Kenmore*, the Lairds *Mac Rexalds*, and *Mac Cloud*, Colonel *Montgomery*, Sir *Mungo Murry*, and Sir *Arthur Forbs*; these having each of them got together their several Parties, were endeavouring to unite into a Body, and so trusted to have been able with a Force not altogether contemptible to have taken the Field against the main Power of the English that were then in *Scotland*; and 'tis like enough they had speedily effected what they intended, had not the chief Body of them, amounting in all to about 4000 under *Glencarn* and *Kenmore* been encountred on the sudden, ill arm'd, ill provided, and in disorder, by Colonel *Morgan* at *Cromar*: *Glencarn*'s Army in this Conflict being very much put

Glencarn and *Middleton* defeated in the *High-*

1654

1654 put to the rout and disperſed, and himſelf miſſing but little of being taken, the reſt in little ſtragling parties were many times met with to their loſs: yet were they not for all this ſo out of heart, but that they again made a ſhift in ſome ſort to reimbody, and that ſo much the more confidently, upon expectation of *Middletons* coming over with Supplies out of *Holland*; though upon his arrival not long after with Commiſſion to be General, Sir *G. Monroe*, (who together with the Lord *Napier*, and Major General *Dalyel*, landed with *Middleton* at *Ulney Ferry*) having alſo Commiſſion to be Lieutenant General; The Highland-Levies inſtead of being re-inforced by theſe additional forces and ſupplies were rather weakned and overthrown by the animoſities of ſome of the Scotch Nobility; eſpecially *Glencarn* ſtomaching the preference of *Middleton* and *Monroe* to the Command of the Army above him, thereupon departed in diſcontent, and laid down his Arms. Upon the neck of which breaches and defections among them, General *Monk* (the Dutch War being ended, having no more Work to do at Sea, is ſent Commander in Chief into *Scotland*, and coming upon *Middleton* at *Loughberry*, on the twentieth of *July*, gave him an utter defeat, and thereby put a period to theſe Highland Agitations, and all further attempts in *Scotland*, to the diſturbance of the then regnant Authority in *England*.

The General Aſſembly diſſolved by Col. *Morgan*

The Kirk of *Scotland* alſo her ſelf at this time had the wings of her Religious Empire very much clipp'd, if not quite taken away by the diſſolution of her General Aſſembly, which was done by Colonel *Morgan*, the fore-going year at *Aberdeen*, where they were aſſembled, Mr. *Andrew Cant* and the reſt of them in vain proteſting againſt the action: the like diſturbance they had afterwards at *Edenburgh* from Lieutenant Colonel *Cottrel*.

The Marqueſs of *Argyle* intercedes for the Liberty of the Church of *Scotland*

The Marqueſs of *Argyle* to keep up his Reputation with the Church of *Scotland*, ſeemed much troubled in his mind at this proceeding againſt the Aſſemblies, and interceded with the Protector for the liberty of the Church, wherein he had very good ſucceſs: For *Oliver* conſidering that his declining the Kings intereſt, facilitated the total ſubjection of *Scotland* to his Authority, was willing enough to oblige him, by ſeeming to do that at his requeſt, he determined to do before for the quieting of the minds of the people; the Church of *Scotland* was therefore indulged with the exerciſe of Religion, and a great part of their Juriſdiction and Diſcipline: they were reſtrained in little more than the power of keeping General Aſſemblies (their Presbyteries being permitted to convene) and the rigour of Excommunication: For, whereas before perſons excommunicated were not excluded from the Communion of the Kirk, but had all their eſtates confiſcated till their Reconciliation. This latter part was not now to be executed; but to pleaſe the Miniſters for the reſtraint of their power, the maintenance of Scholars in the Univerſities of *Scotland* was increaſed, and many Priviledges granted to them.

The Priviledges of the Univerſities in *Scotland*, increaſed and maintained for the Scholars.

The Government and ſecurity of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, was the next care of the Protector. Major Gen. *Lambert* was formerly appointed for that Government, and had provided all his equipage to go thither; but *Cromwell* was jealous, leſt his ambition ſhould excite him to gain a party there to eſtabliſh himſelf againſt him: and therefore he artificially contrived to hinder him from going, upon pretence of greater advancement here, and he made him next to himſelf, Commander in Chief of all the Armies, with an entertainment of ten pounds a day; this done, he conſtituted his own Son-in-law *Fleetwood* to be Deputy of *Ireland*, aſſiſted with 6 Councellours (that is to ſay) *Steel* who was after made Chancellor, *Pepys* one of the Barons of the Exchequer in *England*, appointed to be Lord Chief Juſtice of *Ireland*, Mr. *Robert Goodwin* of *Suſſex*, *Miles Corbet*, and the Colonels *Robert Hammond*, and *Matthew Thomlinſon*. 1654

Fleetwood is made Deputy of *Ireland*.

The King was at *Colen* when he received the diſconſolate News of the diſaſters in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, ſupported chiefly by that brave and undaunted fortitude, which never failed him in the greateſt of his adverſity. The Princes of *Germany* were very kind to him, which made his ſtay in thoſe parts the more agreeable; and to encreaſe his comfort, he ſent the Marqueſs of *Ormond* to *Paris*, to wait on his Brother the Duke of *Glouceſter* to him, whom he more earneſtly deſired to have near him, leſt his youth might be prevailed upon by the ſubtilty of Arguments, and temptation of Riches and Promotion, to change his Religion; for the King was ever moſt zealous in the profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion in himſelf and Family, and on all occaſions to promote it to his power in others.

The Marqueſs of *Ormond* ſent to attend the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

According in the late Inſtrument of Government, wherein it was Articled, That a Parliament ſhould be called every three years, and that the firſt ſhould begin on the third of *September* 1654. A Parliament was ſummoned by *Oliver*'s Writs, choſen after the wonted manner of Election by the peoples voice, and aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* at the prefixed time above mentioned, making choice for their Speaker of *William Lenthal*, Speaker in the Long Parliament: their beginning was ſomewhat bold, conſidering the totteringneſs of their Eſtate; for at their very firſt ſitting, they began to queſtion the lawfulneſs of the Power by which they were called, whereupon they were enjoyned to ſign a Recognition of the Government, as it was ſettled in a Single Perſon and a Parliament, before they could be re-admitted to their Seats in the Houſe: this all of them that ſign'd (for ſome refuſed) had liberty again to take their places; but ſo little did their proceedings pleaſe his Proteſtorſhip, that they had ſcarcely ſate full five months (and ſo long they were to ſit by one of the Articles of the Inſtrument) when he came and diſſolved them. A day or two after which, were apprehended Major *Wildman*, with a Declaration *proving the lawfulneſs and neceſſity of taking up Arms againſt* Cromwel: and of the Royaliſts, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Henry Littleton*, and ſome others, about a new Conſpiracy, which *Oliver* told the Members of his Parliament at the time of his diſmiſſing them, he knew to have been countenanced and abetted, if not in a part promoted by ſome of them preſent, he

A Parliament called.

The Members injoyned to ſign a Recognition.

The Parliament diſſolved.

Sir *Henry Littleton*, and others committed to the Tower.

1654

whom he could name. And the truth is, there was a foundation laid (by a Combination of the most courageously affected toward their Princes Service throughout the Kingdom, authorized by Commission from his Majesty) of a general rising for him in every County; which had not so quickly and so easily been suppreſt, had not *Cromwell*, sparing for no cost to maintain his Instruments of deceit; for he had his Spies ready hired, not only here but in all corners, such as counterfeiting themselves zealous Royallists, insinuated into their Counsels, and betrayed them, (of which number Sir *Richard Willis* at last became shrewdly suspected to be one) but even about the Kings person, as appeared by the defection of one *Manning*, preferred in consideration of his fathers merits (his father was Colonel *Manning*, slain in his late Majesties Service) to be one of the Kings Secretaries Clerks, whom Colonel *Samuel Tuke*, forcing open his Chamber-door, took in the very act of holding Correspondence with *Thurloe*, *Oliver*'s Secretary, from whom having newly received a Packquet, and setting himself busily in the returning of Answers, to prevent discovery, he was hastily chewing Papers in his mouth just as the Colonel entred. Thus for a long time had he made it his weekly practice to send Intelligence to the Usurper, of all that was transacted in the Kings Court, and had a large Pension punctually assigned him for his pains; till at length thus fortunately found out, he had the reward of his treachery paid him in a more deserved manner, being by the Kings command, the whole Court beseeching his Majesty to make a publick example of him, shot to death in one of the Duke of *Newburghs* Castles. This Combination, though it were probably to the very bottom discovered, before the apprehending of the above-named persons; yet so far the design, being generally laid, had taken effect, that in several Counties some small armed parties began to gether into a Body; in *Shropshire* and *Wales* some endeavoured to have taken *Shrewsbury* and *Chirk* Castle by surprize, but were both prevented; and of those that attempted *Shrewsbury*, Sir *Thomas Harris*, who was the chief, was taken Prisoner, and sent up to *London*.

Mannigs discovered treachery for which he is put to death.

The surprize of *Shrewsbury* endeavoured.

Upon Sunday the 11*th* of *March*, a party for the King of about 200 entred *Salisbury* about Midnight, and having seized upon Horses, and taken away the Commissions of the Judges that were upon their Circuit, bended their course towards *Cornwal*; of which Captain *Unton Crook* having timely intelligence, pursued them with his own Troop, and at a place called *Southmolton* in *Devonshire* overtook them, and after four hours sharp Conflict, tired as they were, and drowsie, and faint for want of sustenance, drove them to a necessity of yielding; yet *Penruddock* bravely stood it out, till Articles were granted for the Indemnity of him and his Company, which *Crook* is said to have afterwards perfidiously denied, and left them wholly over to the Courtesie of their Judges: besides 50 common Prisoners, there were taken of the chief Leaders 3 Captains, *Penruddock*, *Jones*, and *Grove*, only Sir *Joseph Wagstaff* made a shift to escape away. Other Risings there were in *Northumberland*, and at the Forest of *Sherwood* in *Yorkshire*, where five hundred Horse being met, and not finding the Country to come in as they expected, dispersed themselves, and returned to their Habitations. Also at *Hexam*-Moor in *Yorkshire*, there was a great Rendezvouz of the Gentry of the Country, of whom Sir *Henry Slingsby* was taken, and Sir *Richard Malevorer* with much ado escaped.

An Insurrection at *Salisbury*.

And the like in other parts of the Nation suppreſt.

1654

At *Salisbury*, *Exeter* and *Chard* in *Somersetshire* many of the West-Risers were tried by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, and executed, and particularly at *Exeter*; *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded, Captain *Jones* was reprieved; besides those who were put to death of the chief Leaders, many Prisons in the West were filled with a number of the common sort of prisoners, till within a little while after that they emptied themselves into Foreign Plantations.

Penruddock and *Grove* beheaded about the Western rising.

And there hapned about this time an Adventure which served very opportunely for the ridding of Prisons of their surcharging numbers, and the imploying of a multitude of loose and vagrant people, there having been ever since the Peace with the *Dutch*, preparations made for the equipping forth of a great and powerfull Fleet, upon an Expedition which was kept very secret, and not made known even to those that went upon it, unless to the Supreme Commanders, till the very last; only it was given out, that the Voyage would be very profitable, and to a place where there was much Gold and store of Riches: In this Service we may well think there would not be wanting enough that would greedily engage themselves; hither all sorts of people flocked, especially those of low and Bankrupt Fortunes, and upon hopes of enriching themselves, run headlong most of them to their ruine; a Fate that commonly attends precipitate Ambition and Covetousness. This Navy setting Sail from *Portsmouth* on the 27*th* of *December*, put in at the *Barbadoes* on the 28*th* of *January*, *Venables* commanding the Land-Forces, and *Pen* being General at Sea.

This Year had been sufficiently memorable, if for nothing else, yet for the death of that Famous and Learned Antiquary Mr. *John Selden*, whose Works are a Monument far more Worthy his Memory, than that in the *Inner-Temple* Church.

The death of Mr. *John Selden*.

1655

The King of *Spain* was not ignorant that this great preparation was designed to make some impression on his Dominions in the West-Indies, and after having dispatched expresses into those parts to give them warning thereof, he sent the Marquess of *Leda* (a person of great reputation in Arms) in a splendid Embassy to the Protector, to divert, or prevent the prosecution of the business: he arrived at *London* the 22*th* of *May*, but had so cold reception and was so much discouraged in his Negotiation, that he quickly returned.

The Marquess of *Leda* comes Embassador from *Spain* and speedily returns.

In the mean time the English Fleet set sail from the *Barbadoes* the 30*th* of *March*, and steered its course towards *Hispaniola*, one of the fairest and richest Islands belonging to the *American* Dominions of the King of *Spain*; so that it was by this time apparent enough which way this expedition tended. And whereas it was admired

The Fleet steers towards *Hispaniola*.

1654 mired by many, that at that time when no Hostility was declared between this Nation and the Kingdom of *Spain*, or any defiance bid on either side, we should carry War into his Territories, without any provocation by him first offered. It was alledged, That the Conditions of Peace extended not beyond the Line. This, though it serv'd to stop the mouths of some, yet it could not satisfie the Spaniard, who look'd upon it as an absolute breach: However it were, whether this Expedition were just or not, whether it were undertaken to a pious end, as was pretended, to curb the excessive Pride, and ambitious Usurpation of the Spaniard, and to bring freedom and purity of Religion to those *Indians* under his Yoke; or, as many are apt to believe, to partake with the Spaniard of some of his Indian Gold, (thinking it too much for one Potentate to ingross so much Treasure to himself,) I shall not undertake to determine. This is most certain, That at the beginning of this Enterprise, it met with a very remarkable Check, (however the War with the Spaniard proved afterwards successful enough) for General *Venables*, when as he might have landed his men within a very little of *Santo Domingo*, (the principal Town and Fortress of the Island, and which was in a manner deserted by the Garrison Souldiers,) upon sight of the English Fleet; nevertheless, led by I know not what Policy and Interest of his own, and (it is more than suspected) over-rul'd by the Counsels of his Wife, set them ashore ten Leagues Westward of *Domingo*; whereupon the Spaniards gather'd fresh Courage, and betook themselves again to the defence of *Santo Domingo*, which they had abandoned. The English landing without opposition, and seeing no Enemy near them, thought themselves safe enough, and were in their minds absolute Lords of the *Indies*, sharing the Golden Mines among them; when contrary to their expectation, the General causing it to be proclaim'd at the Head of the Army, That none upon pain of Death should plunder any Gold, Plate, or Jewels, or kill any Cattel. This sudden frustration of their Hopes, and the Climates excessive heat, proved the one such a damping to their Spirits, the other such a weakning to their Bodies, that by that time they had marched a most tedious and disconsolate March through thick Woods, in deep scalding Sands, ready to perish with miserable Drought and Thirst for want of Water, (of which they met not with a drop in many miles,) they were brought to such a condition, that they needed not an Enemy to kill them, being already almost dead with faintness and weakness; so that the Spaniards, Negro's, and Molatto's falling upon them, kill'd, with little or no resistance, till they were weary of killing; and those that could make a shift to fly away, found it a sufficient Atchievement for that time, to bring themselves back again safe unto their Ships.

The English land in the Island *Hispaniola*.

They are cruelly vanquish-ed by the Spaniards and Natives, and driven out of the Island.

In this Conflict Major General *Heines* acted the part of a very valiant Souldier, who being shamefully deserted by his own men, and overpowred by his Enemies, was slain stoutly fighting: there fell above six hundred in the Fight, besides what were cut off in straggling parties near as many more; and all this Execution was done by not above sixty of the Enemy. The Remnant of this Naval Army, that they might not be thought to have undertaken so long a Voyage, and of such expectation altogether in vain, possest themselves with little or no opposition of another Island called *Jamaica*; which, however not so plentiful and rich a place as that which they at first aimed at, yet with much Industry, and the Supplies that were sent them out of *England*, they made a shift to make a Habitation of it tolerable enough to abide in, planting themselves at *Oristan*, the chief, if not only Town thereof, and have kept it ever since. 1654

They possess themselves of *Jamaica*.

The first Adviser to this Undertaking, was one *Gage* a Minister (formerly a Romish Priest) who also undertook to be the chief Guide in this Expedition, as one who by his long time of Travel in those Parts (of which there is a handsome Relation of his extant) was well acquainted with them; and there he ended his days not long after his arrival, reaping little Fruit of his Project.

Whilest the Proceedings in the *West-Indies* were unprosperous, General *Blake* had better fortune in the *Streights*, who coming with his Fleet before *Tunis*, and sending to the Governour thereof to demand satisfaction for the Depredations committed by his people on the English, and to require the English Captives to be delivered to him, had a contemptuous answer return'd, (*viz.*) *Here are our Castles of* Guletto *and* Porta Ferina *well mann'd and furnished with Ordance, do what you can, we fear you not.* And at the same time they mann'd a Line all along the Shore, and planted Guns thereon: Whereupon (after a short Consultation with his Officers) *Blake* with his great Ships and their Seconds, came into the *Bay* of *Porta Ferina*, within Musquet-shot of the Castle and their Line, and fired with such fury upon them (notwithstanding the frequent discharges of sixty great Guns upon his Ships,) that in two hours the Castle was made defenceless, and all their Guns dismounted, and the Stones clattered about their ears; and finding nine of their Ships in the Road, he caused them all to be fired with his long Boats, and in five hours they were consumed. After this brisk Action he sailed to *Algiers* and *Tripoly*, with both which places he made very advantageous Treats, and then came again to *Tunis* which he found (by this time) willing to submit to what he proposed.

General *Blake*'s notable Attempt and success before *Tunis*.

Notwithstanding the ill success of the several late endeavours for the King, for which so many suffered, it was not much above a Month e're the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Newport*, *Maynard*, *Faulkland*, *Lucas*, *Petre*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *Geoffery Palmer*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, with divers others, were committed to the Tower, upon suspition of pretended High-Treason against *Cromwell*; which yet, went no further than bare suspition; for they were never brought to a publick Trial.

The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Lord *Newport* and others committed to the Tower.

About the beginning of *July*, Major *Sedgewick* went with a Squadron of twelve ships, a-

1655 among which was Colonel *Humphryes* with a Regiment for the supply of those in *Jamaica*; from whence, in the following Month of *August*, General *Penn* returned for *England*, with a part of the Fleet, the greatest part yet staying behind: and not long after him came over General *Venables*, leaving in their steads Colonel *Fortescue* to cammand the Land Forces, Vice-Admiral *Goodson*, the Navy. *Venables* not long after his Arrival, was for his ill management of Affairs in *Hispaniola* sent to the Tower; from whence, being judged to have failed rather through rash Imprudence, than any sinister Intention, he was at length released.

Major *Sedgwick*, and Col. *Humphries* sent with a supply to *Jamaica*.

Gen. *Penn* Gen. *Venables* return into *England*.

The Duke of *Gloucester* comes to *Colen* to his brother the King.

The Duke of *Gloucester* willingly obeying the Order of the King his Brother, was come away with the Marquess of *Ormond* from *Paris*, and having stayed for some time with his Sister the Princess Royal at the *Hague*, was at last accompanied by her to the King her Brother at *Colen*, where she her self also staid with them till after the Fair at *Frankford*; to which place, they all of them together made a Progress of State and Pleasure, attended by the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Newburgh*, the Lady *Strahope*, and Monsieur *Heenflet* her Husband, they went by Coach a little beyond *Bonne* the Archbishops Electoral Seat; the rest of the Journey they went by Water: through every Princes Countrey which they past, they had the chief Officers of State sent to Complement them. and were saluted by the great Guns from all their Towns and Castles, more especially the Prince Elector of *Mentz* sent his Grand Marshal to invite them to his Court: whereupon the Lord *Newburgh* was sent back with the Grand Marshal, to desire the Elector to excuse them at present, promising to wait upon him at their return. Being arrived at *Frankford*, and hearing that Queen *Christina* of *Sweden* was coming that way in her Journey into *Italy*, the King sent one of his Lords to her, expressing his desire to wait upon her, at whatever place her Majesty should be pleased to nominate; the place then appointed for this Interview was *Coningstein*, a Village near *Frankford*, in the Electorate of *Mentz*, where he had first particular Discourse with her himself for half an hour, which past with many Complements and Ceremonies of Civility; next the Duke of *Gloucester* was admitted, and then the Lords that attended the King. As these Princes came back from *Frankford*, the Elector of *Mentz*, renewing his Civilities, provided all manner of accommodation for them, as they passed through his Territories; and meeting them himself a great part of the way, he brought them to one of his Palaces, where he entertained them in a very sumptuous and splendid manner, for the space of two or three days; after which they returned to *Colen*: four Burgomasters being appointed by the Magistrate of the City to wait upon them, and welcome them home.

Their progress to *Frankford*.

The Interview between the King an *Christina* Queen of *Sweden*.

The King and his Company entertaind by the Elector of *Mentz*.

An Army having been sent under the Marquess of *Pianella*, and the Earl of *Quince* Commander of the French Forces in *Italy*, by *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, against his Protestant Subjects in the Valleys of *Piedmont*, upon occasion of some high Displeasure taken against them, and the Souldiers left to their own unbridled Licence, having committed many cruel Outrages and Massacres upon the poor miserable People; *Cromwell* taking this opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Protestants abroad, (affecting to be thought the Chief Patron and Protector of those of the Reformation in all Parts,) concern'd and bestirr'd himself very vigorously for their Relief; he appointed a solemn day of Humiliation to be kept, and caused a large Contribution to be gathered for them throughout the Nation, and sent his Agents abroad to mediate for them; Mr. *Pell* to the Protestant Cantons of the Switzers, Mr. *Samuel Moorland*, and Mr. *George Downing* to *Thurin* to the Duke of *Savoy*, but his Message being slighted by him, he took another course to deal with him, namely, by the Mediation of the King of *France*, his now great Allie; by whose power and Authority with that Duke, a Pacification was shortly concluded: Though of the large Collection that was made, so scanty a share came to them, (for some they had) that it may be very well suspected, whether self-Charity for the getting of Money, were not as well aim'd at, as Charity *ad extra* for the bestowing it.

1655

A Contribution gathered throughout *England* for the distressed Protestants in *Piedmont*.

However it far'd with the Protestants abroad, these at home, *viz.* the Royallists, because they would not become *Oliver*'s obedient Subjects, are not only not sav'd from Persecution, but persecuted themselves; while, besides other displeasures both toward the Clergy who were prohibited from teaching School, and from having any Benefices, or officiating as Chaplains; and toward the Laity, who were by Proclamation confin'd (such as had ever been in Arms) not to come within twenty miles of *London*, and disabled from electing or being elected in Parliament, there comes out a two-handed Invention of *Cromwell*, which serv'd him at the same time to acquire Money to his own Coffers, and to bring them low in their Estates and Power; this was an Order for the Decimation, or tenth part of the Estates of all such as ever had been in Arms either for his late or present Majesty. For the better executing this Project of Decimation, (under colour of *securing the Peace of the Commonwealth*) for which Orders were set forth toward the latter end of *October* by *Oliver* and his Council, is set up the Office of *Major Generals Civil*, in the nature of *Praefects* or Governours of Provinces, to curb, watch, and keep in awe the Royallists, and if it were possible to pull down their high Stomachs; they were eleven in number, namely, *Kelsey*, *Goff*, *Desborough*, *Fleetwood*, *Skippon*, *Whaley*, *Butler*, *Berry*, *Worsley*, *Lambert*, and *Barkstead*, which last was also Lieutenant of the *Tower*, each of them having his several Counties allotted to his Government in the nature of Provinces: In which their Principalities they reigned like so many petty Kings, domineering over the Gentry and Nobility, till *Cromwell* either thinking to do a special Act of Grace by taking off his Mastiffs, or jealous of what their Power in time might come to, easily gives way to his next Parliament to unhorse those whom he himself had so lately mounted.

Major Generals constituted over several Provinces.

Upon

1655

A debate held at *White-hall* about the admission of the Jews.

Upon the tendring of certain Propoſals to the Protector by *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, a Jewiſh Merchant, in the behalf of his Hebrew Nation, for their free admiſſion to Trade and exerciſe of their Religion in *England*, a Conference was held about it ſeveral days at *White-hall*, by the Members of the Council, and certain Divines of the moſt Eminent then in eſteem: and many Arguments being urged, ſome for, others againſt their admiſſion; thoſe againſt it ſo far prevailed, that the Propoſals took no effect.

An *Imbargo* upon the Goods of Engliſh *Merchants* in *Spain*. Open war with *England* proclaimed by the Spaniard at *Dunkirk*.

The Spaniſh King thinking it in vain to hope for a Conſervation of the League on this ſide the Line, from thoſe whom he judged to have ſo apparently broke it on the other ſide, by invading his *Iſland* of *Hiſpaniola*, began not obſcurely to make preparations for War; and to ſhew that he had entertained thoughts of Hoſtility, a general *Imbargo* was made in *Spain* of all Engliſh Merchants Goods, and many of their perſons ſecured. Hereupon the like was done in *England*, and there ſuddenly followed on both ſides a denunciation of open War, which by the Spaniard was not long after ſolemnly proclaimed at *Dunkirk*.

Articles of Peace between *England* and *France* ratified and proclaimed.

The diſſolution of the Peace with *Spain*, was the product of a Peace with *France*; for there having been long ſince an Addreſs made to that end from *France* to the State of *England*. No ſooner did the breach begin between *England* and *Spain*, but the French King ſends to Monſieur *Bourdeaux* his Embaſſadour here to preſs his Embaſſie; which he did with ſo good ſucceſs, that in a ſhort while after the Articles of Peace between us and *France* were concluded, ratified by both Parties, and on the 28th. of *November* the Peace was proclaimed at *London*, and at *Paris* much about the ſame time.

Whereupon ſoon after *Cromwell* not to be behind hand in State, and to provide for the diligent management of all matters concluded in this Treaty, ſends over in the Quality of his Embaſſadour Extraordinary to the French King, Colonel *Lockhart*, ſometime one of the Itinerant Judges in *Scotland*, and now advanced to this Dignity by the Marriage of a Niece of his pretended Highneſs. And at the ſame time there was a ſtrict League of Amity between him and *Carolus Guſtavus* the then King of *Sweden*, and Embaſſies of Friendly Correſpondence were on each ſide interchanged; from hence went Mr. *Rolt*, one of *Oliver's* Bed-Chamber as Envoy, and from thence arrived here the Lord *Chriſtian Bond*, who was entertained with more than ordinary reſpect; for of all Amities that were between *Cromwell* and Foreign Princes and States, his moſt particular and intimate ſeems to have been with the Swediſh King, whom a while after he under-hand aided with men in his War againſt the *Dane*, while at the ſame time he made ſhew of endeavouring an Accommodation between thoſe two Kings.

One principal Condition of the Treaty with *France*, was the exclution of the King and all his Relations and Adherents out of the King of *France* his Dominions; but he upon foreſight of what this Treaty would come to, had long ſince betaken himſelf to *Germany*, and there remained (for the moſt part at *Colen*, as hath been already mentioned) until ſuch time as the Spaniard invited him into *Flanders*. His Brother the Duke of *York*, notwithſtanding the great Command he had in the King of *France* his Army (the neareſt Ties and Relations little avail, when Self-Intereſt comes in place) was by the ſame reaſon of State advertiſed to depart that Kingdom with all his Retinue by a prefixed time, not without ſome Complements and Apologies for this diſmiſſion: alſo his departure was reſpited for ſome ſpace, in which he was viſited, and honourably treated by the Marſhal *Turenne*, and others of the French Grandees; as likewiſe the Duke of *Modena* (who at that time was come into *France* about ſome important Affairs;) at length he took his leave of the King and Court of *France*, and attended by the Lord St. *Albans*, and other Engliſh Lords, took his Journey toward *Flanders*, where at that time the King his Brother reſided, at the invitation of *Don John* of *Auſtria*, who was then Governour of the Low-Countreys for the King of *Spain*, ſent the Count of *Fuenſaldagne*, to offer him in the name of the Spaniſh King all poſſible Service and Aſſiſtance.

1655

The Duke of *York* warned out of *France*.

Betakes himſelf to *Flanders* to his Brother.

The cloſe of this Year puts on Mourning in like manner as the laſt: the laſt Year ended with the Learned *Selden*; this, with that moſt Pious and Reverend Prelate, *James Uſher* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and once Primate of *Ireland*, whoſe Judicious Writings are ſufficiently famous in the Commonwealth of Learning throughout Chriſtendom; his Burial, though he died on the one and twentieth of *March*, was deferred till the 17th of *April*, and then performed with all decent Pomp, and by moſt of the Nobility in *London*, attended to *Weſtminſter-Abby*, where his Funeral Oration was delivered by the Almoner to *Cromwell* (for ſo Dr. *Bernard*, once Preacher to the Society of *Gray's-Inne*, was then entituled.) Moreover *Cromwell* himſelf defrayed all things befitting his Interment, beſtowing 200 *l.* toward the ſolemnizing thereof. Yet were his Coffers not ſo well furniſht as he deſired. And therefore notwithſtanding his no ſucceſs in his laſt Parliament, he finds a neceſſity of calling one again, whereupon he ſends forth Writs in *July* for the ſummoning of another Parliament on the ſeventeenth of *September*.

The death and burial of the Biſhop of *Armagh*.

1656

A Parliament ſummoned again.

In the mean while, a part of the Engliſh Navy, namely, the Rear-Admiral and ſix other Ships under Captain *Richard Stayner*, ſet upon a Fleet of Eight Spaniards, within four Leagues of the Bay of *Cadiz*; the Admirals Ship, in which was General *Don Marco del Porto*, with ſix hundred thouſand Pieces of Eight, run aſhore in the Bay; the Vice-Admiral a Gallion Commanded by *Don Franciſco de Eſquevel*, and having in her 1200000 Pieces of Eight, and another ſhip Commanded by *Don Rodigues Calderon* were taken, and afterwards fired (one wilfully by the Spaniards in it, the other by accident;) Two others were taken and kept in poſſeſſion, the Rear-Admiral a Gallion, Commanded by *Don Franciſco del Hoyo*, and having in her two Millions of Plate, and another Ship commanded by *John de la Torre*, very richly laden; another man of War of ſome value, with a *Portugal* Prize, and a ſmall

Gen. *Blake* and Gen. *Montagues* Victory over the Spaniſh Fleet near *Cadiz*.

1656 Vessel of Advice from the Vice-Roy of *Mexico*, escaped to *Gibraltar*. In the Vice-Admiral which was set on fire by the Spaniards themselves, to prevent being taken Prisoners, was the Marquess of *Baydex* with his whole Family. There perished in this Combustion (besides a number of less Note) the Marquess himself, with his Wife and his Eldest Daughter, who was going into *Spain* to be married to the Duke of *Medina Celi*. There were saved from this fire, the Marquess his eldest Son *Don Francisco de Lopez*, a younger Son *Don Joseph de Sunega*, and two Daughters, *Donna Josepha*, and *Catalina*, with about ninety others. In the Rear-Admiral was also taken Prisoner *Don Diego de Villa Alva*, Governour of the *Havana*. It was related by the young Marquess *Francisco de Lopez*, who with his Brother and Sisters was brought up to *London*, and there for a while detained Prisoners that the Cities of *Lima* and *Calao* in *Peru*, were about five Months before destroyed by an Earthquake and Fire raining from Heaven, in which Ruine there perished above 11000 Spaniards, but of Indians not above 100: also that the Mountains of *Potosi* being laid level, the Gold and Silver Mines were thereby utterly destroyed. This enterprize near *Cadiz* purchased no less profit than honour to the performers thereof, and to the Chief in in power. As for the Spanish young Nobles that were taken, the Protector, to give him his due, dealt very nobly by them, and after no very long time of detention, dismist them home without any Ransome.

The Marquess of *Baydex* & his Wife perish in a Ship set on fire.

A sad and wonderful accident at *Peru*.

The Parliament assemble.

On the seventeenth of *September* (the time appointed) a Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and chose for their Speaker Sir *Tho. Widdrington*; none were to be admitted in this Convention, by the *Instrument of Government*, but such as after their Elections should be approved of, and allowed by the Council, and there were many discontented persons chosen, of those that were dismissed at the last Dissolution of what remained of the Long Parliament, and others of the *Fifth Monarchy* Principle; that the Protector thought it not safe to admit into the House, till some Laws should be passed for the better strengthening of his Authority, so that till the 26th of *June* the proceeding went on smoothly enough, and on that day the Parliament adjourned it self to the twentieth of *January* following, and passed some Acts, the principal whereof were:

An Act for Renouncing and Disanulling the Title of Charles Stuart *unto the Nations of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

An Act for the securing of his Highness the Lord Protectors Person, and the continuance of the Nation in security and peace.

A Vote to assist his Highness in his War against the Spaniard, *which they declare to have been undertaken upon just ground.*

An Act for preventing the multiplicity of Buildings within ten Miles of London; the substance of which was, *That for every House built from such a time within that compass, upon a New Foundation, there should be paid a years Rent to the Protector.*

The Humble Petition and Advice, was a Model of Government, with which they several times waited upon the Protector at *White-hall*, to desire him to take the Chief Government of the Nations upon him, with the Title of *KING*; of which, the Power he already had, the Name only he wanted. This Offer was brought to an open Conference, but it was first for a long time together gently and tenderly touch't upon, as springing from a Motion suddenly started by some of the Protectors Friends; whenas sure enough they did but work after the Copy secretly prescribed them, and as they had private encouragement and Instructions from the person they seemed to Court. As oft as the Members made their Addresses to him with this Humble Petition and Advice, he still desired further time of deliberation, before he could positively determine in a matter of so great weight and concernment; till at length, being requested to give his final Answer, he returned (after he had several times sifted his Officers, to see how they stood affected, and found them so averse (the most part of them) that he thought it not safe to venture) *That he could not take upon him the Government with that Title.* Thus openly refusing (in regard Matters were not brought to sufficient maturity) what it was generally more than believed, he had mainly pursued.

1656 The Parliaments Petition & Advise to the Protector to take upon him the Title of King.

It must needs be thought high time for *Cromwell*'s Convention to make Acts for the security of his Body, since there was now more noise than ever of a most desperate Plot against it. The Criminals said to be of this Plot, were *Miles Sindercomb*, a cashier'd and dis-satisfied Army-man, *Toop*, one of *Cromwell*'s Life-Guard, *Cecil* and *Boe*, the last of whom was a Priest belonging to *Don Alonso de Cardenas*) (once Lieger Embassadour here from *Spain*) and by him instructed, as it was given out, to hire and set those other his Agents awork, comes off himself with a *Non est inventus*; *Cecil* and *Toop* pleaded they were drawn in by *Sindercomb*; he on the other side, that he was trapan'd by them. Of the several Ambushes in this Plot, thus runs the Story; At *Hammersmith* a House is hired on purpose, placing of an Engine called a Blunderbuss, to shoot him as he goes to *Hampton-Court*; at *Hide-Park* Corner also he is waited for, as he goes to take the Air; as likewise at another House in *Westminster*, by which he was to go to the Parliament House. Lastly, when these took no effect, the next design was to set *White-hall* on Fire, by placing a Basket of combustible matter in the Chappel, with a Train laid to have taken Fire at a prenxed time; which also some way or other happens to be discovered and prevented. In conclusion, he of the Life-Guard discovers all, and both he and *Cecil* have their pardons, he for his discovery, and *Cecil* for his free Confession, and the sorrow he expressed. *Sindercomb* boldly and sturdily standing it out, and denying all at the Court commonly called the *Upper-bench*, before *Cromwell*'s Attorney General, was nevertheless cast by the Witness of his two fellow Conspirators who left him in the lurch, and was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Tyburn*; in the mean time being kept close prisoner in the *Tower*. That very morning he was to have been executed, he was found dead in the Chamber, being reported to have snufft up into his Head a certain poysonous Powder to avert the shame and misery of the Execution that was preparing

Sindercomb and others Plot against the Protectors life.

Sindercomb tried and condemned.

He procures his own death by a poysonous powder.

1656 paring for him, though it was whiſpered as if his poyſoning had been the deſign of ſome others: however, as a *Felo de ſe*, he was dragged at a Horſes Tail with his heels forward, to *Tower-hill*, and turned naked into an hole under the Scaffold, with a Stake ſpiked with Iron, driven through his Body into the Earth.

The trial of *James Naylour* before the Parliament.

Memorable alſo was the Tryal (happening a little before this diſcovery) of one *James Naylour*, the great Champion and Ring-leader of the Sect called *Quakers*, who having ſpread his Doctrine, and gained many Proſelytes to it in divers parts of the Nation, was more eſpecially taken notice of at *Briſtol*, and from thence was brought up to *London*, attended by ſeveral men and women of his Opinion, who all the way they came (the Women eſpecially) are ſaid to have ſung *Hoſanna*'s, and to have uſed the ſame kind of expreſſions toward him, as anciently the people of the Jews did to our Saviour, when he rode triumphant into *Jeruſalem*. The Parliament took it upon them to Judge him themſelves, before whom being convented, he was charged of Blaſpemy, for aſſuming to himſelf Divine Honours, and ſuch Attributes as were due unto Chriſt only. After he had uſed many cunning Sophiſms and evaſions to clear himſelf, ſuch as argued him not altogether ignorant of humane Letters, he was nevertheleſs ſentenced by the Houſe to be (firſt at *London*) publickly whipt, pilloried, and ſtigmatized as a Blaſphemer, then to be conveyed to *Briſtol*, there to be alſo whipt; laſtly, to be brought back to *London*, to remain in *Bridewell* during pleaſure: which Sentence was punctually inflicted upon him.

His Sentence.

The King now in *Flanders*, having his reſidence for the moſt part at *Bruges*, had, upon hopes of the good ſucceſs of thoſe his Subjects of *England*, who now began again buſily to ſtir for him in all parts of the Nation, embodied together ſeveral Regiments, conſiſting of ſuch Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh as he recalled out of the Service of the French King, and thoſe that came in to him from other parts, whoſe Colonels were the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Rochester*, the Lords *Wentworth* and *Gerard*, and Lieutenant General *Middleton*; theſe Forces he kept quartered upon the Sea-coaſt, to have been in readineſs, if occaſion were, to have ſeconded thoſe in *England*; Monſieur *Marſin*, an expert Souldier, formerly Lieutenant-General to the Prince of *Conde*, being deſigned to have conducted this Army; but the Counſels of his Friends that acted for him in *England*, being from time to time betrayed, and his Majeſty not being in a capacity to keep his men in continual pay, he took the opportunity, ſince he could not make uſe of them himſelf, to gratifie a Power that had oblig'd him, and which ſtood in need of reſolute men, and thereupon conſigned them to the Service of the King of *Spain*.

The King keeps an Army in *Flanders*

1657 In vain did *Cromwell* think to be acknowledged the Protector of the three Nations, ſince all the ſeveral Intereſts therein, how contrary ſoever among themſelves, attempted at one time or other, to ſhake off the Yoke of his Protection: yet as much in vain did both, all that already, and thoſe that at preſent attempted to ſtrive, *Oliver* being ſtill too cunning and too quick for them all; for on the nineteenth of *April*, 1657. at a certain houſe in *Shoreditch*, were apprehended a diſcontented party formerly in the Army, that went under the name of *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, ſuch as taking upon them to be the Champions of Chriſt's Monarchy on Earth, renounced all Monarchy beſide; the chief of whom were *Thomas Venner*, a Wine-Cooper-prædicant (whom we ſhall have occaſion to take more notice of hereafter) *Aſhton*, *Hopkins*, *Gowler*, and *Gray* their Scribe. They had appointed to Rendezvouz that night at *Mile-end-green*, and thence to have marched into ſome other Counties to joyn with others of their Party, that were ready to ſhew themſelves upon the firſt opportunity; there was taken with them, beſides a great quantity of Arms, and certain Printed Papers (that were to be diſperſed) a Standard with a *Lion couchant, Gules, in a field Argent*, and having this Motto, *Who ſhall rouſe him?* There were alſo taken into cuſtody Major General *Harriſon*, Captain *Lawſon* late Vice Admiral, Colonel *Rich*, and Major *Danvers*; whereof the firſt was committed to the Serjeant at Arms, and the reſt to other Priſons.

1657

Fifth-Monarchy-men apprehended upon a deſign againſt the Government.

Major General *Harriſon* and others ſecured.

The *Spaniards* were very much diſtreſſed in all parts by the War with the Protector, and on the twentieth of *April* ſo gallant an Action was performed by General *Blake* in part of their Dominion, that the like hath ſcarce been mentioned in Story.

The General lying with ſome Ships near *Cadiz* to watch for the return of the Spaniſh Plate-Fleet, had intelligence that they had put into the Bay of *Santa Cruz* in the Iſland of *Teneriff*, hereupon he weighed Anchor on the 13*th*. of *April*, and on the 20*th*. rode with his ſhips off the offing at *Santa Cruz*, where he diſcerned the Spaniſh Fleet to the number of ſixteen, barricadoed in the Bay in a ſemicircular manner. Near to the mouth of the Haven a Caſtle is placed, which was then well fortified with great Ordnance, and beſides that, there were ſeven Forts round about the Bay, with ſix, four, and three great Guns on each, all united by a Line of communication from Fort to Fort, and well lined with Muſquettiers, and *Don Diego Diegues* the Spaniſh General of the Fleet, upon ſight of *Blakes* Fleet cauſed all the ſmaller ſhips to be moored cloſe to the ſhore, and ſet ſix great Gallions well-manned further out at anchor, with their broad ſides at Sea.

General *Blakes* ſucceſsful enterpeize againſt the Spaniard at *Santa Cruz*.

Blake having well conſidered this poſture of the enmy, ſent Captain *Stayner* Commander of the *Speaker* Frigot with a Squadron into the Bay, who by eight the next morning fell pell-mell on the Spaniſh ſhips, but *Blake*, who would have his ſhare of the toil and glory of ſo brave an enterprize, immediately ſeconded *Stayner*, and placed ſome ſhips to pour their broad-ſides into the Caſtles and Forts, whilſt he with *Stayner* fought the Spaniſh Fleet (which was not inferior in number to the Engliſh, and much better manned) and by two in the afternoon they gained an intire Victory, but the General perceiving he could not bring off the Spis, ſet them all on fire, but one that was ſunk; and when this Service was performed, the wind

1656 wind even to wonder, which before blew ſtrong into the Bay, ſuddenly veer'd about to South-Weſt (which brought our Ships ſafe out to Sea.)

The News of this ſucceſs of *Blake* was ſo grateful to the Protector and the Parliament, that they ordered him a Jewel of five hundred pound, and an hundred pound was given to the Meſſenger that brought the Letters, and proportionable Gratuities and Thanks to moſt of the Officers and Mariners.

An Army of Engliſh ſent to aid the *French* in *Flanders*

According to the Conditions of Agreement between *England* and *France*, the French King demanded Auxiliary Forces from *England* to help him in his War againſt the Spaniard in *Flanders*, which was readily granted by the Protector, and 6000 Foot forthwith ordered to be ſent over, Commanded in Chief by Sir *John Reynolds*, one of *Cromwell*'s Knights, a man of good Courage and Reſolution, once Commiſſary General in *Ireland*. No ſooner were theſe Forces arrived in *France*, but the French by their help took two very advantageous places, *Montmedi* and St. *Venant*; nor was it long after ere they took the ſtrong Fort of *Mardike*, being of notable conſequence toward the ſpeedy gaining of *Dunkirk*. This Fort was immediately after it was taken, conſigned by the *French* into the ſole poſſeſſion of Major General *Morgan* and the Engliſh, who preſently fell to fortifying of it, and in a ſhort while made it ſo impregnable, that when the Spaniard was ſenſible how much it imported to the keeping of *Dunkirk*, to regain this Fort, ſent a ſtrong power of men (among whom were two thouſand Scotch and Iriſh Reformadoes, aſſigned by our King to that Service, and commanded by his Brother the Duke of *York*) to ſet upon its recovery by a deſperate Storm; they were, after a very Gallant and Reſolute effort upon the place, which continued for the ſpace of ſix hours, repelled in the end, with the loſs of many men.

Montmedi and St. *Venant* taken

1658 The Protectors Inſtalment.

After *Cromwell* had given his final Anſwer to his Parliament, that he could not take upon him the Government with the Title of King, it was reſolved on, that the Title of *Lord Protector* ſhould be continued and inſerted in the *Humble Petition and Advice*, by which Title he was ſolemnly inveſted (with much more Ceremony than before) on the ſix and twentieth of *June*, before a great Aſſembly of people in *Weſtminſter-hall*, where a Fabrick was erected for that purpoſe, and a Chair of State placed for the Lord Protector, whoſe Inſtalment wanted but little of a Regal manner; and though he attained not the Crown, yet he had the Scepter; for there were four Emblems of Government preſented unto him by Sir *Thomas Widdrington* the Speaker (who at the delivery of them made an Oration to him, in which he amply deſcanted upon each of them) a Purple Velvet Robe lined with Ermines, wherewith he was veſted by the Earl of *Warwick*, Commiſſioner *Whitlock* preſented a large Bible with Boſſes and Claſps richly Gilt, and a Scepter of Gold, and a Sword, which the Speaker girt about him. Thus attired, while he ſate in his Chair under a Canopy of State, holding the Scepter in his hand, the Herald ſtanding aloft, made a ſignal Trumpet to ſound thrice; after which he was proclaimed Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and then returned to *White-hall* in State, having the Sword carried before him by the Earl of *Warwick*. He was likewiſe proclaimed not only in *London*, and other parts of *England*, but alſo in the Chief Cities of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And now he began to take the King upon him in his manner of Living, and to Govern after a more Monarchical manner, and to model his Family according to the faſhion of a Kings Court; to which end he had his Yeomen of the Guard in their Livery of Gray Cloth, with Welts of black Velvet, of whom *Walter Strickland* was Captain; his Lord Chamberlain was Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, the Lord Keeper of the Seal *Nathaniel Fynnes*; *Lambert* was Warden of the Cinque-Ports, *Glyn* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and *Steel* (formerly Recorder of *London*) Lord Chief Baron. Moreover, being thus confirmed Protector by Authority of his Parliament, and having fortified himſelf by Alliances abroad (for beſides the Leagues with *France*, *Sweden*, the *United States*, and fair Correſpondence with *Denmark*, he had alſo upon the coming of *Don Franciſco de Mello* Embaſſadour, concluded a firm Peace with *Portugal*) he began to make it his next care, for the better eſtabliſhing of himſelf, and ſtrengthening of his Intereſt at home, to advance his neareſt Friends and Relations, and to match his Children into the Nobleſt Families; his eldeſt Son *Richard* he called out of the Country, to inure him to a Court-Life, and an inſight into publick Affairs, deſigning him for Succeſſion in the Protectorate, which the Univerſity of *Oxford* prudently foreſeeing (as the Learned were never found backward in complying with the Times, and courting the Riſing Sun) ſent their Agents and Proctors to him to elect him their Chancellour, in which Honour he was ſolemnly Inſtalled at *White-hall*. His ſecond Son *Henry*, he made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the room of his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, whom he recalled from thence, wanting, as he ſaid, his preſence and Counſel. His two youngeſt Daughters he matched, *Frances* the younger to Mr. *Robert Rich*, Grand-Child to the then Earl of *Warwick*, and *Mary* the elder to the Lord *Falconbridge*: the Nuptials for them both being kept with much feſtivity and ſplendor, both at *White-hall* and *Hampton-Court*, and the Ladies are ſo vertuous they deſerved a better Father.

1658

The Protectors eldeſt Son Inſtalled Chancellour of *Oxford*.

His ſecond Son created Lord Lieut. of *Ireland*.

His youngeſt Daughter married to Mr. *Rob. Rich*.

His eldeſt to the L. *Falconbridge*.

Sir *John Reynolds* and his Company caſt away upon *Goodwin* Sands

Scarce was the Mirth of theſe Solemnities over, when, to allay the Triumphs for the ſeveral ſucceſſes of the Engliſh in *Flanders*, there arrived the News of the loſs of Sir *John Reynalds*, General of the Forces in thoſe Parts, who with Colonel *White* and ſome others, imbarquing for *England*, by the way of *Goodwin*-Sands, in a ſmall Veſſel, at a tempeſtuous Seaſon, contrary to the perſwaſions of many [It is unſafe to venture againſt ill Preſages] was caſt away with his whole Company. But here was ſomething more than ordinary in this haſty coming over of *Reynalds* and *White*, both ſeeming to prevent the arrival of each other; for whether *Reynalds* was ſent for by *Cromwell*, or ſuſpected the intention of *White* to be ſome Impeachment againſt him; his buſineſs probably was to defend himſelf in reference to an imputation of holding correſpondence with the Royalty, becauſe he was prevailed with by the Duke of *York*,

1658 *York*, who always loved ſtout men, to give him a meeting between *Dunkirk* and *Mardike*, at which Parley, *Reynolds* was indeed not backward to render his Highneſs thoſe Honours and Civilities which were due to a perſon of his Illuſtrious Quality. Not many Months before, there died at Sea as he was entring into the Sound of *Plymouth*, that valiant and expert Sea-man General *Robert Blake*, not long ſurviving his notable Exploit at *Santa Cruz*; the beſt Elogium that can be given of him, is the true rehearſal of his Actions; than which, ſaving that it was his misfortue to ſerve an illegal Power, never were any performed at Sea more conducing to the Glory of our Engliſh Nation. Alſo Vice-Admiral *Badily* ended his Life on Land, whither he was come for the recovery of his Health. And at *Jamaica* there died Lieutenant General *Brain*, Commander in Chief of the Forces there.

The death of Gen. *Blake*, Vice Admiral *Badily*, and Lieut. General *Brain*.

Colonel *Sexby* one that was a Priſoner in the *Tower* upon ſome deſign againſt *Cromwell* on a Commonwealth account, died about this time, and his death was not without ſuſpicion of Poyſon: he was a virulent Enemy to the late King, and all the Royal Line, and ſuſpected to have acted the horrid murder on him by cutting of his Head, or aſſiſting therein with a Vizor; for upon that action he was promoted from a private Trooper to the Command of a Regiment.

Col. *Sexby* dies in the *Tower*.

The laſt Convention having adjourned on the 26th of *June*, met again on the 20th of *January* following; and in this Seſſion, which differed from the other, as much as one diſtinct Parliament could poſſibly have done from another, two very obſervable things are to be taken notice of, which gave more diſturbance to *Cromwell*'s Ambition and Safety, than he with all his Policy and foreſight was aware of. The firſt was the admiſſion of thoſe Members which in the laſt Seſſion were kept out with a high hand, whom ſince the Injuſtice of the act did not reſtrain from excluding the time before, the conſideration of his Intereſt urged him now no leſs, but rather the more to have excluded them this time alſo; but he was obliged to the contrary by his Friends (if at leaſt they were his Friends) of the laſt Convention, who made it one of their Articles in their *Humble Petition and Advice*, That *thoſe perſons who are legally choſen by a Free Election of the People to ſerve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their Duties, but by conſent of that Houſe whereof they are Members*. The other was the erecting of a new Convocation, intended in (imitation of the Old Conſtitution) for a Houſe of Lords, but they would not venture at firſt to call it by any other name than that of the *Other Houſe*: It conſiſted partly of ſuch as he took for his eſpecial Favourites, Officers of the Army and others; many of which were pickt out of the Houſe of Commons to be conſtellated in the *Other Houſe*, partly of ſeveral of the late excluded Commonwealth-men, and ſuch likewiſe of the Army whom he thought hereby to draw off to his own Party, and about half a ſcore of the old Nobility were nominated, but refuſed to come. Now in this Contrivance of his, whatever his expectation of it was, he found himſelf very much deceived, ſince by this ſtrong inundation of the late excluded, and the tranſlation of ſeveral of his Friends of the Commons into his *Other Houſe*, his Intereſt there was ſo weakned, that his tranſlating alſo of a few of his Opponents (if he thought to make a counterpoiſe that way) availed him little; for Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, and the reſt of the Sticklers, both diſdaining to accept of *Cromwell*'s offered Baronage, and that by the addition of their own preſence they might ſtrengthen their own Party the more, took their places in the Houſe of Commons, by which means the Commonwealth-faction grew ſo potent, and flew ſo high, that the *Other Houſe* was not ſo much as taken notice of, except in way of deriſion and contempt; ſo far were they from being concurred with, or owned in any of their Meſſages. Moreover, they began to call in queſtion what was done in the laſt Seſſion, as being invalid without their aſſent: So that the *Humble Petition and Advice*, which but lately made ſuch a noiſe, was like in a moment to come to nothing. This ſo incenſed the Protector, that in a great heat and paſſion he goes from his Council, and notwithſtanding the earneſt diſſwaſion of ſome of the chief of them, takes a Hackney-Coach for haſte, and being come into his *Other* (or Lords) *Houſe*, ſends for the Houſe of Commons up to him, and for a Preamble to their Diſſolution, ſtanding under a Canopy of State, unfolds his mind to them in this following Speech, which we have thought remarkable enough to ſet down at large, in regard it plainly diſcovers (as averſe as he ſeemed from accepting the Kingly Title) his ſtrange perturbation of ſpirit, and how netled to the quick he was to ſee himſelf croſt and curbed in the tendency and progreſs he made thereunto, though by ways a little fetcht about, and under the ſhew of ſettlement and flouriſhing Eſtate of the Nation.

The return of *Cromwell*'s Convention after their Adjournment with the addition of the *Other Houſe*.

The Humble Petition and Advice.

1658

The Commons diſown the *Other Houſe*, and begin to queſtion the Government.

Cromwell diſſolves them.

I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the Meeting of the Parliament a Bleſſing; and the Lord be my Witneſs, I deſire the carrying on the Affairs of the Nation to theſe Ends. The Bleſſing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was Mercy, Truth, Righteouſneſs, and Peace, which I deſire may be improved.

Oliver's Speech at the Diſſolution of his laſt Parliament.

That which brought me into the Capacity I now ſtand in, was the Petition and Advice *given me by you, who in reference to the Ancient Conſtitution, did draw me to accept of the Place of Protector; There is not a man living can ſay I ſought it, no not a Man nor Woman treading upon Engliſh Ground; but I contemplating the ſad Condition of theſe Nations, relieved from an Inteſtine War unto a ſix or ſeven years Peace, I did think the Nations happy therein. But to be Petitioned thereunto, and adviſed by you to undertake ſuch a Government, a Burden too heavy for any Creature, and this to be done by the Houſe, that then had the Legiſlative Capacity, I did look that the ſame Men that made the Frame, ſhould make it good unto me: I can ſay in the preſence of God, in compariſon of whom we are but like poor creeping Ants upon the Earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my Wood-ſide, to have kept a flock of Sheep, rather than undertook ſuch a Place of Government as this is; but undertaking it by the* Advice and Petition *of You, I did look that you that had offered it unto me, ſhould make it good.*

1657 *I did tell you at a Conference concerning it, That I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other persons that might interpose between me and the House of Commons, who then had the Power to prevent tumultuary and popular Spirits; and it was granted I should name any other House; and I named it of men that shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you, and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Party that they value, but a Christian and an English Interest, men of your own Rank and Quality, who will not only be a Ballance unto you, but to themselves, while you love* England *and Religion.*

Having proceeded upon these Terms, and finding such a Spirit as is too much predominant, every thing being too high or too low, when Vertue, Honesty, Piety, and Justice are omitted: I thought I had been doing that which was my Duty, and thought it would have satisfied you; but if every thing must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied. Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just Accord between the Governour and the Governed, unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliaments Petition and Advice *advised me unto; upon that I took one Oath, and they took another Oath upon their part answerable to mine; and did not every one know upon what Condition they swore? God knows, I took it upon Condition expressed in the Government: and I did think we had been upon a Foundation, and upon a Bottom, and thereupon I thought my self bound to take it, and to be advised by the Two Houses of Parliament. We standing unsettled till we were arrived at that; the Consequences would necessarily have been Confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there are not constituted Hereditary Lords, nor Hereditary Kings; the Power consisting in the Two Houses and my Self: I do not say, that the meaning of your Oath was to you, that were to go against my own Principles, to enter upon another mans Conscience; God will judge between Me and You: If there had been in you any intention of Settlement, you would have settled upon this Basis, and have offered your Judgement and Opinion.*

God is my Witness, I speak it, it is evident to all the World, and people living, that a new business hath been seeking in the Army against this Actual Settlement by your Consent; I do not speak to these Gentlemen or Lords (pointing to his right hand) *whatsoever you will call them, I speak not this to them, but to you; you advised me to run into this Place, to be in a Capacity by your Advice; yet instead of owning a thing taken for granted, some must have I know not what; and you have not only disjoyned your selves, but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more Confusion in this fifteen or sixteen days that you have sate, than it hath been from the rising of the last Session to this day, through the Intention of devising a* Commonwealth *again, that some of the People might be the Men that might rule all, and they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that thing; and hath that man been true to this Nation, whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate. These designs have been upon the Army, to break and divide us: I speak this in the presence of some of the Army, that these things have not been according to God, nor according to Truth (pretend what you will.) These things tend to no-thing else but the playing of the King of* Scots *his Game, if I may so call him; and I think my self bound before God to do what I mean to prevent it. That which I told you in the Banquetting-House was true, That there were preparations of Force to invade us; God is my Witness, it hath been confirmed to me since within a day, that the King of* Scots *hath an Army at the Water-side ready to be shipped for* England; *I have it from those who have been Eye-witnesses of it; and while it is doing, there are endeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this Town into a Tumulting, what if I said into a Rebellion; and I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me; it hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the Question about a* Commonwealth, *but some of you have been listing of persons by Commission from* Charles Stuart, *to joyn with any Insurrection that may be made: And what is like to come upon this (the Enemy being ready to invade us) but even present Blood and Confusion. And if this be so, as I do assign to this Cause, your not assenting to what you did invite me to by the* Petition *and* Advice, *as that which might be the settlement of the Nation, and if this be the end of your sitting, and these be your Carriages, I think it high time that an end be put unto your sitting, And I do declare to you, I do dissolve this Parliament: And let God judge between me and You.* At which many of the Commons cried *Amen.* And so the Parliament were Dissolved. 1657

Thus was he driven from one Inconvenience to another, from the Inconvenience of a Parliament that croft him, to the Inconvenience of no Parliament at all, whereby he was much streightned for want of those supplies of Money which he expected.

Toward the latter end of this year died the Protectors Son-in-law Mr. *Robert Rich*, and was but little above two Months survived by his Grandfather the Earl of *Warwick*, himself.

1658 The following year, 1658. begins with the News of a Victory at *Jamaica* (which came by an Expres from the Governour on the 8th of *April*) obtained by a Party of the English there, commanded by Major *Richard Stevens*, against 500 *Spaniards*, who under *Don Christopher Arnaldo Sasser*, having lately landed in that Island, and begun to fortifie themselves at a place called St. *Anne*, were fiercely set upon by the English, and forced to flie into the Woods and Mountains; and another Body of Spaniards, consisting of 300, who had fortified themselves at *Chareras*, in the North of the Island, were by the Governour himself Colonel *Doiley* driven quite out of their Hold, *Don Francisco de Proecia*, the *Maestro del Campo*, with others taken, many kill'd, and the rest utterly dispers'd.

The *Spaniards* dispersed by the English in *Jamaica*.

The attempts of the Royal party in behalf of his Majesty betrayed and discovered to the Protector.

Cromwel had no sooner freed himself of the danger threatned him from his Parliament, but he is presently alarm'd again by his old enemy the Royalist, whom yet he had still the Fortune to prevent by his Intelligence; however, he took all Advantages to provide still more and more for his

1658 his Security, by making the most of all Plots and Designs whatsoever; and to this purpose he sends in all haste for the Lord Mayor (*Ireton* was then the man) and Aldermen of the City, acquaints them with what he had discovered of the busie Actings against the Peace of the Commonwealth, aggravates the danger, recommends to them the settling of the Militia in trusty hands, causeth the Guards to be doubled, and strict Watch to be kept in all parts of the City, when as most of the principal suspected persons were already secured, as Sir *William Compton*, Brother to the Earl of *Northampton*, Sir *William Clayton*, Mr. *John Russel*, Brother to the Earl of *Bedford*, and many more, the whole Design being beforehand betrayed, by a Person formerly mentioned upon the same Account, and one *Corcar*, a Minister of *Bourn* in *Sussex*, and such others as had been long employed by *Cromwell* for the same purpose; the Marquess of *Ormond*, who indeed was the chief Manager of this intended general Rising for His Majesties service throughout the whole Nation, and had to that end remain'd for a good while concealed in *England*, being narrowly watch'd and search'd for; but he happily obtained an opportunity (by the help of one Doctor *Quaterman*) of shipping himself away at a Port Town in *Sussex*. Among those that had been formerly imprisoned, were Doctor *Hewet*, Minister of St. *Gregories*, and Sir *Henry Slingsbey*; which last had been a Prisoner ever since the Rising in the *West*; yet being a person who was known to bear no good will to the present Power, he is charged with an Intention of delivering up *Hull*, meerly upon the expressing of his Consent thereunto, to some that were sent to make the motion to him, and sift out his mind with purpose to betray him; and these were Major *Waterhouse*, Captain *Overton*, and Lieutenant *Thomson*; and the Doctor seems to have been no less hardly dealt with, considering what things were laid to his Charge; which had they been true, would certainly never have been so utterly denied at the very moment of his Death, by a man of his known Honesty and Integrity. The rest that were taken afterwards were, Mr. *John Mordant*, Brother to the Earle of *Peterborough*, Mr. *Manley* a Merchant, Mr. *Hartgil Baron*, Mr. *Stapeley*, Mr. *Mansel*, Mr. *Woodcock*, Mr. *Current*, Mr. *Jackson* and Captain *Mallory*, of whom Mr. *Mordant*, *Woodcock*, *Current*, and divers others were tried at a *High Court of Justice*, which on the twenty fifth of *May* was set up under the Presidentship of Commissioner *Lisle*. All hitherto mentioned, except Sir *Henry Slingsbey* and Doctor *Hewet*, having the good hap to come off with life: Sir *Henry* and the Doctor were the first brought to Tryal, and both of them sentenced to die as Traytors: The first, upon the bare Testimony of those three men which had so treacherously circumvented him, which in vain he pleaded; as also the impossibility, a Prisoner as he was, of performing what he was charged with. The other as a Mute, disowning the Courts Authority, and thereupon denying to plead. The next was Mr. *Mordant*, who also at first disavowed the Courts Authority, but was at length prevailed with to plead, and in the end acquitted only by one voice. In that fortunate interim, while Colonel *Pride* by reason of a Fit of the Stone wherewith he was troubled, had withdrawn himself from the Court, and staid somewhat longer than he intended; the other two being so far favoured, as to have their Sentence mitigated, were on the eighth of *June* beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. The next that were tryed were Mr. *Thomas Woodcock*, Captain *Henry Mallory* and Sir *Humphrey Bennet*: The first made so handsome and discreet a defence for himself, that they could fasten no Accusation upon him, and so were forced to acquit him. Captain *Henry Mallory* (tho' scandaliz'd by some malicious persons) behav'd himself with Resolution and Loyalty, and was condemn'd, but not put to Death. Of the rest that had to do with this High Court, *William Carrent* was acquitted: Colonel *Edward Ashton* and *John Battely*, the first in *Tower-Street*, the other in *Cheapside*, were hanged and quartered on the seventh of *July*; the same day *Henry Fryer*, ready to have been executed in *Smithfield*, and two days after *John Summer* in *Bishopsgate-street*, and *Oliver Allen* in *Grace-Church-street*, had their Reprieves brought them. The same day the two last were Reprieved, *Edmund Stacy*, his Sentence remitted, was hanged near the *Royal Exchange*. In the mean time, *Manley*, *Baron*, and *Mansel* aforementioned, with two others, namely, *Edmund Seymour*, and *Guy Carlton*, having made their escape, were at the *Upper-Bench* (as it was then called) Indicted of High Treason, though absent, and outlawed.

1658

The Marquess of *Ormond* makes his escape.

Dr. *Hewet* and Sir *H. Slingsby* committed to prison.

Sir *Henry Slingsbey*, Dr. *Hewet*, Mr. *Mordant*, and others tried before a *High Court of Justice*.

Sir *Henry Slingsbey* and Dr. *Hewet* beheaded.

Colonel *Ashton* and others executed.

In *Flanders* Successes came on with a swift Career: presently after the taking of *Mardike*-Fort, *Dunkirk* was straightly begirt by the joynt Forces of the French and English, the French commanded by the Marshall of *Turenne*, the English by the Lord *Lockhart*, Ambassadour from the Protector to the French King, who was constituted General in the room of Sir *John Reynolds* deceased. The Relief of this so important a place (it being the chief Sea Port, and, as it were, the Key of all *Flanders*) the Spaniards resolved to Assay, though with the hazard of a pitch'd Field; and to that purpose they assembled together all the Force they could make, amounting to about seven thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse, Commanded by *Don John* himself in person, together with the Duke of *York*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marquess of *Caracene*; and drawn down from *Furnes* Fort, were engaged by the Marshall of *Turenne*, and the Count of *Schomberg* joyning with *Lockhart* and his English Forces, who making their way (a good part of them) up a Sand-Hill against the whole Power of the Spaniards, were the main Instruments in gaining a clear and eminent Victory over the Spanish Army, most of the Infantry being either slain or taken; and among the taken were divers Officers of the Spanish Nobility, and Persons of high Quality, seventeen Colours, six great Guns, with the whole Baggage of the Field; the Prince of *Conde* was unhorsed in the Fight, and Mounted again by his Cousin *Bouteville*, who was thereby taken Prisoner in the Princes stead. There were slain of the English Captain *Sherwin*, and another Captain, Five Lieutenants and two Ensigns, with eighty Common Souldiers, besides three hundred wounded, and some mortally, among whom, Lieutenant Colonel *Roger Fenwick*,

The Siege of *Dunkirk*.

The Spanish Army vanquish'd near *Furnes* Fort by the French & English.

1658

The Marshal of *Hoquincourt* slain.

The Marquess of *Leda* Governor of *Dunkirk* slain in Sally.

Dunkirk surrendred to the *French*, and resigned into the hands of the *English*.

The death of Mrs. *Elizabeth Cleypole*, *Cromwel*'s second Daughter.

Her Charity.

Cromwel falls sick at *Hampton-Court*.

who was reported a stout man, and his loss much bewailed: A day or two before this Battel, the Marshal of *Hocquincourt* (who had caused the important Town of *Hesdin* to revolt from the French to the Spaniard) was slain as he went out Picquering upon a Party. No sooner was this Battel ended, but the French and English returned again afresh to the Siege of *Dunkirk*, which the Marquess of *Leda* Governour thereof (who had been formerly sent Embassador to the Protector) seeing now more straightly than ever inviron'd both by Land and Sea, whereby it was reduced to great extremities; he resolute to defend the Town, made a bold sally forth, in which he received his mortal Wound: the Governours death, and the terror of the Granadoes shot into the Town, wrought so upon the besieged, that they were speedily brought to Articles of Surrender, and on the 25th of *June*, march'd out with Colours flying, so that the King of *France* in Person, accompanied with the Cardinal *Mazarine*, took possession of the place, and immediately resigned it up into the hands of General *Lockhart* in behalf of the Lord Protector, and the English.

The sixth of *August*, *Elizabeth* the Protectors second Daughter died at *Hampton-Court* of an Imposthume in some of the inward parts, which afflicted him very much, because he loved her above all his Children; and that sorrow was increased by the length of her Sickness, and the grievous torments she endured: A little before she expired (which was in much pain) the Delirium of her Sickness prompted her to utter many things, (which though formerly she thought she yet durst not express) against the Injustice of many of her Fathers Actions. She was married to one *Cleypole*, the Son of a private Gentleman of *Lincolnshire*, of a moderate Fortune; but she could not be confin'd to it being of a Spirit as high as if she had been born to that Greatness to which her Fathers Ambition had advanced her. She was of a very generous and obliging Disposition, and very much troubled at her Fathers Austerity, and oppression of the Royal Party, to several of whom she did many good Offices. The Grief which the Protector had contracted for her death, was very much augmented by his trouble, to discern, that the discontents sprung up amongst many of the Inferiour Officers of the Army, were fomented by *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*; the first of whom married his Daughter, and the other his Sister, who with *Berry* and *Cooper* Colonels, and *Sydenham* and *Pickering*, two of the Privy-Counsellors were in a Confederacy against the present Government in favour of a Commonwealth. And a while after he fell sick himself of a *Tertian* Feaver, which at first seem'd not to signifie much danger, but by degrees it grew upon him: yet his Imagination was so far transported with enthusiastick ravings, that insensible of his own danger, he affirmed, That GOD had reserved him to greater Attempts, than ever yet had been performed by him; and that he was assured he should not die of this Sickness. In which Extasie he was much heightned by *Goodwin* one of his Chaplains, who openly declared, *GOD had heard the Prayers of his Servants for him, and given him his Life*; and therefore he perswaded some of his Friends to keep a kind of private Thanksgiving beforehand for his undoubted recovery. This Confidence amused his Physitians so much, that they were less regardful of his Condition. But nevertheless, it was advised he should be brought to *White-Hall*, where with more conveniency than at *Hampton-Court*, a respect might be had to his Health, and the publick Affairs of the Nation; where he had not been many days, e're it visibly appeared he had but a few more to live. He had sometime before his Sickness appointed a *Junto*, or Committee of *Nine*, with whom he privately consulted in the most urgent Affairs of the Government. These were *Fleetwood*, *Fiennes*, *Desborow*, *Whaley*, *Thurloe*, *Lawrence*, *Berry*, *Cooper* and *Goff*, which were mixed of both Factions; that is, of that of a Single Person, and that of a Commonwealth, that he might displease neither, and that he might by that Confidence divert the latter from Designs upon his Power.

1658.

He is removed from thence to *White-Hal*.

Upon *Tuesday* the 31th of *August*, finding himself in danger, he commanded his Servants and all other Persons, except Mr. *Thurloe*, and Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, out of the Room, and declared to them, *That in regard he found his Sickness and Weakness encreasing, he was resolved to declare his Successor, according to the Power given him by the* * *late* Petition and Advice; *And therefore he desired them to take notice, that he Named and Declared his Son to succeed him accordingly.* They asked him which Son: He Replied, *My Son* Richard, *My Eldest Son*. Immediately thereupon, there came some Persons into the Room, whereby it hapned, that nothing further was said at that present. But * Mr. *Thurloe* and Dr. *Goodwin* immediately conferring together, did conceive that the business was too great and weighty for them alone to bear the Burthen of the Attestation of it; and therefore resolved to take the first opportunity they could to move him again therein, and to desire him for that Reason, to call some others, to whom he might communicate his mind in that matter: But in regard that Relations and others (who perhaps would take it ill to be put out of the Room) were constantly there, they could not all that day, nor the next gain any opportunity.

The Transactions between him and those about him concerning the naming of his Successor.

* A Systeme of Government made in the pretended Parliament *An. Dom.* 1656

* *Cromwell*'s Secretary of State.

But on *Thursday*, perceiving his Distemper very much to encrease, and hourly gain upon him, They resolved not to defer it longer: and thereupon they asked him, *Whether he remembred what he had said unto them the* Tuesday *before?* Which he said he did. They asked him, *Whether he continued in the same mind or not, touching the Succession of his Son* Richard? He answered, *That he did*. They then told him, it would be requisite he should communicate his pleasure to some others, and that the *Declaration* of the Business was of too great Concernment and Consequence for them alone to undertake, if there should be Opposition; and therefore desired him to send forthwith for some others. He asked them for whom he should send? They replied, whom he pleased. Then send, said he, for the Committee,

1659 mittee of Nine: whereupon they sent a Messenger forthwith to hasten them thither, of whom three came immediately; *Fiennes*, *Whaley*, and *Goff*; and these five that were then present, perceiving him still to decline, went to the Bed-side, and one of them asked him touching what he had declared to Dr. *Goodwin* and Mr *Thurloe*; he thereupon said again, *That he would have his Son, his Son* Richard *to succeed him:* and so without any more Discourse they withdrew from the Bed, and left him to his rest: But within few Minutes came in *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, upon the Summons that had been sent them; to whom the aforesaid five declared what had passed, and offered somewhat faintly to move *Oliver* to the Declaration of his mind again, which they as faintly refused; but were not much urged to it, they having at their first coming declared themselves satisfied with the Attestation of five persons, so well known and esteemed of them.

Cromwell having positively declared his eldest Son Richard his Successor, gives up the Ghost.

Upon *Friday* (the third of *September*, the same memorable day of the Year, that in 1650 he overcame the *Scots* at *Dunbar*, and the year following at *Worcester*) at three of the Clock in the afternoon he departed this Life.

Thus after so many hazards in the Field, so many Ambushes said to have been laid against him at home, notwithstanding the multitude of Enemies, that from all Parties and Interests whom his violent pursuit of Greatness had exasperated, conspired against his safety; contrary to the real belief of many men, the ill-bodings of some, and the earnest wishes of others, he died not of a violent, but in his Bed a natural Death. The day of his death was ushered in by a Night as tempestuous as had been seen in this Age, as if the Elements had been in Combustion at the flight of a Spirit, which had made so great a Concussion in the Affairs of the World.

Cromwell's Descent and Character.

He was born in the Town of *Huntington*, and was the Son of a Second Brother of Sir *Oliver Cromwell* of *Huntingtonshire*, a Person of eminent Note in the late Kings time; his Mother was the Daughter of Sir *Richard Steward* of the *Isle of Ely*, and his Wife *Elizabeth* the Daughter of Sir *James Bourchier*, by whom he had three Sons (whereof one died young) and four Daughters.

His Family is said to have originally derived the name of *Cromwell* from that great *Cromwell*, who was *Henry* the Eighth's Vicar-General over the Spiritualities; their Lineal Descent was from one *Williams* of *Glamorganshire*, who living contemporary with this Lord *Cromwell*, and marrying his Daughter, in gratitude for the Favours he had done him, took his Name upon him, and transferred it to his own Posterity. As for his Qualities, there is no doubt, though his Dissimulation, his Ambition, and his many other Vices obscured what was praise-worthy in him; yet there was something of Generosity in his Nature, as may be exemplified, in the particular care and regard he had for the Relations of some that had served him faithfully, and died in his Service; which one that writ his Life, parallels with the Gratitude of the fore-mentioned Lord *Thomas Cromwell*, toward *Signior Frisobald* an Italian Merchant, from whom he had received Civilities.

By his Reputation in Arms, he was courted or feared by most of the Princes in *Europe*, and the King of *France* and *Sweden* were entred into so strict a League with him, as might have troubled the whole World; but Cardinal *Mazarine*, the Chief Minister of *France*, held most secret Intelligence and Friendship with him. He was a man of singular Courage and Resolution, and that attended with a most prosperous stream of Fortune, which is not always the concomitant of Valour. He kept the Armies under him in so exact Discipline, that they rather seemed a Body of well governed Citizens than Souldiers: Swearing, Profaneness, Drunkenness, Murder, Rapine, Uncleanness, the common Vices of other Souldiers, were not to be found amongst his. His Ambition and desire of Glory, excited him to make Attempts also in other Countreys, in pursuance thereof, whereby a great Renown accrued to our Nation in all parts of the World. And had he not employed that Policy and Sagacity of Parts, which must be confessed to have been in him, to evil Ends, and by unheard-of Impieties traiterously aspired unto that highest pitch of Honour which belonged not to him, usurping his Majesties Government, he might have been worthy of eminent Place and Dignity in it. 1659

An hour after his death, there met together those of the Privy Council then in Town, that had been the most zealous Promoters of the Petition and Advice, and best affected to that Government. These were made acquainted by *Thurloe*, with what passed on *Tuesday* and *Thursday*; and also, that *Oliver* had subscribed a Paper long before his Death, touching the Succession, wherein *Fleetwood* was declared Successor; and that this Paper having been laid in a Cabinet, known only to *Oliver* and his Wife, and no person more (as was thought) was searched for, but could not be found.

Oliver's Will concerning his Successor imparted to the Council and Chief Officers.

They then agreed to send two of their Number to *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, and to know of them unfeignedly, whether they acquiesced in the Declaration that *Oliver* had made, touching the Succession of his Son: acquainting them, that they knew there had been a Paper subscribed by *Oliver* in his life-time, to the effect aforesaid: and therefore requested to know of them, whether if hereafter any such Paper should be found or produced, they would notwithstanding submit to the last Will and Parol Declaration of *Oliver?* Whereto *Fleetwood* replied, and promised, as in the presence of God, That if any such Paper then were, or should thenceforth be found or produced, yet he would not insist thereupon, forasmuch as he cordially acquiesced, as he said, in the succession of *Richard*. And thereupon a Council was forthwith summoned, where *Fiennes* and *Thurloe* gave an Account of *Oliver's* Appointment of his Successor: and *Goodwin*, *Whaley* and *Goffe* were called in, and attested the same upon their Oaths. And being withdrawn, the Council unanimously declared their Satisfaction: *Desborow* having first flood up, and adjured them all in the name of the Living God, that if any dissatisfaction remained upon their Spirits, they would freely declare it; as he professed he would have done, had any doubt remained with him. This passed; the President and whole Council

They all consent to the Election of Richard.

1659 went at once to congratulate *Richard*, and condole his Fathers Death.

Richard Cromwel proclaimed Protector by the City and chief Officers of the Army.

After the Congratulation, *Strickland*, *Skippon*, and some others of the Council were sent to the City, who appeared very well satisfied with what was done; and the next Morning a Proclamation was divulged, subscribed by *Chiverton* Lord Mayor of *London*, and as many of the Chief Officers of the Army, and Councellours of State as could be got together; wherein *Richard Cromwell* was at *White-Hall*, *Charing-Cross*, and several other publick places in *London*, proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. About four a Clock in the Afternoon, after the Proclamation, the Lord Mayor presented his Sword to him, which he presently returned; and after some Ceremonies passed (the Council, and many Officers of State, and of the Army being present) *Nathaniel Fiennes*, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England* administred an Oath to him in these words:

The Oath administred to him by *Fiennes*.

I Do in the presence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promise and swear, That to the uttermost of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of my Power and Understanding, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same. And that to the utmost of my Power, I will endeavour, as Chief Magistrate of these Nations, the maintenance and preservation of the Peace and Safety of the Just Rights and Privileges of the People thereof. And that in all things, according to my best Knowledge and Power, I will Govern the People of these Nations according to Law.

— Thus far matters succeeded well: his Brother *Henry Cromwell* was Chief Governour of *Ireland*, and a Gentleman was sent to acquaint him with the present posture of Affairs. Of *Scotland* they had some doubt; but to endeavour to rectifie all things there, *Richard* sent that Evening to Mr. *Thomas Clarges* (Brother-in-law to General *Monk*) to prevail with him, to go immediately into *Scotland*, with his Letters to *Monk*, to know how he stood affected to his Advancement. This *Clarges* was pitched upon as one who had great Interest in the General, and had been lately chosen by his procurement, upon the death of one *Rowe*, to be Agent for the Armies and Council of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, an Imployment of good Value, whereby he became interessed in the knowledge and Affections of the Officers of all the Armies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; for the Regiments of that of *Scotland*, especially of the Horse, were often changed, whereas the Irish Army continued still unchanged. And although at first his having been in the late Kings Service at *Oxford*, made them at *White-Hall* unwilling to employ him; yet he was esteemed of a moderate Behaviour, and had so demeaned himself in the pretended Parliament in the Year 1656. by his actings against the Kingship of *Cromwell*, that they would not then disoblige him, lest it should seem to be for that Reason. Besides, all of the contrary faction (of which were the chief of the Army) professed a great esteem of him, not so much in respect of himself, but because it was believed *Monk* engaged him in those Councils; and the opinion of that contributed more than any thing to divert *Oliver* from accepting the Crown. *Clarges* willingly accepted of this occasion to go to General *Monk*, to be able to inform himself particularly of his inclinations: For, although he had a Relation to him by Marriage, the Generals so far distant Residence, gave him little opportunity of other converse with him than by Letters. The City of *London*, and the generality of the people in *England* (having been wearied and tired with the miseries of War, and their Spirits subdued by the Oppressions and Tyranny of *Oliver Cromwell*) seemed outwardly to comply with the necessity of the Time, and submit to an approbation of that they could not remedy. But subtile Contrivances, congratulatory Addresses in all, or most Cities and Counties were framed, subscribed, and presented to him. In *Scotland*, by private advice to some of the Officers of the Army, things were so prepared, that when Mr. *Clarges* came thither, he found them all prepossessed, and doubting one the other; they liked, or seemed not to dislike all that was done at *London*. But the General himself and he had many secret Conferences, and the General then declared himself weary of the uncertain Condition, wherein he found both himself and the Nation inthrall'd by the over-ruling Tyranny of the Souldiers (who made themselves a divided Interest from the rest of the people) so that they consulted of a Paper to be drawn up, and to be presented to the new Protector, the Heads whereof were to advise him to suppress the division in the Church, by countenancing a sober and Orthodox Ministry; To permit no Councils of Officers; And to model and put the Army into the hands of the * qualified Nobility and Gentry of the Nations, as such whom the people might best trust. From this Conference which was managed by both, with much reservedness, *Clarges* began to perceive the General was in his Principles well fixed to restore his Countrey to its ancient Government, when ever a fit occasion should present it self for the Attempt. With this Paper, and a Letter of approbation of the choice of the Protector, *Clarges* returned to *London* to him. The Letter he delivered publickly, but the Paper was privately communicated, and well liked of by him: and the prosecution of the Advice thereof in his Attempts to model the Armies, was the main cause of all the Divisions which hapned in them, and the happy Consequences thereof.

1659

Addresses to the young Protector from all parts of the Nation.

The Army of *Scotland* submits to what was done in *England*.

* Such as never had been against the Parliament to prevent the jealousie of the action.

Mr. *Clarges* returns from *Scotland* to the Protector.

Addresses to the young Protector from all the Regiments of the Army both in *England* and other parts.

Mr. *Thomas Clarges* made choice of to be sent into *Scotland* to acquaint G. *Monk* with *Richard's* Advancement.

By the same Arts, as those from the Cities and Counties in *England*, Addresses were promoted, and subscribed by all the Regiments in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. *Lockhart* Governour of *Dunkirk*, who had married his Cousin-Germane, was as forward as any to promote Addresses, both from that Garrison and the rest of the English under Major General *Morgan*, who were yet in the French Army, Commanded by Marshal *Turenne*, and had gained a great fame and reputation to their Country, by many signal Services in that Campagne; for by their valour chiefly

1659 chiefly, a great Victory had been obtained, as before mentioned, over the Spaniſh Army near *Dunkirk*, which was followed by the taking of that Town, and the Fort of *Mardike*, and the Towns and Forts of *Bergen*, *Dixmude*, *Ferne*, *Oudenard*, *Mervin*, *Gravelin* and *Ypre*; which laſt place, taken about the beginning of *October*, Old Style, was the firſt Military Succeſs that the Engliſh had abroad under *Richard*'s Government. Marſhal *Turenne* had not hopes ſo late in the year, to gain a place ſo conſiderable; but having beaten a party of five thouſand men under the Prince of *Ligne* that was ſent to join with ſome other forces, and to viſit that Gariſon in their march, he ſuppoſed that the Town miſſing the ſuccor they expected, might quickly be ſurrendred; they were in it about 2500 old Souldiers, beſides whom, all the Townſmen aſſiſted that were able to bear Arms, being in all about 4000; and it was taken in a fortnight Siege. After the Army had been two or three days before it, *Turenne* ſent for Major General *Morgan*, who commanded the Engliſh, to order him to keep double Guards, for that he had certain Intelligence that the Prince of *Conde* intended with all the force he could get together, to put relief into the place. *Morgan* informed him, his Men were ſo expoſed, that he commonly loſt five or ſix every time they mounted the Guards, and therefore he propoſed, that rather than weary them out with ſo much continual duty, the Town might be aſſaulted. *Turenne* who was a wary Captain, was unwilling to hazard the reputation of that Army which had been victorious by many proſperous ſucceſſes that Summer, and therefore at firſt rejected the Advice; but *Morgan* preſſing more upon him, and offering himſelf with 600 Engliſh to go on upon the ſtrongeſt part of the Town, he at laſt conſented. He was ſeconded by two Serjeant Majors, who each of them commanded 600 *French*, and were to attaque two other places, at the ſame time that *Morgan* made his aſſault; but he with his Engliſh entred and gained moſt of the out-works, and turned the Cannon of the beſieged upon the Town, before his French Succours came in; and immediately after, the Town was ſurrendred upon eaſie Terms; the Prince of *Ligne*, *Barbancon* and *Arembeg* marched out with the Garriſon. *Turenne* imbraced *Morgan* after this ſervice; and, though he had long before eſteemed him a very expert and valiant Captain, he ever after valued him as one of the braveſt Commanders of his time, and in the Report of this Action to the Moſt Chriſtian King, he attributed the merit of it wholly to him; which occaſioned an Invitation of *Morgan* to *Paris*, where it was intimated to him, a good preſent of Plate was providing to gratifie his ſervices; but he whoſe modeſty made him ever prefer the vertue of generous Actions, before the Reward of them, choſe rather to return into *England*, to his Family and Relations, after his long and hazardous abſence.

The taking of *Ypre* by the Engliſh under M. G. *Morgan*.

The Young Protector not ſo great a wel-wiſher to his Majeſties cauſe as was believed.

Some were willing to believe the new Protector had a good affection towards His Majeſty, and would uſe his power to his advantage, as ſoon as he ſhould be confirmed in it, and had the Army in his abſolute obedience, to which they were induced by the obſervation of his former deportment; for in his private Conditions he demeaned himſelf with civility and reſpect to the Gentlemen of the Countrey where he lived, and was always ready to do Offices of kindneſs to perſons in diſtreſs, apparently diſliking of the ſeverity of his Father, and not averſe to overtures for his Majeſties Reſtitution; but it was afterwards evident, that he did but formalize in the doubtful time of his Authority; for when he ſaw himſelf owned and acknowledged by the Army and People, he was very much reſerved to all that wiſhed well to his Majeſty, and either really declined his Service, or had not vertue enough to reſiſt the temptation of greatneſs, or courage enough toward the defention of his power, to uſe that little which remained, to attempt to free his Country from thraldom and oppreſſion.

1659

In the firſt place, after his advancement to the Supreme Dignity, principal care was taken by him and his Council for the Interment of his Father, with all the State and Solemnity accuſtomed at Kings and Princes Funerals; and therefore ſearch is ſaid to have been made into the Records, to ſee what had been expended upon the Burial of King *James*, and the ſame Coſt, if not greater, was to be beſtowed on this: The Corps of his late Highneſs being embalmed and wrapt in Lead, was removed from *White-Hall* to *Somerſet-Houſe*, there to lie in Regal Pomp and State; a Spectacle to all comers; the order and manner whereof was briefly thus:

The manner of the deceaſed Protectors lying in State at *Somerſet-Houſe*.

Four Rooms one within another were compleatly hung with black; the three firſt with Cloth, the fourth with Velvet; each Room was adorned with Eſcutcheons of his Arms, Crowned with the Imperial Crown, and at the upper-end of each Room, was placed a Chair of State, and over that, a Cloth of State, and over the Cloth, a large Majeſty Eſcutcheon, painted and guilt upon Taffata: In the fourth Room where the Corps were, there lay upon a Bed of State, raiſed by two gradual Aſcents, and covered with a large Pall of black Velvet, his Effigies veſted with a rich Sute, Kirtle, and a large Robe of Purple Velvet, Laced with Gold, and Furred with Ermines; to the Kirtle was girt an embroyder'd Belt, by which hung a Sword richly hatcht with Gold, in the right hand was a golden Scepter, in the left a Globe, on the head a purple velvet Cap furr'd with Ermines; behind was placed a Crown Imperial, ſet with precious Stones, upon a Chair and Cuſhion of tiſhued Gold, on each ſide a rich Sute of Compleat Armour, at his Feet his Creſt; the Bed of State was encloſed with Rails and Ballaſters covered with Velvet, at each corner whereof, were Pillars adorn'd with Trophies of Military Honors carved and guilt; on the tops of the Pillars were the Supporters of the Imperial Arms, bearing Streamers Crowned; at the Pedeſtals were Shields and Crowns guilt: within the Rayls ſtood eight ſilver Candleſticks or Standards five foot high, with long Tapers of Virgin Wax burning in them, and next them four great Standards of his Arms, ſet upright in ſockets, with the Guidons great Banners, and Banrols of Taffata richly painted and guilt. The Effigies having for ſome time been ſeen in this poſture, was afterwards ſhewed in another room, veſted after the ſame manner, and attended with the ſame Ornaments as is already deſcribed, and this continued until the day of conducting the funeral pomp to the Church, which was on the twenty third of *November*; for till then

1659 then all things could not be prepared and made ready: and then the Effigies placed in a ſtately Funeral Charriot, covered with black Velvet, and drawn with ſix Horſes in like manner mantled, and adorned with black Plumes of Feathers, was attended from *Somerſet-Houſe* to *Weſtminſter* by all the Officers of his Houſhold, the chief Officers of the Army and Navy, the Magiſtracy of the City, the Judges at Law, the Ambaſſadors and Publick Miniſters of Foreign States and Princes, the Members of the late Upper-Houſe, and of the Privie Council, all in Mourning, each Company being diſtinguiſhed by Drums, Trumpets, a Banner born by one of the Chief Ones, and a Horſe of State mantled with black Velvet, led alſo by ſome one of Eminency. Laſtly, the Horſe of Honour trapped with Embroydery upon Crimſon Velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow Plumes, was led by the Maſter of the Horſe, with ſuch other like Formalities uſed at the Obſequies of great Perſons. At the Weſt end of the Abby-Church, the Effigies being taken out of the Charriot, was carried through the Church unto a Canopy of State, born by ſix of his Gentlemen, up to the Eaſt end, where it was placed in a ſumptuous *Catapaleo*, or Monument of Wood framed for the purpoſe, with Pilaſters and other Adornments of Architecture, carved, painted and guilt, to remain for a certain time exhibited to publick view; a ſort of temporary Monument much uſed in Foreign parts, at the death of great Princes: the Corps had been privately inhumed many days before the Solemnity in *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel.

The Solemnity of his Funeral.

Aſſoon as the Ceremonious Rites of this great Burial were paſt, the Preparations for which had for a time very much put a ſtop to proceedings both Domeſtick and Foreign, immediately other matters of publick concernment began ſeriouſly to be taken into conſideration, by the New Protector and his Council. The firſt thing was the ſending of a Naval Supply to the King of *Sweden*, between whom and the old Protector there had been contracted a very firm and inviolable Amity, and Forces had been ſent to this Kings Aid out of this Nation, both for Land and Sea-ſervice; for the latter whereof, he now more than ever had occaſion to make up a good ſtout Fleet; for after that by his Succeſs againſt the King of *Denmark*, he had won him to a Conceſſion of a great part of his Territories, and of half the Dominion of the *Sound*, and had at length withdrawn his Army: the King of *Denmark* judging the Conditions too hard on his ſide, and alledging them not to have been punctually obſerved by the *Swede*, began preſently after the departure of the Swediſh Army, to flye to Arms, for the recovery of what was loſt, being eſpecially encouraged thereunto by a certain aſſurance of Aid from the *Hollander*, beſides his entring into confederacy with the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, againſt the Swediſh King, who having quick Intelligence of the King of *Denmark*'s Deſign, ſpeeded back with his Forces, and was ſet down before *Copenhagen*, e're the *Danes* were well aware of his coming; but the Daniſh King had before-hand (providing againſt the worſt that might happen) ſo well fortified and ſtored the City, that it was able to endure a long Siege; and now the Sovereignty of this famous Bay of the *Baltick* Sea, called the *Sound*, being thus diſputed between theſe two Kings, the Dutch thought it a matter of no ſmall advantage to them, that the *Sound* ſhould continue in the power of the Dane their conſtant Ally, leſt the Swede gaining too much ſway therein, they might be deprived of the benefit thereof, which was of high Concernment to them, and therefore made all poſſible haſte to ſet out a Fleet for the Relief and Supply of *Copenhagen*: the Engliſh on the other ſide, thought it no leſs imported them to help the *Swede*, though it were againſt the Dane and the Dutch, both of them our friends in outward appearance; leſt their joynt Intereſt and prevalence againſt the Swede, who of all other Potentates was the moſt firmly united in League to this State, might have proved prejudicial to us likewiſe in relation to the *Sound*, which alſo concerned us no leſs weightily than the Dutch, therefore a Squadron of luſty Frigots was ſent forth by this State under the Command of Sir *George Ayſcough* toward the *Sound*, which having for ſome time been detained upon the Coaſt by contrary Winds, and afterwards ſteering their courſe towards thoſe Northern Seas, which the extremity of the Winter had made innavigable, they were forced for that time to return not without ſome damage to the Ships, by reaſon of the Ice, and the loſs of ſome men, through the bitterneſs of the weather in thoſe parts, ſo that this Enterprize was ſuſpended till the coming on of the Spring, and then a more powerful Fleet was ſet out under the Command of General *Montague*, Sir *George Ayſcough* being invited by the King of *Sweden* to take upon him a chief Command in his Navy.

1659

A Squadron of Ships ſent towards the *Sound*.

Another greater Fleet ſet out under Gen. *Montagu*.

The war-like proceeding between the King of *Swedes* and *Denmark*.

In the mean time the Hollanders Fleet led by General *Opdam*, and *Witte Witteſon* arriving at the *Sound* with relief for *Copenhagen*, were aſſailed by the Swediſh Rix Admiral *Charles Guſtave Wrangle*, in which Battel the Dutch are ſaid to have received a notable Overthrow, ſeven of their Ships being loſt, and *Witte Witteſon* one of their Admirals, with many other perſons of Quality ſlain; nevertheleſs during the Fight, ſeveral Dutch Fluyts and Merchant-men paſſed by with proviſion to *Copenhagen*, which ſo ſtrengthened the beſieged, that they thereby became inabled for the ſuſtaining of a long Siege, as hath ſince appeared; and not long after, the Swedes in a reſolute effort, againſt the City, were repelled with the loſs of a great many men, and ſome of Eminency.

The Sea Fight between the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*.

Copenhagen relieved.

And now in *England*, want of Moneys, and other preſſing occaſions of the State, required the ſudden calling of a Parliament: the young Protector iſſues out his Writs, ſummoning the Members to meet at *Weſtminſter* the 27th of *January*. Elections are made by the Counties, not without ſome canvaſſing of Parties.

Moreover, according to the conſtitution of the Government, Members were elected to the Commons Houſe for *Ireland* and *Scotland*, as well as *England*. The Elections were ſo diſpoſed in *England*, that many honeſt Gentlemen in all parts were choſen, but the Upper (for it did not yet aſpire to the Name of Lords) Houſe, was filled with

1659 with the Chief Officers of the Army, whereof moſt were of ſuch contemptible extraction and education, that the Commons were unwillingly brought in any capacity whatſoever to own them. From the time of Summons of this Parliament, to their convening, *Richard* was frequently entertained with the fore-mentioned Addreſſes, which much heightened the confidence he had entertained of his future Proſperity, and made him think of modelling the Council conformable to deſigns he had of ſubjecting the Army to his entire Command; for the Council, as the Government then ſtood, had a great co-ordination with him in the adminiſtration of it, and the major part conſiſted of ſuch as countenanced in all their extravagancies the Officers of the Army, who were many of them *Anabaptiſts*, and of other Sects.

He endeavours to new model his Council.

He pretended not to remove any of the Councellors, but to add ſo many of his friends to them as might make the greater number firm to him, he propoſed the Lord *Broghil*, and *Faulconbridge* who had married his Siſter, but they were not approved of; and inſtead of theſe, it was offered by thoſe that oppoſed them, that four Colonels of the Army might be admitted, (*viz.*) *Whaley*, *Goff*, *Berry* and *Cooper*: The firſt two had been of the late King's Judges, but were affected to the Protector and his Family; the other two were Factious and Seditious. Theſe Tranſactions were not agitated in open Council, but privately treated of by particular Perſons; but ſo rumored, that the Army began to be jealous of the Protector, and murmur at his Actions; ſometimes they would complain of the Company and Converſation he uſed, and at other times cenſure his Religion, exclaiming that Godlineſs was diſcouraged by him, and that he rather favoured thoſe of looſe Principles, than the zealous Profeſſors of the Goſpel. But in this he was injured; for if his private Condition repreſented him a kind of Libertine, he aſſumed, together with the publick Perſon, a more grave and circumſpect behaviour, conformed himſelf to the conſtant obſervation of all Religious Duties, and was in appearance at leaſt, if not really ſo, of a blameleſs Life and Converſation.

The Army grows jealous and cenſorious of him.

The Grandees of the Army, doubtful of the temper of the approaching Parliament, moved the Protector to call together ſome of the Officers of the Army to *London*, (as his Father was accuſtomed to do on the like occaſions) to adviſe with him, to obviate any peril that might happen in the beginning of his Power, if the Parliament ſhould attempt Innovations; He was a little ſurprized at this advice, but thought it not time to refuſe it, and thereupon Letters were ſent to as many of them as could be ſpared from their Charges to repair to *London*, to be there at the opening of the Parliament. The names of his Fathers Privy Councellors which acted and were continued under him, were *Richard Lawrence* Preſident; *Nathaniel Fiennes* one of the Keepers of the Great Seal; *John Thurloe*, Secretary of State; General *Montague*, Sir *Charles Wolſey*, Colonel *Philip Jones*, *Philip* Lord *Liſle*, Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*; Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Colonel *Desborow*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Colonel *Sydenham*, *Walter Strickland*, Colonel *Philip Skippon*; of which the ſix laſt named, were Favourers and Abettors of the Army; *Lawrence* the Preſident was an *Anabaptiſt*, but ſomewhat moderate in his Opinion; the Lord *Liſle* was often abſent and uncertain, endeavouring as much as he could to appear a Neuter. There was another whom I ſhould have named, which was Mr. *Major*, the Protector's Wives Father, but his indiſpoſition of Health rendred him uncapable of Action. *Fleetwood* and *Desborow* had frequent meetings at *Desborow*'s Houſe, who with the Factious part of this Council, and ſome of the Colonels of the Army that favoured them, which were *Berry*, *Hewſon*, *Cooper* and *Lilburn*, conſulted to wreſt the Power of the Army out of the Protector's Hands, and in order thereunto, *Deſborow* was ſent to tell him, That the Army was filled with many jealouſies and fears of Deſigns againſt it, which would put them into Mutiny, and inevitably hazard the ſubverſion of the Government, unleſs ſome ſpeedy remedy were taken for prevention; and that no better way could be thought on, than putting the Command of the Army into the hands of ſome perſon that had ſerved with them, and of whoſe Courage and Integrity to their Cauſe, they might have confidence and aſſurance; and immediately named *Fleetwood* to be the man, adding, That this would not only ſatisfie the Army, but give great content to the Godly Party (which was a name much uſed by all theſe Noveliſts) and free him from much of the trouble, which rendred him now leſs intent in the more neceſſary parts of Government. To this he replied, that as to the fears and jealouſies of the Army, when he knew their Grounds, he would give them what redreſs could be deſired, not doubting but the Parliament now ready to ſit down, would take care both for his and their ſecurity, and the peace and quiet of the Nations: But as to the Command of the Army, he freely told them, he ſhould not think himſelf able to protect himſelf or them, if he ſhould part with it, which his Fathers Example confirmed him in. And with this Anſwer diſmiſſed him. His Father, as was before mentioned, was much perplexed before he died, with many Seditious *Anabaptiſt*-Officers of the Army, who were impatient of his Government, but the fear and danger of a diviſion, and reſpect to his perſon, kept them in ſome degree of Obedience; He diſplaced many of them before he died, and had reduced the reſt, and wholly modelled the Army to depend on him, if he had lived a few moneths longer: he had introduced his Son, my Lord *Faulconbridge*, and many others into Chief Commands, who were allied to him in Blood, or by their advancement wholly depending on him: all this while matters were carried without much heat, and not out of poſſibility of accommodation when the Parliament ſate down.

1659

Seditious Meetings of the Factious Part of the Army and Council at *Deſborow*'s Houſe.

Desborow ſent to the Protector to perſwade him to reſign the Command of the Army to *Fleetwood*.

Which he refuſeth.

The names of the Protectors Privy Council.

At the prefixed time, the Parliament meets, conſiſting as the laſt Parliament had done in his Fathers time, of two Houſes, the *Commons*, and the *Other*, (which now began to be called the *Upper-Houſe*) for the firſt was choſen Speaker *Chaloner Chute*, a Lawyer, who within a ſhort while fell ſick unto death, as alſo Sir *Liſlebone Long*,

A Parliament called by the new Protector.

1659 *Long* Recorder of *London*, who was choſen *pro tempore* in his ſtead; For the latter was choſen *Nathaniel Fiennes* Lord Keeper of the Seal. The *Act of Recognition of the Protector to be chief Governour of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging:* which was many days debated in parts, and at laſt part of it reſolved in theſe words; viz. *That it be part of this Bill to recognize and declare his Highneſs* Richard *Lord Protector and Chief Magiſtrate of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.* And it was added, *That neither this nor any other Vote that is or ſhall be paſſed in order to this Bill, ſhall be of force or binding to the People until the whole be paſſed.* The Protector liked well theſe Proceedings, and thought himſelf towards a good Settlement; but of thoſe that were zealous for a Commonwealth, there was in this Parliament ſuch a conſiderable number, who had ſo powerful Influence on publick Tranſactions, that to procraſtinate the time, they caſt in ſeveral previous Debates, in which, nevertheleſs, the Aſſertors of the Protectors Intereſt being more in number, carried things to their own Advantage by the major Vote, as particularly in the buſineſs of the Scotch and Iriſh Members to be continued in among them, and the owning of the *Upper Houſe*, and holding an Entercourſe with them, after a long Conſultation in queſtion of their Authority. However, the Factious Counſellours which abetted diſcontents in the Army, continued their Meetings to purſue their purpoſe of wreſting the Command of the Army out of his hands, and putting it under *Fleetwood*.

The King creates new Commiſſioners for the management of his Affairs in *England*

Several Deſigns had been in vain undertaken for His Majeſties Reſtauration during the Uſurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*, which were chiefly managed by the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *John Belaſis*, Sir *John Greenvill*, Sir *William Compton*, Colonel *John Ruſſel*, and Sir *Richard Willis*, who for their ſuppoſed conduct of the privacy of their Counſels, were commonly called, *The ſeal'd Knot:* But, though nothing was more prudently and ingeniouſly contrived, all their Conſultations were from time to time imparted to *Thurloe* by Sir *Richard Willis*, which was not yet known. Nevertheleſs, His Majeſty about this time thought fit to appoint new Commiſſioners, and ſent over into *England* a blank Commiſſion dated at *Bruxels* the eleventh day of *March*, in the eleventh year of his Reign, which was filled up with the Names of *Arthur Anſley*, Son to the Viſcount *Valentia*; *John Merdant*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*, Sir *John Greenvill*, Sir *Thomas Peyton*, and *William Legg*; which was as followeth:

The Form of the Commiſſion.

CHARLES *by the Grace of God King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *To Our Right Truſty and well-beloved*, &c. *And to every of them Greeting. We do by theſe Preſents Conſtitute and Appoint you Our Commiſſioners, giving you or any one or more of you Power to Treat with any our Subjects of our Kingdom of* England, *and Dominion of* Wales, *that are or have been in Arms againſt Us or Our Father of Bleſſed Memory, or that have contributed to the preſent Rebellion in* England (*excepting ſuch as actually ſate in Judgement for the taking away the Life of Our ſaid Father, or pleaded as Councel Learned againſt his Life, or attended as Miniſters to that odious pretended Court, or laid hands on his Perſon in the execution of that horrid Murder*) *And to aſſure them in Our Name, That if they ſhall forſake the preſent Rebellion, and joyn heartily and effectually for the ſuppreſſing of the ſame, and for Our Reſtauration to the Rights due to Us by the Laws of God, and of that Our Kingdom; That then We will not only freely pardon their former oppoſing Us and Our dear Father, and all other their Crimes and offences in acting, adhering to, or complying with the ſaid Rebellion, But, that We will Recompenſe and Reward ſuch of them as ſhall by any remarkable Service merit of Us, either by reducing or rendering any Town, Fort, or Garriſon of the Rebels into Our hands, or into the poſſeſſion and power of you, or of any other Truſtee imployed by Us or you for Our Service: And what you or any one or more of you ſhall by vertue of this Our Commiſſion in Writing under your hands, or the hands of any one or more of you, promiſe in Our Name in this kind, We ſhall Ratifie, and Confirm, and Perform.* Given at Our Court at *Bruxels* this eleventh day of *March*, 1659. in the Eleventh year of Our Reign. 1659

Theſe Gentlemen proceeded with much Warineſs and Diligence in the execution of this Commiſſion, the Effects whereof ſhall be made known hereafter; But in the mean time, we ſhall return to what paſſed between the Parliament and Army. Beſides the private Meetings of ſome ſelect Officers at *Desborows* Houſe, the General Council of Officers (as they called themſelves) met in *Fleetwoods* Houſe, where they acted with as much formality, as if they had been the Supreme Legiſlators of the three Kingdoms.

It was a little before *Cromwell*'s Death, that great preparation was begun for the ſetting forth of a Fleet to the help of the Swedes againſt the Danes, and that under the Command of General *Mountague*, nor did his Death put a ſtop thereunto, Sir *George Ayſcough* being ſent with a Squadron of Ships, though hindred from coming up to joyn with them, by reaſon of the freezing of thoſe Seas, as hath been already mentioned: whereupupon, for the better managing of the Charge, it was thought expedient that the Houſe of Commons ſhould be engaged in it, and a Narrative Report was made to them by Secretary *Thurloe* about the later end of *February* this year, concerning the State of the War betwixt the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in Relation to the *Baltick* Sea, and the command of the *Sound*. This took

ſo

1659 so far, as to gain a Vote for the providing a considerable Navy for the preservation of Trade, which was forthwith equipped, and General *Montague* sent with it to the *Sound* about the latter end of *March*, who was so straightned in his Commission, that he lay there without doing any thing, till he was called back by that part of the Long Parliament that subverted the Power that sent him.

The *Upper House* (as it now began to be called in a strain somewhat nearer *Lords House*) favoured the Military Council of Officers, but the Commons took much distaste at it, as if it portended a kind of Force upon their Councils. The Protector in the mean time advised with his Friends, how to free himself from the Embarasments of the Officers of the Army; My Lord *Faulconbridge*, Colonel *Ingoldsby*, Colonel *Bridge*, Colonel *Charles Howard*, Major *Knight*, all Officers in the Army, and some few others, counselled him to send a Party to *Desborows* house, to seize upon those that met there, which were eight or nine of the Chief Confederates, and immediately after to give their Commands to the next Officers to them, till he could have a fairer opportunity to put them into better hands; and to send for all the rest of the Officers to come to him, and to Command all of them to repair to their respective Commands, that were not obliged by Service in Parliament to attend that duty. These Counsels were very agreeable to his Inclination, but the Secretary of State and some others to whom he brake the business, diverted him from the first; but to the latter, of dismissing the Officers, he readily consented; and the next day he sent for them, and dismissed them accordingly: And the same day that this was by him done, the Commons openly debated against this Assembly of Officers, and Voted, *That during the Sitting of the Parliament, there should be no General Council or Meeting of the Officers of the Army, without direction, leave, and authority of the Protector and both Houses of Parliament.* And because in the Debate of these Questions, many that favoured the Army, had cunningly cast out some minatory Expressions, insinuating, That this way of proceeding might make them think themselves suspected, and provoke them to break forth into some act of opposition and disturbance, they passed another Resolve, *That no person should have or continue Command in any of the Armies in* England, Scotland, *or* Ireland, *or any of the Dominions or Territories thereunto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, That he will not disturb or interrupt the free Meeting in Parliament of any the Members of either House of Parliament, or their freedomes in their Debates and Councils.* These were transmitted to the *Upper House*, to be confirmed there; but they made a slow progress in them upon divers late contracted Jealousies, not the least of which was from a late Vote of the Commons, wherein they declared at the acknowledgement of their Constitution, *That their acknowledgement of that House for another House of Parliament, should not prejudice the Peerage of the Land, or their Priviledges:* as also believing, that the Protector conspired with the Commons to weaken and divide, or subdue the Power of the Army, in which they were somewhat confirmed, for that these Matters were Debated and Voted the same Day he had dissolved the Council of Officers, and dismissed them. The Protector had many of the Chief Officers of the Army fixed to him, but the inferior sort who were of Fanatick Opinions in Religion, and were more numerous, and had most influence upon the Souldiers, were for *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*: For it was artificially instilled into their Heads, *That the Protector did intend to cast them out of their Places, and put the Army into the hands of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nations, thereby to bring in the King, and destroy that Liberty of the Gospel they had so long contended for.* The Debate against the Army in the House of Commons, was on the nineteenth day of *April*, from which time the Meetings of the Officers were more frequent than before, and upon the two and twentieth day, the Protector was informed, that they would either themselves dissolve the Parliament, or compel him to do it. He called his Confidents about him, and made preparations against all accidents that might happen; and in the Evening many of his Friends encouraged him to take Horse, and appear in the Head of some Troops that were ready to receive him. While this was doing, the other Party had drawn up some men in the several Avenues to *White-hall*, and in Saint *James*'s Fields, yet it was believed, if he had appeared with vigour and courage amongst them, respect of his person would have prevailed much with the Common Souldiers; but he was fearful and unresolved, of a Spirit unbecoming the Quality he assumed; and many of those about him were as irresolute as he, some advised one thing, some another, wasting their time in contradictions; and, as it happens in the Consultations of fearful people, they debated many things fit to be done, till the time was past to put them in execution. *Desborow* his Uncle came to him from the discontented Officers, and pressed him much to sign a Commission to *Fiennes* to dissolve the Parliament, which he a great while obstinately refused, till *Desborow* insolently told him, if he did it not, it should be done without him, and so urged by threats and importunities, he at length consented to it.

1659

The Inferiour Officers of the Army jealous of the Commons and the Protector.

The discontented faction of the Army in a posture of hostility against the Protector.

He is forced by *Desborow* to sign a Commission to *Fiennes* for the dissolving of the Parliament

The next Morning, the House of Commons having heard of these Transactions at *White-hall*, Adjourned themselves for three days: but this their Adjournment proved a total Dissolution; for those that had made this breach upon them, proceeded further to compleat their purposes, and besides the foresaid Commission directed to *Fiennes*, caused a Proclamation to come forth in the Protectors Name, to publish the Dissolution of the Parliament in these words;

The Upper House jealous of the proceedings of the Commons and the Protector.

A Proclamation for the dissolution of the Parliament.

WHereas *We summoned our* High Court of Parliament *to Assemble and meet together at Our City of* Westminster *the* 27*th of* January *last, which hath continued until this present day; And whereas we did by Our Commission under Our Great Seal of* England *bearing date at* Westminster *this present* 22*d day of*

April for divers weighty Reasons declare Our Pleasure and Resolution to dissolve the said Parliament, and to that end did thereby constitute and appoint Our Right Trusty and Right well beloved Councellor Nathaniel Fiennes, *One of the Lord Keepers of Our Great Seal of* England, *and other Our Commissioners in Our Name, this said present Twenty second day of* April, *to dissolve Our said Parliament, which was by them done according to the tenour of the said Commission in the usual place, and by vertue thereof our said Parliament is Dissolved: Nevertheless, We have thought it necessary with the Advice of Our Privie Council, by this Our Proclamation, to publish and make known the same, to the end all persons whom it may concern, may take notice thereof.* Given at *White-hall* the twenty second day of *April*, in the year of our Lord, 1659.

Disborow and *Fleetwood* promise the Protector that his Power & Dignity should be continued.

Fleetwood and *Desborow* having (to get the power of the Army to them, and their Party) made this Breach upon the Parliament, and in it shaken the Protectors Government, intended of themselves, as it should seem, nothing less than to dethrone him, though by reason of what they had already done, they quickly found it was not in their power to prevent what they so little intended; they came to him together and apart several times that day after it was done, and protested to him, That his Power in all things, but the immediate Command of the Army, should be preserved intire; and even in that nothing should be done, but in his Name, and by his privity; telling him, *They had not taken this course, but upon certain Assurance of the Designs of the Kings Party, and others, to disturb the publick Peace, which nothing could prevent, but the breaking up of that Parliament.*

He received not much Consolation from these Discourses, and gave little credit to them, well knowing, that it was far easier to draw the Officers of the Army into seditious courses, than to moderate them. He told them, he doubted not of their intentions, and that they had been practised upon to do that in haste, which they might have leisure enough to repent; and that they would find now they had made a Concussion of his power, it would be a Province too hard for them to re-settle it, and so it proved in effect; for at the first Meeting of the Officers at *Walling ford* House, after the emission of the fore-mentioned Proclamation, they would not hear of any thing in behalf of the Protector, and were so far from thinking of the continuance of his Power, that when any thing was moved tending that way, it was obstructed or diverted by Propositions of Government. Yet at last, when they had determined, that the Chief Command of the Army should be in *Fleetwood*, with a Power to dispose of all vacant Offices till farther Order, they were perswaded to allow the Protector a kind of Limited Supremacy (somewhat like that of a Duke of *Venice.*) But, the next day, whilest many of the Superiour Officers met at *Wallingford* House, in further consideration of a Model of Government, the inferiour Officers being the most numerous, assembled in the Chappel at St. *James*'s, having Doctor *Owen*, and other Independent Ministers with them to assist at their Devotion, where the matter was artificially so contrived, that the prosperity they enjoyed under the latter part of the Commons House of the Long Parliament, was much magnified; with some intimations of Advice to return to that Government, with which the Auditors were very much affected, but nothing more was done at that time. This was promoted by *Lambert* and his Friends wherein he appeared not openly himself, but set Colonel *Lilburn* to manage the Business, at whose Chamber his Friends had private *Juncto's.*

The Superior Officers meet at *Walling-ford* house to consider of a Model of Government, and the inferiour at St. *James*'s.

The next day *Fleetwood* and *Desborow* were alarmed with this Countermine against their Designs; for the Inferiour Officers came now to open Declaration of their forwardness to restore the latter part of the Long Parliament, and to restore to their Commands *Lambert* and the rest of the Officers who had been displaced by *Oliver Cromwell* for dis-affection to him; yet with so much respect to the Protector, and his Family, that they would have an Honourable Provition made for them. *Fleetwood* endeavoured to oppose this Torrent, suspecting *Lambert*'s Ambition would quickly supplant him, if he got Power: but when he perceived it was already too great to be resisted, the Consideration thereof obliged both him and *Desborow* to comply, for the preservation of their Authority. However, to retard their proceedings, they propose, first, to have the Army settled and modelled in a way of Unity before they determined upon the Government, which was thought rational; and at a Meeting of a General Council of Officers, in order thereunto, they removed the Protector from his Regiment, and the Colonels *Ingoldsby*, *Howard*, the Lord *Faulconbridge*, and Colonel *Bridge* from theirs: Colonel *Norton* they displaced from the Government of *Portsmouth*, which they gave to Colonel *Whetham*, and made Colonel *Edward Salmon* Governour of *Hull*, in the room of Colonel *Smith*, who, by the recommendation of *Fleetwood*, had the Command of that Garrison given him by *Oliver Cromwell.* To Colonel *Sanders* they gave the Protectors Regiment of Horse; to Colonel *Rich* that of *Ingoldsby*'s; to Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* Colonel *Howard*'s Regiment of Foot, with the Government of *Berwick*, *Carlisle*, and *Tinmouth*: To *Lambert* they gave the Lord *Faulconbridg*'s Regiment, and to *Okey* that which was his own before, which was lately commanded by Colonel *Bridge*: Major *Packer*, and Captain *Gladman*, Anabaptist Officers, who had been by *Oliver Cromwell* displaced were restored to their Commands: The Inferiour Officers, in all these respective Regiments, were suitably modelled according to the Opinion of their Colonels.

Several Colonels removed from their Regiments and others put in their rooms. As likewise Governours of Towns and other Officers.

The Officers of the Army oppose it.

Thus *Lambert* was brought into the Army, wherein he quickly recovered much of his former power. After this, the Council of Officers was reduced to a smaller number.

The Officers of the Army consult about restoring the Remnant of the *Long Parliament.*

The twenty ninth of *April* there met at *Fleetwoods* House, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Sydenham*, *Cooper*, *John Jones*, *Berry*, *Hacker*, *Lilburn*, *Ashfield*, *Salmon*, *Zanchy*, *Okey*, *Sanders*, *Clark*, all Colonels, and

1659 and Major General *Kelsey*, and *Barkstead* the Lieutenant of the Tower, where they debated the Election of a Council, which should have a Negative upon the Remnant Parliament, when it should be restored: But after much Debate, that was thought fitter for the Debate of the Parliament than them.

They next consult about some Articles, for the security of themselves and their Friends, and for a Foundation, on which they would oblige their Parliament to establish the Commonwealth Government.

They send to treat with *Vane*, *Hazlerig*, and others

These Articles being digested into form, and agreed to by the General Council, a certain number of the Officers were deputed to meet with Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Mr. *Scot*, and Major *Salloway*, the prime leading men in this Parliament, to consider how they might be disposed to consent to them. *Vane* and those with him had been Treated with apart; but when they came to publick discourse, they were very reserved in their Answers; yet they gave them hopes of their consents, and of their endeavours to prevail upon others; but said, they could not undertake any previous Agreement, to oblige the Parliament, without their Authority and consent, at such time as they were met together.

This caution of theirs was disliked and suspected by *Fleetwood*, *Desborow* and *Lambert*; but the Inferior Officers were so far possessed in favour of them, that it was not time to contend. They therefore desired them to use means to draw as many of the Members as they could together with all convenient haste, because the Government was a kind of *Inter-regnum*; and the Officers in the mean time drew up a Declaration to invite them to sit, which upon the sixth of *May* was presented to the Speaker by *Lambert*, with about 13 or 14 Officers of the Army in his Company. The Declaration it self we have thought fit to insert, to shew the inconstancie of these new Politicians, that so soon altered from what they so solemnly declared; The Title was,

A Declaration of the Officers of the Army inviting the Members of the Long Parliament, who continued sitting till the 20*th* of *April*, 1653. to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust.

The Armies Declaration to invite the Remnant of the Long Parliament to sit again.

THE Publick Concernments of this Commonwealth, being through a vicissitude of Dangers, Deliverances and Back-slidings of many, brought into that state and posture wherein they now stand, and our selves also contributing thereunto, by wandring divers ways from Righteous and Equal parts; And although there have been many Essays to obviate the Dangers, and to settle the Nations in peace and prosperity, yet all have proved ineffectual; The only wise God, in the course of his Providence, disappointing all Endeavours therein. And also observing to our great grief, that the good Spirit which formerly appeared amongst us, in the carrying on of this great Work, did daily decline; so as the Good Old Cause *it self became a Reproach: We have been led to look back, and to examine the Cause of the* LORD*'s withdrawing his wonted Presence from us, and where we turned out of the way, that through Mercy we might return and give him the Glory.* 1659

And amongst other things, calling to mind that the Long Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued their sitting until the 20th *of* April, 1653. *were eminent Assertors of that Cause, and had a special Presence of* GOD *with them, and were signally blessed in that work (the Desires of many good People concurring with ours therein;) we judge it our Duty to invite the aforesaid Members, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, as before the said* 20th *of* April 1653.

And therefore we do hereby most earnestly desire the Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued to sit since the Year 1648. *until the* 20th *of* April 1653. *to return unto the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust; and we shall be ready in our Places, to yield them, as becomes us, our utmost Assistance to sit in Safety, for the improving present Opportunities, for settling and securing the Peace and Freedom of the Commonwealth, praying for the Presence and Blessing of God upon their Endeavours.*

6th of *May* Signed by the Direction of the Lord *Fleetwood*, and the Council of Officers of the Army.

Thomas Sanford Secretary.

They agree to accept of the Invitation,

After the delivery of this, many of the most Eminent Members of this Remnant of the *Long Parliament*, having before consulted with as many of the rest as were in *London*, came also and gave a Visit to the Speaker, to signifie their willingness to return to the Exercise of their Trust, (as they call'd it) in pursuance of the Invitation given them by the Army, and that they would meet the next morning, which was the 8th of *May*, at 8 of the Clock in the *Painted-Chamber*, where they desired his Presence to accompany them from thence to the Parliament-House; which he accordingly did, and they all went together, and took their Places. Thus ended the Reign, or rather the Usurpation of the *Cromwells*, being overthrown by those of their nearest Relations, from whom by Interest, they might have expected Support: But such was the Fate of this ill-acquir'd Dominion, to be subverted in its greatest Security, by the Ambition and Malice of those that assisted the Aspirers in the obtaining of it.

And take their places in the House.

1659

General *Monk* seems to give his Consent to what was done in *England.*

Upon the Diſſolution of the Protectors Parliament, diligence was uſed by *Clarges* to acquaint *Monk* with all Occurrences; but the Officers of the Army in *Scotland*, then in *London*, of *Fleetwood*'s Party, had ſo diſperſed Letters amongſt their Friends, to ingage them for the reſtoring of this later part of the *Long Parliament*, that when he conven'd ſome of them at *Edenburgh* to ſound their Tempers, he perceived they had been wrought upon; and therefore he judged it moſt prudent, to ſeem to approve of what was done: And to that purpoſe he writ a Letter ſigned by himſelf and his Officers, to the Officers at *London*, which gave them Aſſurance of his Adherence to them; (but if *Richard* had not diſſolved his Parliament, *Monk* had then marched into *England* in favour of it.) They did not fear much any ſtorms from the Army in *Ireland*, who of themſelves could do little, without correſpondence from *England* or *Scotland*.

They publiſh their Intentions by a Declaration.

The words of the Declaration extracted out of the Parliament Journals.

The firſt thing the Remnant-Parliament did when they met, after Election of their Officers, was the paſſing a ſhort *Declaration*, which was ordered to be Printed and Publiſhed; in the Cloſe whereof they declare; *That they are Reſolved through the Gracious Aſſiſtance of Almighty GOD, to apply themſelves to the Faithful Diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in them; and to endeavour the Settlement of this Common-wealth upon ſuch a Foundation as may aſſert, eſtabliſh and ſecure the Property and Liberties of the People in reference unto all, both as Men and as Chriſtians; and that without a Single Perſon, Kingſhip, or Houſe of Peers: And ſhall vigorouſly endeavour the carrying on of Reformation, ſo much deſired, and ſo often declared for; to the end there may be a Godly and Faithful Magiſtracy and Miniſtry upheld and maintained in the Nations, to the Glory and Praiſe of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *and to the reviving and making glad the Hearts of the Upright in the Land.*

Sir *George Booth*, Mr. *Pryn*, and others of the old ſecluded Members claim their priviledge of Sitting, but are kept out.

Sir *George Booth*, Colonel *Roſſiter*, Mr. *Pryn*, and ſome others, Members of the *Commons Houſe* of this *Parliament*, (formerly ſecluded by the Army) attempted to go into the Houſe, but were all kept back by Adjutant Gen. *Allen*, except Mr. *Pryn* who ſlipt in, but they would do nothing whileſt he was amongſt them, but adjourned till the afternoon; and when he again would have entered, he was ſtaid by ſome Officers of the Army.

About four days after the preſent ſmall *Parliament* had ſate, which was ſpent in making a Committee of Safety, and diſpatching Intelligence of their being re-inſtated in their former Power, to ſeveral of their Members abſent in the Country, whom they had not diſabled from Sitting; the Officers of the Army preſent themſelves with their Petition and Addreſs, a thing they often inſiſted to have proſecuted, and was one of the occaſions that heightned the differences betwixt them and this *Parliament*.

1659

The Title was, The Humble Petition and Addreſs of the Officers of the Army, to the Parliament of the Common-wealth of *England*. The Addreſs it ſelf was in theſe words following:

The Humble Petition and Addreſs of the Officers of the Army to the Remnant Parliament.

CAlling to mind the former Declarations of Parliament, and the Grounds therein inviting us to take up Arms, and thoſe many ſignal Providences, wherein the Lord hath owned You and your Forces both by Sea and Land, in aſſerting that Righteous Cauſe, wherein the Civil and Religious Liberties of the people of theſe Nations were involved, ſo as that all open oppoſition was beaten down before you; and likewiſe weighing with our ſelves how in the ſeveral late Changes in Government, that publick Spirit which appeared in that Work, hath ſince that time been diſcouraged, and another raiſed up, drawing back to the ſame things you had contended againſt, even to the hazarding the Eſſentials of that Cauſe; we did upon ſerious thoughts of heart think it our duty once more to appear againſt thoſe back-ſliding ways: and Providence having brought the ſtate of Affairs to the condition they were in ſome few days before your ſitting, we found it neceſſary to aſſert amongſt our ſelves ſome of the Fundamentals of our Good Old Cauſe, *with ſome other things conducing to the Preſervation thereof, with a full and fixed reſolution, through the Aſſiſtance of* GOD, *effectually even to the hazard of our Lives to endeavour the Recovery and ſecurity of the ſame. And the ſame Good* Providence *holding forth an opportunity to us, to open unto You a Way for the further diſcharge of your remaining Truſt in* Parliament, *we did by our* Declaration *of this inſtant* May, *humbly deſire you would be pleaſed to return to the exerciſe and diſcharge thereof, as before the* 20th *of* April, 1653. *And having to our great rejoycing ſeen your* Declaration *of the ſeventh Inſtant, ſhewing, that you are reſolved through the Gracious Aſſiſtance of Almighty* GOD, *to apply your ſelves to the faithful diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in you; and to endeavour the Settlement of this* Commonwealth *upon ſuch a Foundation, as may aſſert, eſtabliſh and ſecure the Liberties of the People, in reference unto all, both as Men and Chriſtians, and that without a* Single Perſon, Kingſhip, *or* Houſe of Peers, *reſolving vigorouſly the carrying on the Work of Reformation, ſo much deſired, and ſo often declared for, to the end there may be a Godly and faithful Magiſtracy and Miniſtry upheld and maintained in theſe Nations; which ſo fully anſwers what our hearts were*

drawn

1659 *drawn forth to desire, that we could not any longer forbear to express our thankfulness for this door of hope again, opened towards the attaining a consummation of those things so much breathed after by the good People of this* Commonwealth. *And however we find our selves in some measure prevented, by the late* Declaration *and* Resolves *of this* Parliament: *Yet this nevertheless we have judged it our Duty to represent what was chiefly and unanimously upon our hearts, when we engaged in that which made way for your Return, which we humbly (as becomes us) lay before you:*

1. That the Liberty of the Persons, and Property of the Estates of all Free People of these Nations, be maintained, preserved, and kept inviolable according to Law, under the Government of a *Free State and Commonwealth*, without a *Single Person*, *Kingship*, or *House of Peers*.

2. That there may be such a just and due Regulation of Law, and Courts of Justice and Equity, as that they may be a Protection, and not vexatious or oppressive to the People of these Nations.

3. That by an *Act of Oblivion*, all and every person and persons who have since the 19th of *April*, 1653. mediately or immediately advised, acted, or done any matter or thing whatsoever, in reference to the several Changes or Alterations in the Government of these Nations since the said 19th of *April*, 1653. or in order to the Publick Service, Peace, or Safety of these Nations, be Indemnified and saved harmless, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

4. That all *Laws*, *Ordinances*, *Declarations*, and *Establishments* made in the several *Changes* and *Alterations* of *Government*, that have been in these Nations since the 19th of *April* aforesaid, and not as yet particularly repealed, be deemed good in Law, until particularly repealed.

5. That such Debts as have been contracted for the Publick Service and Affairs of this Commonwealth, and for the Charges of the Government, since the twentieth of *April*, 1653. be carefully paid and satisfied.

6. That all persons who profess Faith in GOD the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, God Co-equal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the *Old* and *New Testament* to be the revealed or written Word or Will of God, shall not be restrained from their Profession, but have due encouragement and equal protection in the profession of their Faith and exercise of Religion, whilest they abuse not their Liberty to the civil injury of others, or disturbance of others in their way of Worship: So that this Liberty be not extended to *Popery* or *Prelacy*, nor to such as shall practise or hold forth licentiousness or prophaneness under the profession of Religion: And that all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Clauses in any Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances to the contrary, may be declared null and void. 1659

7. That a Godly, Faithful and Painful Gospel-Preaching Ministry be every where encouraged, countenanced, and maintained.

8. That the *Universities* and *Schools* of *Learning* be so countenanc'd and reformed, as that they may become the *Nurseries* of *Piety* and *Learning*.

9. That such persons as have at any time since the twentieth of *May*, 1642. aided, or assisted, or adhered to the late King, *Charles Stuart* his Son, or any other person or persons whatsoever of that Party, against the Parliament or Commonwealth of *England*, and all other persons whatsoever that have made use of any Authority or Power under pretence of Law, or otherwise, to deprive or abridge any of the good People of these Nations of their Christian Liberty, or have or shall express themselves in any way mockers, scoffers, or revilers of Godliness, or of the Professors thereof, or are otherwayes scandalous or loose in their conversations, or have not given good satisfaction of their affection and faithfulness to this Cause, may be speedily removed out of all places of Power or Trust in the Magistracy, or other management of the Publick Affairs of these Nations, and that no such persons may be admitted unto any such Place of Power or Trust for the future.

10. And forasmuch as no godly or other good Interest can be preserved, or maintained, unless the persons who are chiefly

1659 chiefly intruſted with the management and exerciſe of the Government, be of ſuitable Spirits to thoſe Intereſts, That thoſe who are or ſhall be intruſted therein, be ſuch perſons as ſhall be found to be moſt eminent for Godlineſs, faithfulneſs, and conſtancy to the good Cauſe and Intereſts of theſe Nations.

11. That to the end the Legiſlative Authority of this Commonwealth may not by their long ſitting become burthenſome or inconvenient, there may be effectual Proviſion made for a due Succeſſion thereof.

12. And for the better ſatisfaction, and more firm Union of the Forces of this Commonwealth, in this juncture of Affairs, for preſerving and maintaining the Principles and other matters thereunto ſubſervient, We do unanimouſly acknowledge and own the Lord *Charles Fleetwood* Lieutenant General of the Army, to be Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces of this Commonwealth.

13. That in order to the eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the Peace, Welfare, and Freedom of the People of theſe Nations for the ends before expreſſed, the Legiſlative Power thereof may be in a Repreſentative of the People, conſiſting of a Houſe ſucceſſively choſen by the People in ſuch way and manner as this Parliament ſhall judge meet, and of a ſelect Senate, Co-ordinate in Power, of able and faithful Perſons, eminent for Godlineſs, and ſuch as continue adhering to this Cauſe.

14. That the Adminiſtration of all Executive Power of Government, may be in a *Council of State*, conſiſting of a convenient number of Perſons qualified in all reſpects as aforeſaid.

15. That all Debts contracted by his late Highneſs, or his Father, ſince the fifteenth of *December* 1653, may be ſatisfied, and that an honourable Revenue of Ten Thouſand pounds *per annum*, with a convenient Houſe, may be ſettled upon him, and his Heirs for ever; and Ten thouſand pounds *per annum* more upon him during Life: And upon his Honourable Mother Eight thouſand pounds *per annum* during her life, to the end a mark of the high Eſteem this Nation hath of the good Service done by his Father, our ever Renowned General, may remain to Poſterity. Theſe having been the Thoughts and Deſires of our Hearts, unanimouſly agreed upon before Your returning to Sit, and finding the ſpirits of divers of the honeſt faithful People of this Commonwealth led forth for the ſame things, and your ſelves by your late Declaration and Reſolutions in a great meaſure aſſiſting them; We thought it our Duty to the Nations, to You, and to the Honeſt People, humbly to preſent theſe, and beg the Bleſſing and Preſence of the Lord with you in the proſecution and bringing forth ſuch a Settlement as may be for the Honour of God, the Union, Joy and Rejoycing of all the peaceable People of the Commonwealth. 1659

And we ſhall pray, &c.

This Petition was preſented by *Lambert* the twelfth day of *May*, accompanied with *Desborow* and *Barkſtead* the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, with twelve other Colonels, and two Lieutenant Colonels, we find entred in the Parliament Journal the words which *Lambert* ſpake at the delivery of it, which were theſe:

Mr. Speaker,

Lambert's words to the Speaker at the delivery of the Humble Petition and Addreſs.

WE *are Commanded by the Officers of the Army, to preſent before you their humble Petition and Addreſs; there are ſeveral things contained in it, which have been a long time upon their Hands and no viſible way of redreſs: Finding to their great Joy and Satisfaction, that you are Returned; In diſcharge of thrir Truſt, they thought it not fit to neglect this opportunity, but have Commanded us to preſent this Petition.*

When he had ſaid theſe words, he withdrew with thoſe that were with him; and the Houſe upon Debate Order'd their Speaker to return them the following Anſwer, which is likewiſe entered in the Journal of that Dayes proceedings.

I am

The Speakers Speech.

I Am commanded by the House *to tell you, That they have read the* Petition and Addreſs *that you have made here to Us; They have commanded me likewiſe to tell you, That as they found your Affection before they came hither, ſo they find that Affection continuing.*

For the things contained in your Petition, they are things of great weight, and many more things of great weight are lying before the House; *and it is concerning the Settlement, for which the Divine Providence of GOD hath brought us hither, who we hope ſhall never depart from us.*

The Houſe finds in your Advice *much of Love and Affection, and have commanded me to acknowledge that Love and Affection you have ſhewn, and to give you thanks, very hearty thanks for your love and expreſſions of it; And and accordingly in their Name I do give you very hearty thanks.*

The Houſe by Votes agreed to all the Articles of this Petition at the firſt Debate of it, except ſuch as concerned the publick Revenue, Government, and the *Protector*, which were referred to a Committee, whom they directed to go to the Protector, and receive an acknowledgment from him of his Submiſſion to the Government, before they would do any thing for him, and to take a State of his Debts: which being declared to him, with the Reſolve of the Houſe, the occaſion of that Meſſage: After Conſideration, he delivered the following anſwer to them in Writing, with his name to it.

The Protector *Richard's* ſubmiſſion to the Powers in being.

I Have peruſed the Reſolve and Declaration which you were pleaſed to deliver to me the other night, and for the information touching what is mentioned in the ſaid Reſolve, I have cauſed a true ſtate of my Debts to be tranſcribed and annexed to this Paper, which will ſhew what they are, and how they were contracted.

As to that part of the Reſolve, whereby the Committee are to inform themſelves, how far I do acquieſce in the Government of this Commonwealth, as it is declared by this Parliament.

I truſt my paſt Carriage hitherto hath manifeſted my Acquieſcence in the Will and Diſpoſition of GOD, and that I Love and value the Peace of this Commonwealth much above my own concernments; and I deſire that by this, a meaſure of my future Deportment may be taken, which through the Aſſiſtance of GOD ſhall be ſuch as ſhall bear the ſame Witneſs, having, I hope, in ſome degree learned rather to reverence and ſubmit to the hand of GOD, than to be unquiet under it. And (as to the late Providences that have fallen out amongſt us) however in reſpect of particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a change in the Government of the Nations, yet thorow the Goodneſs of GOD, I can freely acquieſce in it, being made, and do hold my ſelf obliged as (with other men) I expect Protection from the preſent Government, ſo to demean my ſelf with all peaceableneſs under it, and to procure to the utmoſt of my Power that all in whom I have any Intereſt, do the ſame.

Richard Cromwel.

A Schedule of his Debts was annexed to this Paper: what was contracted for the Funeral of his Father, they abſolutely rejected, and made ſlow progreſs in the reſt, and delayed to ſettle any Revenue upon him or his Mother, as was deſired; but gave him two thouſand pounds to diſcharge part of his own private Debts, and required him and all his Dependents, to remove from *White-Hall* in ſix days. *Fleetwood* diſcovered a little Diſcontent at this contempt put upon his Brother *Cromwel*, and that Family; but as ſoon as it was ordered that he ſhould be Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Land Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for one year, in compliance with the twelfth Article of the Armies *Petiteon and Addreſs*, he was left ſolicitous in the concernments of his Wifes Family: When the Houſe voted he ſhould Command the Armies, they likewiſe voted, *He ſhould have Power to Sign and Seal ſuch Commiſſions for the Conſtitution of Officers under him, as ſhould be approved by the Parliament*, and nominated by Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, and the Colonels, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Ludlow*, and *Berry*, or the major part of them, who were made Commiſſioners for that purpoſe. And for his better Eſtabliſhment, they directed a Bill to be prepared and brought into the Houſe to be paſſed into an Act for his Conſtitution; which was done accordingly; but upon the ſecond reading of it, they would not admit of that Clauſe, to Authorize him to Sign Commiſſions, but Ordered, *That all Commiſſions, both to the Commiſſion-Officers of the Army, and the Captains of the Fleet, ſhould be ſigned by the Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, *to be written by the Clerks attending the Council of State, and delivered to the Officers* gratis, *by the Speaker in the Parliament Houſe.* They alſo at the ſame time Ordered, *That the Government of* Ireland *ſhould be by Commiſſioners nominated, and appointed by Parliament, and not by one Perſon, and that Colonel* Henry Cromwel *ſhould be acquainted with the Order, and required forthwith to repair to the Parliament.* This Gentleman had made himſelf very popular in *Ireland*, in his Government of that Kingdom, under his Father, and his Brother; but in regard there was a Council co-ordinate with him in civil matters, many of the Members whereof were of ſevere and rigid behaviour, the generoſity of his Diſpoſition was ſomewhat over-rul'd; nevertheleſs, moſt people in diſtreſs there did receive ſuch Effects of his Civility, where he had any manner of capacity to ſhew it, That they acknowledged he deſerved to have been the Son of a better Father.

Fleetwood voted Commander in chief of all the Forces.

All Commiſſions to the Officers of the Army ordered to be ſigned and given by the Speaker.

Henry Cromwell called from the Government of *Ireland*.

He had the *Iriſh* Army under good Diſcipline, and was ſo well beloved of the Officers, that it is probable he would not have conſented to the change of Government, if he had had time to prepare againſt it; For his Brother gave him no intimation of what had hapned, nor any Commands to appear on his behalf; what he had heard, being only from the intelligence of private Friends. At the firſt Alarm, he adviſed with his Confidents what to do, and to prevent Confederacies againſt him, by any Com-

Combinations of the Officers of his Army he commanded all of them to their Charges, and (to use his own words) *not to hearken to any design of Innovation, how speciously soever the same might be presented to them.* Likewise he dispatched Cornet *Monk* to *Scotland* to General *Monk* (who came thither not till fifteen dayes after the alteration of the Government) to inform himself how he and his Army stood affected to it, who returned no other answer than a Copy of the Letters the Officers of his Army had obliged him to send to the Parliament.

In all probability, if Colonel *Henry Cromwel* had drawn his Army together, and fixed them to his Authority, and then declared against their proceedings at *London*, he might have shaken much the new foundation of the Commonwealth; for the Armies in *England* and *Scotland* were not then modelled, and the Officers many of them (as hath been said) Relations or Dependents of the Family of the *Cromwels*; but he was so doubtful of the success, that he undertook nothing, but peaceably submitted as his Brother had done, (though in more generous terms) to the Authority then introduc'd.

We purposely omit many particulars of these transactions, and others in the Journals of the Parliament, as their Constitutions of a Council of State for the more immediate executive Power of the Commonwealth, the Nomination of Judges, Commissioners of the Great Seal, and Commissioners for the Admiralty, and Government of the Navy, and Colonel *Henry Cromwel*'s Letter to the Parliament, when he submitted to it, as not very essentially pertinent to this History.

Fleetwood and his Friends were troubled at the restriction of his Commission, yet he dissembled his passion, and yeilded to necessity, till a more favourable conjunction might give him opportunity to inlarge his power: however, both he, *Desborow*, *Lambert*, and many of them were dissatisfied with the way of receiving their Commissions from the hands of the Speaker, and would have remonstrated against it; but by enquiring into the temper of the inferiour Officers, they found them well enough affected towards it, and therefore did not proceed for that time. And *Fleetwood* himself, to dissemble his acquiescence with great Submission and Protestation of Obedience to the Parliament, received his Commission in the House, from the Hands of the Speaker, and after him *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Berry*, *Ludlow*, *Sydenham*, and the rest of them in and about *London*, who had Commands in the Army.

Fleetwood, *Lambert*, & others receive their Commissions in the House from the Speaker.

The Parliament now became confident of its Power, and meditated to subject the Army wholly to it (which made them jealous of each other.) Although all the Armies and Navy had declared their concurrence in obedience to them; yet they displaced those Officers in both, whom they suspected in any manner to have been affected to *Cromwell*, or Monarchical Government. The seven Commissioners before named, to whom the nomination of the Officers of the Army was first committed, were continued in that Authority and very active in it. Those of the *Anabaptist* persuasion, were by them esteemed most firm to a Commonwealth, and by their Information they were much guided in the disposition of Places; but where any had been put out by *Cromwel*, for dissatisfaction to him, they were restored as of course. Colonel *Lockhart* Governour of *Dunkirk*, had made his submission; but shortly after, there was a desperate mutiny in the Garrison, at first suspected to be for the King, but it was quickly appeased, and found to be otherwise. And the better to regulate the Affairs there, and quiet the place, Lieutenant Colonel *Pierson*, Colonel *Ashfield*, and Colonel *Packer*, are forthwith sent over. Thus all things succeeded fortunately to them. Embassadors from all parts making haste to congratulate the felicity of their Government.

The Governour of *Dunkirk* submits to the change of Government.

The Embassador from the United Provinces, was prepared with his Credentials for Audience within a fortnight after the first beginning of this new Commonwealth, and at his Audience, in the name of his Masters, he made a more than ordinary Profession of Amity, and desire of Unity and Confederacy with them. The Commissioners who had that in Charge, made great dispatch both in modelling the Army and Navy. *Pierson* and *Mason* two *Anabaptists*, Lieutenant Colonels under General *Monk*, undertook to know so well the Army in *Scotland*, that their information was much credited in the setling of it, and to weaken *Monk*'s Power, they had designed to remove those he most trusted, and put others of their own Creatures into their places. Of all these passages the General had very good Intelligence; his Agent *Clarges* not omitting to acquaint him with all that passed with these Commissioners. And after a while he took publick notice of it in a Letter to the House, in which, among other expressions, he told them he had heard of their Intentions to displace many of his Officers, which he conceived they did not from any knowledg they had of their Persons or Qualifications, but the informations of others; and that he thought himself as fit to be credited in that matter as any, and did assure them, they were all honest and stout Men, and such for whose Fidelity and good Behaviour he would be ingaged.

The *Dutch* Embassador courts our restored Senate in a high manner.

Gen. *Monk* digests not the *Jesuites* designs of modelling his Army.

This Letter put a little stop to their Cariere, but did not divert their Resolutions: yet to give him some satisfaction, they sent him back word, they would be very careful in the placing or displacing of his Officers, and that in his own Regiments of Horse and Foot, there should be no alteration till such time as he were consulted in it. *Monk* was not satisfied with their Answer, but privately advised some of those Officers, whom he heard they would put from their Commands, to go to *London*, to solicite their own Concernments, and as much as they could obstruct and retard the proceedings of the Committee. That which was of most advantage to the preservation of his Officers, was an Order made, That such Officers as were new constituted for *Scotland* or *Ireland*, because they could not come to the Parliament to take their Commissions, should receive them from such Commissioners as should be appointed for the Civil Government of those Kingdoms

He useth his utmost industry to obstruct it.

doms respectively. And none being yet appointed for *Scotland*, that Affair rested a while in suspense, yet was not so far neglected as to hinder the designment of the remove of many, whom nevertheless the General underhand kept still in their Commands, till further order.

An Old Act of Assessment revived.

In the pretended Parliament begun at *Westminster*, in the Year 1656, An Act had passed for a three years Assessment upon *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, at thirty five thousand pounds *per mensem* on *England*, six thousand *per mensem* on *Scotland*, and nine thousand a Moneth on *Ireland*, to determine the 24th of *June* 1660, of which one years proportion was yet uncollected, which made the House to pass an Act on the 18th of *June* this year, to authorize the collecting of that money, knowing it to be less difficult to continue a Tax already imposed, than after the expiring of that to raise a new one. In this Act, they appoint the whole years Assessment to be paid into the Treasury, one Moiety on or before the tenth of *August*, and the other on the tenth of *October*.

Commissioners appointed for the Government of *Ireland*.

Having, as is aforesaid, recalled Colonel *Henry Cromwell* from *Ireland*, they appoint for the Civil Government of that Kingdom certain Commissioners, namely, *Steele*, *Robert Goodwyn*, *Matthew Thomlinson* and *John Jones*; and for the Command of the Army, Colonel *Edmund Ludlow*, who with the Title of Lieutenant General was immediately upon receipt of his Commission dispatch't away.

The Kings Commissioners active endeavours to raise the Country for his Majesties Service.

In the mean time, the Kings Commissioners were not idle in ingaging as many as they could for his Service; and Captain *Titus* was sent by his Majesty to treat with Major General *Brown*, and such others in the City of *London* as he knew to be well inclined to his Interest. When he came to *London* and sent to *Brown*, he refused to have any Communication with him, and therefore he used the mediation of Mr. *Charlton*, and Mr. *Beverly* of *Lincolns-Inne* to treat with him, and they had several Conferences without any effect; for he being a Prudent Wary Man, was unwilling to hazard himself till he saw some Body of Men together, to busie the Army, and divert the Forces in *London* and *Westminster*. *Titus* then addressed himself to Mr. *Mordant* and the rest of his Majesties Commissioners, and was very assistant to them. So Active were these Commissioners, that most of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* and *Wales* were engaged by them, and a day in *July* fixed for the Rising. Sir *George Booth* was to raise *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*. Sir *Thomas Middleton*, *Shropshire* and *Flintshire*. Sir *John Carter*, *Denbighshire*. The Earl of *Stamford*, *Leicestershire*. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, (who also advanced money to buy Arms) *Suffolk*. Colonel *Rossiter*, *Lincolnshire*. Colonel *Popham*, *Somersetshire* and *Wiltshire*, and to secure *Bristol* and *Taunton*. Mr. *Edward Dunch* and others, *Berkshire*. Major General *Massey*, and the Lord *Herbert* of *Worcester*, and Mr. *How*, *Gloucestershire*. Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Thomas Leverthorp* and Mr. *Fanshaw*, *Hartfordshire*. Mr. *Mordant*, Sir *Francis Vincent*, and Sir *Adam Brown*, *Surrey*; with many more in all places too long to name.

The first Rising was to be of such as had never engaged on the Kings side in the late Wars, thereby to draw the Army to less opposition; for the *Declaration* had no mention of his Majesty, but was called, *The Declaration of the Lords, Gentlemen and Citizens, Freeholders and Yeomen, in this once happy Nation.* The words of it were these:

The Declaration of Sir *George Booth* emitted at the time of his Rising.

SInce it hath pleased Almighty God to suffer the Spirit of Division to continue in this distracted Nation, and to leave us without any setled Foundation of Religion, Liberty, and Property, the Legislative Power usurped at pleasure, and contemned; the Army raised at first for our Defence abused, and misled into unwarrantable Actions by the Cunning and Ambition of some of the Superiour Officers; no Face of Government appearing either in any Single Person, or a Body of Men in Councell lawfully constituted, to whom the Grievances of the People may with any probability of Success be properly addressed. Therefore We being Conscious of our Duty, and sensible of our own and the Nations Ruine, if these Distractions continue, or issue in a more fixed oppression by some Settlement inconsident with the Laws, Peace and Interest of these Nations, have taken Arms in Defence of Our selves, and all others who will partake with Us in the Vindication and Maintenance of the Freedom of Parliaments, *against all Violence whatsoever of the known* Laws, Liberty, *and* Property *of the Good People of this Nation, who at present groan under Illegal, Arbitrary, and Insupportable Taxes and Payments unknown to our Ancestors. This being our Duty to GOD and to Man, and our only Design, we cannot despair of the Blessing of him who gives Victory; nor of the chearful concurrence of all Good People, nor of the undeceived part of the Army, whose Arrears and increase of future Pay, and Advancement of high Command, We shall by all means procure, suffering no Imposition of force on any mans Conscience; And to this We doubt not but all honest* English-men *will say*, Amen, Amen.

Sir *George Booth*'s Rising aided by the Kings Friends from all Parts

But yet many of the Kings Friends in all parts were to bring in their Aids, Colonel *Richard Arundel* and *Trelanny* undertook, if his Majesty would bring five hundred Horse into *Cornwall*, and Arms for as many more, they would raise the other five hundred: And Major General *Egerton* did as much in *Staffordshire*; and many others in other Parts. The Preparation could not be expedited with that haste as was intended, so that the day of Rising was deferr'd to the first of *August*, and Mr. *Cooper* was sent by Mr. *Mordant* to his Majesty to acquaint him with it; who was so soon dispatch't, that he returned in five days to those that sent him to let them know, his Majesty would be present with them in a short time: With him Colonel *Roger Whitley* came into *England*, with some verbal Instructions to Sir *George Booth*, and some blank Commissions to disperse in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire* and *Flintshire*; He staid no longer in *London*, than to receive Mr. *Mordant*'s Commands, and some of the forementioned *Declarations* to carry with him to *Booth*. Captain *Titus* was sent to the King, to let him know all was ready: His Majesty there-

His Majesty removes from *Brussels* to *Calais*, to be ready if occasion were to come over

thereupon remov'd privately from *Brussells* to *Calais*, about the first of *August*, which was two days after *Titus* came to him: He had in his Company only the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Bristol*, Dr. *Quatermaine*, Mr. *Daniel Oneal*, and one *Maurice Delaval*, a Servant of the Marquess of *Ormond*'s, with two other Servants, one belonging to the Earl of *Bristol*, and the other to *Oneal*, nor did they travel thither together, but by two and two: His Majesty had only Dr. *Quatermaine* with him, and the first place he came to from *Brussels* was a little Village where *Monsieur Marsin* met him, with whom he had much discourse about his Affairs. *Marsin* accompanied his Majesty to S. *Omers*, where they parted; and then he went directly to *Calais*, where the rest met him; but to avoid being known, they dispersed into several Lodgings, and his Majesty had with him only *Maurice* to wait on him. The Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, were at *Breda*, and were sent for to *Brussels*, but they arrived not till the day the King parted from thence, and after he was gone.

The Duke of *York* follows from *Breda*

The Duke of *York* with *Titus* followed his Majesty to *Calais*, but the Duke of *Gloucester* by his Majesties appointment continued at *Brussels*, ready prepared to come over upon the first intimation. The King staid three days at *Calais*, and a Shallop was ready at *Bulloign* for his Transportation into *Kent*, upon the first news of any considerable Parties being in Arms.

The main of the Design prevented by discovery.

But in the height of this Expectation, one Mr. *Baron* arrived from *Mordant* with the ill News of the disappointment of much of the Design in all the *South* and *West* parts of *England*, which was thought to be discovered by a Letter intercepted at *Reading* from the Lady *Mary Howard*, about the latter end of *July*; but it was known long before that Letter, to *Scot*, and some few other Members of the *Council of State*, which hastened them so much in a more than usual care in modelling the Army, and setling the whole Militia of the Kingdom, wherein the meanest Commission-Officer in any of the Trained Bands, Troops, or Companies, was to be approved in Parliament, and they had privately laid a contrivance to have Souldiers at most of the Risings of the King's Friends all over *England*: So that their accidental intercepting of the Lady *Mary Howards* Letter by the officious diligence of a Post-Master, was rather a Service than a disadvantage to his Majesty, since thereby his coming to *England*, which might have exposed his Person to inevitable Peril, was prevented. Notice of this discovery could not be soon enough dispersed to prevent the appearance of many Gentlemen in divers parts. The Earl of *Lichfield*, with Sir *Adam Brown*, my Lord *Mordant*, (so we now stile him, in regard he here first declared his having received the Dignity of Viscount) and about twenty five others Rendezvouzed near *Guilford* in *Surrey* but by reason of the taking of Sir *Francis Vincent* an active Servant of the Kings, there was so little appearance, that all divided to shift for themselves: the Earl of *Lichfield* and my Lord *Mordant* came disguised by Water in the Common Barge from *Chertsey* to *London*, and got privately to Alderman *Robinson*'s House, where they were for a while concealed.

Sir *George Booth* appears with several others in a considerable Body.

The most considerable Body that got together was under Sir *George Booth*, who with the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Kilmurrey*, and Major General *Egerton*, were met at the time appointed at *Warrington*, at first with a small Party; but they having the very Flower of the Gentry and Gallantry engaged among them, their numbers increased every minute: Colonel *Roger Whitley* delivered his Message to Sir *George Booth* from his Majesty, and the Declarations he had received from the Lord *Mordant*, with an account of his Majesties Preparations beyond the Seas, and his readiness to come over upon the first notice; which was no small Satisfaction and Joy to the whole Party, which then consisted of about Five hundred men. The first thing they resolved, was to march towards *Chester*, and the first night they marched to a place called *Tradsam*, where they metColonel *Werden*, who assured them that the Gates of *Chester* would be opened to them: And the next day they marched thither, and took possession of the Town, but the Castle was defended against them by *Croxton* the Governour thereof for the *Parliament*, who had one Company in it. The next day Major General *Egerton* was sent with a Party to *Chirk-Castle*, where Sir *Thomas Middleton* hearing of his approach, opened the Gates and joyfully received him. The next day he went with them to *Wrexham* (having left his Son to command the Castle for the King) and there many came in to them. The next day after, Colonel *Whitley* was sent with a Party to put a Garrison into *Harding-Castle* in *Flint-shire*, which was newly left by a Party of the *Parliament* Souldiers that marched from thence to *Denbigh-Castle* their next Garrison, but were seized by the Country, and brought Prisoners to Sir *George Booth*'s Party. Colonel *Ireland* at the same time declared for them in *Liverpool*, and Mr. *Brooks* one of the present Members of the *House of Commons*, willing to expiate his former mistakes, cordially joyned with them for the freedom of his Country, and met at the first Rendezvouz.

They take possession of *Chester* City, but the Castle holds out against them.

Chirk-Castle delivered to them by Sir *Thomas Middleton*;

Colonel *Ireland* and several others declare for them.

They at *Westminster* prepare for Defence, and send *Lambert* against Sir *George Booth*.

The *Parliament* somewhat apprehensive of these Proceedings, caused all the Horses in and about *London* to be seized, and all the Avenues to the City to be guarded, and divers Troops and Companies to be placed in all the ways toward the *West* and *North-west* Parts. They had every hour news of the dispersing of several little Parties, and *Lambert* was ordered with a Brigade to march to suppress Sir *George Booth* and his Party. The Lord *Mordant*, as the most active Agent for his Majesty, was summoned on a great penalty to appear; and Mr. *Edmund Dunch* and *Brooks*, two Members of the House whom they suspected to be ingaged for the King, were on the penalty of a hundred pounds a piece required to attend the service of the House.

Mr. *Monk* a Minister sent into *Scotland* to solicite his Brother the General to the imbracing his Majesties Interest.

Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, a Reverend Minister, a Person of most firm Loyalty to his Majesty, and the only Brother to General *Monk*, came at this time to *London* in his way to *Scotland*, from Sir *Hugh Pollard*, Sir *Thomas Stukely*, and others of his Majesties Friends in the *West* of *England*.

England. His business was to engage his Brother in his Majesties Cause, to promote the present Design being directed to receive further Instructions from Sir *John Greenvile*. He came directly to Mr. *Clarges* before he saw any one, and communicated his business to him, and afterwards to *Greenvile*, who much encouraged his undertaking, and shewed him two Letters he had received from his Majesty, one to General *Monk*, and the other to himself; which may not be impertinent to this History to be here inserted, to manifest the great Vigilance of His Majesty, whose eye was in every place where he had any prospect of assistance to his Affairs. That to *Monk* was as followeth:

His Majesties Letters to General *Monk* and Sir *John Greenvile.*

SIR,

I Cannot think you wish me ill, for you have no reason so to do, and the good I expect from you, will bring so great a benefit to your Country, and to your self, that I cannot think you will decline my Interest. The Person who gives or sends this to you, hath Authority to say much to you from me; and if you once resolve to take my Interest to heart, I will leave the way and manner of declaring it intirely to your own Judgment; *And will comply with the Advice you shall give me. The rest I refer to the person who conveys this to you; and it is in your Power to make me as kind to you as you can desire, and to have me always*

Your Affectionate Friend,

July 21st 1659. CHARLES R.

The other was to Sir *John Greenvile* of the the same date, in these words, *Viz.*

His Majesties Letter to Sir *John Greenvile.*

I Am confident that George Monk *can have no Malice in his heart against me; nor hath he done any thing against Me which I cannot easily pardon, and it is in his Power to do Me so great Service, that I cannot easily Reward, but I will do all I can; and I do Authorize you to treat with him; and not only to assure him of my Kindness, but that I will very liberally Reward him with such an Estate in Land, and such a Title of Honour as himself shall desire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my Interest: And whatsoever you shall promise to him on my behalf, or whatever he, or you by his Advice, shall promise to any of his Officers, or the Army under his Command (which Command he shall still keep) I will make good and perform upon the Word of a King.*

CHARLES R.

Greenvile earnestly pressed to have *Clarges* ingaged and Mr. *Monk* moved it to him, with a promise of Great Advantage from his Majesty upon his Restitution. *Clarges* Replied, *That he needed not those Temptations to oblige him to his Duty*; and refused to have any Discourse concerning those Matters with Sir *John Greenvile* at that time, well knowing, that the least jealousie of his actions from those in power, might make him useless for that future Service which could not be done without him.

Mr. *Monk* negotiates with Mr. *Clarges* about the foresaid business

But because all the ways to *Scotland* were obstructed, he took care to provide a Frigot for the Transporting of Mr. *Nicholas Monk* thither, and convey'd him safe on Shipboard fully instructed how to manage his Negotiations with Caution, and to communicate with none but the General, except Dr. *Samuel Barrow* Physician to the Army, a very discreet Gentleman, and Mr. *John Price* his Chaplain: The first of which was ejected out of *Trinity*-Colledge in *Cambridge* for his affection to his Majesty; and the latter, the Son of a Sequestred Minister, always educated in Principles of Loyalty, a good Scholar, and an honest Man; both recommended by *Clarges* to the General at his first going into *Scotland*, to be near his Person.

Clarges secretly conveys Mr. *Monk* on Shipboard for his Transportation into *Scotland.*

The King when he received the News from the Lord *Mordant* of the disappointment of the Design, went from *Calais* to *Bullaign*, and from thence by easie Journeys and very privately to *Rouen*. The Duke of *York* and Captain *Titus* stayed behind a while at *Bulloign*, and the parts adjacent, to be ready upon all occasions if any thing should intervene. His Majesty at *Rouen* was in Consultation which way to move, when Dr. *Allestry* came to him with the news of Sir *George Booth*'s being in Arms, with Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and others, with great Forces in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire* and *North-Wales*, which put him in good hopes of Success. The first rumor of this Rising represented it very formidable, forasmuch as his Majesties Friends that lived at distance from it, were willing to receive it with the greatest advantage, so that the Numbers were believed to be much greater than they were, and by imagination advanced to what the willing Affections of the favourers of his Majesties Cause would have them. His Majesty sent the Marquess of *Ormond* to *Paris* to Transact some Affairs there, and went himself to St. *Maloes* by *Caen*, where he met the Earl of *Bristol*, and Mr. *Oncale*.

His Majesty removes privately from *Calais* to *Rouen.*

Thence to St. *Maloes.*

They at *Westminster* in the mean time were very active in dispatching *Lambert* on the Expedition against *Booth*, but first they issued forth a Proclamation to proclaim Major General *Egerton*, Colonel *Robert Werden*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and their Adherents, Traytors and Rebels, which was commanded to be proclaimed in all Market Towns, and read in all Churches.

Major General *Massey*, the Lord *Herbert*, and others stir for the King in *Gloucestershire.*

Major General *Massey* was very active in *Glocestershire*, and if by an accident of the intereception of a Letter his Design had not been ruin'd, he had certainly taken *Glocester*; and

and what with his own reputation in these Parts, and the assistance of the Lord *Herbert* of *Worcester*, Colonel *Barrow*, Captain *Glaynford*, and others of the Kings Friends, they would have got together above three thousand Men, Miners and others, out of the Forest of *Dean*, and from about *Stroud-Water*, and other places. There was in *Gloucester* a Troop of the Army Horse under one *Dale* and a *Militia*-Troop commanded by one *Crofts*, who upon this Discovery caused three hundred Foot to be presently raised, and sent a Party of Horse to take the Lord *Herbert*, *Massey*, *Barrow* and *Glayford*: They took the Lord *Herbert*, and brought him to *Gloucester*; *Barrow* and *Glayford* defended themselves in *Barrow*'s House, and upon Parol, to render themselves at *Gloucester*, were not taken. *Massey* and his Servant being taken Prisoners, *Massey* himself was set on a Horse, and a good stout Trooper set behind him, to hold him in his Arms, two rode on each side, and some Troopers before his Horse, and others behind: It was about the close of the Night, the Evening very dark and Tempestuous with Rain and Hail, insomuch that when they were going down a very steep Hill by *Kempsfield*-Road, about ten miles from *Gloucester*, the way to *Bath*, *Massey*'s Horse, with the man that rode behind him fell headlong altogether, and tumbled down that steep Hill, whereby it hapned that the Fellow let go his hold, and most of the rest also; so that all the Prisoners, except the Lord *Herbert*, and *Massey*'s Servant, escaped.

The Lord *Herbert* taken,

And Major Gen. *Massey*.

Massey & others escapes, together with several other prisoners.

The Parliament sent to *Dunkirk*, for three Regiments to strengthen the Army; and Colonel *Zanchy* brought out of *Ireland* his Regiment of Horse, and *Axtel*'s Regiment of Foot, which landing at *Anglesey*, marched to joyn with *Lambert*, who at his first march from *London* had not above 1500, but by Conjunction of several Troops and Companies that met him, encreased to above 5000 before he engaged; Sir *George Booth* had not half the number, and those he had were without any Order or Discipline, because many of them being Noblemen and Gentlemen of Quality, were not without great Emulation, every one aspiring to Command, whilst no body obeyed. Sir *George Booth* having intelligence of *Lambert*'s drawing near to him, thought to have got a days march before him into *Lancashire*, to have encreased his numbers; and to gain time, he and Sir *Thomas Middleton* sent a Trumpeter with two Ministers, to shew the ground of their raising an Army, and desired a Treaty to save effusion of Blood: To which *Lambert* agreed, on condition they would first lay down their Arms, and surrender to him the Garrisons in their power. To this there was no reply; but some of *Lambert*'s Men pressed so hard the next morning upon *Booth*, that at a Bridge near *Northwich*, a sharp Encounter was made between the Forces of each Party. The *Boothians* with much Courage defended the Pass, till they were overpowered by Numbers. Captain *Morris*, a gallant Loyal Gentleman was killed, and some few other of *Booth*'s Party; of *Lambert*'s very few fell, and those that did, of no great Note; all the vanquished dispersed themselves; Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton* got away. The Lord *Kilmurry*, *Brooks*, Major General *Egerton*, Sir *William Oveale* and others were taken Prisoners, and all the Garrisons immediately submitted to *Lambert*.

Lambert marcheth against Sir *George*, and increaseth his Force.

Sir *George Booth*'s Forces ingage with *Lambert*.

Sir *George* defeated.

Sir *George*, although he had the good Fortune at that time to escape, was not long free, being seized at *Newport-Pannel* in a Disguise, as he was riding towards *London*, in order to his Transportation into some Foreign Part.

Taken prisoner at *Newport Pannel*.

The Curious that made Remarques on this generous Undertaking, as commonly wiser in the Discourse than Execution of any great Design, did much censure the Conduct of it. They said, that they had many Opportunities to have ruined their Enemies, but omitted all; That Colonel *Zanchy* from *Ireland*, landing in *Anglesey*, might have been met, and with good probability of Success fought with, e're he could have joyned with *Lambert*, they being with all their Force betwixt him and them; and that Colonel *Lilburn*, who was gathering men together in *Yorkshire*, might easily, by any small Force from *Lancashire* have been broken, and hindred in his Levies; and that many other little Parties, which in small numbers came from several Parts might have been met and dispersed, before they united; and that one Blow given to any one of them, would have added so much to their Reputation, that it might have brought great Accessions to their Party. Others were of Opinion that nothing was more Destructive to His Majesty than these Plots and Contrivances of Rising for him; and that the best Resolution he could have taken, since the end of the first War, was to have sate in Expectation of some favourable Advantage to himself from the Devision of his Enemies; for what could new raised men do against experienced and successful Souldiers? And where the late King with all his strength could not prevail, Parties could less expect to conquer. But doubtless this was a great mistake; for it was nothing else, but the restless and invincible Spirit of the Royal Party, that by keeping the Usurpers in a perpetual distraction and Alarm, hinder'd them from proceeding to a final Establishment of their Power; and supported the very Life and Credit of the Cause. And certainly, the Generosity of those Noble Persons cannot be enough commended, since they valued no hazard, in respect of their Duty to their Soveraign, and the Vindication of the Laws and Liberty of their Country, and have left such an Example of Loyalty to their Posterity, as we hope will be maintained, as long as the Fame of their Vertues and Honour shall endure.

The management of this Rising censured by many.

General *Monk* in *Scotland*, was so much prevailed upon, by the report of Sir *George Booth*'s prosperous Success in his Enterprize, and the Importunity of his Brother *Nicholas Monk*, that he resolved to march into *England* in pursuance

General *Monk* preparing to have marched into *England*, and joyned with Sir *George Booth*.

ance of *Booth*'s *Declaration*, which was very suitable to his own Inclinations.

He consulted in this Matter besides his Brother, only Major *Ralph Knight*, Major of his own Regiment of Horse, Captain *Jeremiah Smith* likewise of his own Regiment, Dr. *Samuel Barrow* Physician to the Army, Dr. *John Price* his Chaplain, and Dr. *Thomas Gumble* then Chaplain to the Council of *Scotland*, in regard he had many Seditious Officers in his Army, who were Spies upon all his Actings, and therefore was obliged to be very wary, and circumspect in his Proceedings; insomuch, that when Colonel *Atkins*, a Royallist of his antient Acquaintance, came into *Scotland* to him, about the same Errand that his Brother did, *Monk*, (for fear of awakening the Jealousie of the Factious about him) durst not shew him any Countenance or Respect, but rather the contrary, sending him away somewhat discouraged: When all was ready for his March, and a *Declaration* to that end prepared, he demurred for two days, upon the stop of the *English* Packet, in expectation of Intelligence from his Agent *Clarges*, from whom he two days after received the fatal News of the Defeat of Sir *George Booth*.

Is diverted by the News of his Defeat.

The King being still at St. *Maloes* in preparation of a Vessel to transport him into *England*, had the first notice of these Misfortunes from Mr. *Brett*, an *English Benedictine Monk*, which in a while after was confirmed to him by the Marquess of *Ormond*, who came to him from *Paris*, with Particulars of it: The King (always present to himself in the most difficult Accidents of his Life) discovered not much alteration at this, though it seemed a Cross that it might very well no less sensibly affect him, than whatever had yet hapned to him prosperous, and giving Check to his Fortune; because hereby all his hopes became desperate, of his being ever restored to his Subjects, without such Foreign Force as should be able to afford Assistance and Supply, to their Endeavours for him, by holding his Enemies so long in Play, till by accession of his Friends, they might be strong enough to resist their greatest Power and Force: yet even in this Reflection, he had many Doubts in his Mind, for that many late Successes of the *English* in *Flanders*, had made them seem invincible to those, from whom His Majesty was to expect Assistance. But since now nothing but Foreign Aid could visibly raise his hopes, he resolved seriously to apply himself to the Treaty now in Agitation upon the Borders between *France* and *Spain*, about a Peace betwixt those two Crowns, which was managed by Cardinal *Mazarine*, and *Don Lewis D' Haro*, the two chief Ministers of the two Kings, to which his Majesty had an Eye long since, not doubting but he should in some measure be comprehended in it, so as to receive Assistance from those Princes his Allies, assoon as they should be freed from their Embarassments; and in prosecution hereof he had commanded Sir *Henry Bennet*, a person of great Prudence and Address, his Embassadour Resident in *Spain*, not to fail to attend *Don Lewis D' Haro* to the Treaty, and to be present there to negotiate his Affairs. The Treaty being near Conclusion, his Majesty, for fear it should be ended before he came thither, made all possible haste to repair to those Parts; and in order thereunto, took his Journey forthwith from St. *Maloes* to *Reimes*, where he met Sir *George Carteret*, and after some small stay with him, went from thence to *Nants*, and there his Company divided, till they met again at *Thoulouze*; from thence he went by the Passage of *Oleron*, over the *Pyrenean* Hills, to *Saragosa*, the chief City in *Aragon*, and there he continued eight or nine days, and dispatched Mr. *Oustle* to *Fontarabia*, to inform himself of what passed at the Treaty; who, when he came thither, after some Conference with *Bennet*, they agreed to haste away Mr. *William Duagan*, an *Irish* Gentleman to the King, to let him know, the Treaty was prolonged, and that his Presence would very much quicken and advance his Affairs. His Majesty then immediately hasting by Post to the Treaty, continued *incognito* (as he had done all his Journey) till he came within three Leagues of *Fontarabia*, where he was attended by *Bennet* with Coaches to augment his Equipage; and from thence he resumed his State, and went in Publick.

His Majesty repairs thither himself,

He was met by the Baron of *Batteville*, a Person of great Honour and Civility (Governour of *Fontarabia*) with a Troop of Horse, a mile and a half without the Town; and when he came near it, all the Guns were discharged, and *Don Lewis* himself met him within the Gate. During his stay there, he was entertained in as splendid a manner as the time and place would handsomely admit. And during the Treaty, he had frequent Conferences with *Don Lewis D' Haro*, and was every day visited by him.

And is Honourably entertained by the *Spaniard*.

The Governing Power in *England* imployed at the same time to attend on Cardinal *Mazarine* at this Treaty, and to promote their Concerns, *Lockhart*, who had continued ever since *Oliver*'s Death, Extraordinary Embassadour in *France*. The Cardinal lay at St. *John de Luz*, the nearest Town to *Spain*, on the *French* Borders, where he shewed so much Countenance and Respect to *Lockhart*, that the King thought it not decent to give him a Visit; but he received many from divers of the *French* Nobility.

Lockhart at the same time Agent at this Treaty for the *English* Commonwealth. Is countenanced and favoured by Cardinal *Mazarine*.

General *Monk* was inwardly very much troubled at these Disasters; and the more, because he found himself every day more and more incapable to remedy them: for the House displaced Colonel *Daniel*, the Governour of St. *Johnstons*, and many other Officers whom he much trusted, and were about to remove the rest: so that seeing which way things were likely to tend, and thinking it better to resign of his own accord, than to be worm'd out of his Command; or at least remain but like the Image of a General, and serve only for a Prop to other mens designs, he sent a Letter upon the third of *September*, to *Lenthal* the Speaker, to be communicated to the *Parliament*, to desire a Dismission from his Command; pretending, *That he was infirm in his health, and had long continued in that remote Country; and therefore requesting, now that*

General *Monk* sends a Letter to the House, signifying his willingness to be dismist from his Command.

The King receives News thereof at St. *Maloes*.

He begins to derive his chiefest hopes from the peace between *France* and *Spain*.

Sir *Henry Bennet* Negotiates for his Majesty at that Treaty.

that all Insurrections, which threatned disturbances to the Peace of the Nations, were allayed, he might be permitted to return into his own Country, to end his days in quiet.

This *Letter*, though it was not sent to *Clarges* to be delivered, as usually all his Packets were, because he suspected he would have opposed that resolution of his, and been very backward and dilatory in the delivery of the Letter; yet Mr. *Nicholas Monk* giving him Intimation of it, the Matter was so ordered, that the Letter came to his hands, and by him delivered to the *Speaker*, with whom he dealt so effectually, that he agreed to delay the offering of it to be read for ten days, till a Packet came from *Scotland* to contradict it: Yet *Clarges* was put to great perplexity in this Business; for *Vane*, *Salway*, and those that affected not, or suspected the General (having private advice of this Letter) often call'd to have it read; and had not earnest and dextrous prevention been used to divert the House with other business, by some that loved the General well, and were prepared by *Clarges*, he had by this Despondency rendred himself incapable of doing that, for which he seemed by *Providence* especially chosen and markt out.

The said Letter through *Clarges* his perswasion, is kept off by the *Speaker* from being read.

The Army begins to contrive the recovery and advancement of their Power.

The Defeat of Sir *George Booth* and his Party, heightned much the Spirits of the Chief Officers of the Army, who began now to contrive how to restore the Military Power to its former Greatness, which was somewhat of late lessened by the *Parliament*, and in Defignation to be wholly subjected to them. To effect this, there was a strict and private Correspondence held between some of the Officers at *London*, and *Lambert*, and those with him in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and Parts adjacent. The Difficulty was, how to ingage the inferiour Officers (who were somewhat affected with their immediate Dependance on the House, by receiving Commissions from the Hands of the *Speaker*) to obviate this. It was advised to attempt nothing at the General-Council of Officers in *London*: but to begin with those of *Lambert*'s Brigade, as most exalted by their late good Fortune; and therefore apter to be seduced by any plausible advantages of Power. These therefore were all conven'd to the number of Fifty, at *Derby*, the 16th of *September*, the first thing on which they began their Debate, was the Constitution of the Army; the Unity, Discipline, and Conduct whereof, they said was invaded by a Party of Neuters and Malignants: They complained of several Miscarriages in the Civil Administrations of Government, and of the Inactivity and Backwardness of Persons in Authority and Trust in the Counties, and the Defection of many Corporations, both which appeared in the time of the late Insurrection. They also seemed much to resent the Parliaments unwillingness to prosecute the *Proposals* of the Army at their first sitting, as an Expedient for Settlement, with many other things of like Concernment. These things were artificially insinuated into the Minds of the inferiour Officers who were easily enough drawn to an Opinion of their own Power, and to think themselves qualified to give Laws to all but themselves.

Consultations among the Officers of the Army, promoted by *Lambert*, in dislike of some miscarriages of the *Junto*.

However, these Matters were at first only Treated of in Generals, It being moved and agreed, that Colonel *Zanchy*, Colonel *Michel*, Major *Creed*, and some few others, should meet as *Committees* for the rest, to reduce them into Form, which was accordingly done. *Lambert* himself went privately to *London*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Duckenfield*, a great creature of his, presently followed, to acquaint the General-Council of Officers with these Proceedings; and shortly after, the whole Matter being digested into the Form of a *Petition*, was sent up in a Letter inclosed to Colonel *Ashfield*, Colonel *Cobbet*, and *Duckenfield*; by whom, or any one, or more of them, it was to be delivered to *Fleetwood*, to be communicated to the General Council of Officers: and at the same time, when this was sent to *London*, an Officer was dispatched with a duplicate of it to General *Monk*, and a Letter with it to desire his Concurrence, and that the Officers of his Army might joyn with them: which Letter was subscribed by fourteen of the chief Officers imployed under *Lambert*.

Their Desires concluded to be drawn up into the Form of a Petition.

Sir *Arthur Hasserig* had secret Intimation of these Consultations at *Derby*; and the next day after the *Petition* came to *London*, which was on the 22*d*. of *September*, he moved the *Parliament*, at their first Sitting, against it, exclaiming with much earnestness against the Officers of the Army, who (he said) were attempting alterations in the Government, to the setting up a Single Person over them.

Hasserig vehemently opposeth the Armies proceedings,

This put the House into a Jealousie of *Lambert*; to whom in their private Discourses, they attributed the whole Contrivance; and though he outwardly appeared passive in it, they said he aspired to succeed *Cromwell*: And because it was not yet time to effect his purpose, in his own Person, he would set up *Fleetwood* to be General of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and establish himself in the next Command to him, to be thereby able, with less envy, to compass his Ends. For *Fleetwood*, they said, was of an easie nature, and would be contented with the Name of General, allowing *Lambert* the power of it, till he should find a fair Occasion, to assume it in his own Right; and when he should have so gotten the Sword, he would not long want the Scepter.

And possesseth the House against them. The *Junto*'s Censure of *Lambert*, in reference to this Business.

Fleetwood confessed he had the Copy of a Petition, but seemed much perplexed at *Hasserigs* laying such an Imputation on the Officers of the Army, and endeavoured to justifie their Innocence, as tending nothing less than what was alleadged; but all he said could not allay the heat raised by *Hasserig*, insomuch, that they ordered, that *Ashfield*, *Cobbet* and *Duckenfield*, whom he affirmed to have the Original in their Hands, should that After-noon attend the House with it, and appointed *Fleetwood* to give them notice thereof, and to bring with him the Copy he had. *Monk* made no Progress in *Scotland* in this Affair, nor did he think fit to call together his Officers about it; but some of them that were *Anabaptists* attempted privately to get Subscriptions, till they heard of the severe Reflection that was made upon it by the House: Whom in the After-noon,

Fleetwood endeavours to justifie the Officers of the Army, but in vain.

Ashfield, Cobbet and *Duckenfield* attend upon the House with this Petition.

noon, the three Officers mentioned attended with their *Petition:* And because it was *That*, on which the chief Foundation was laid of that difference betwixt the Remnant *Parliament* and *Army*, which ended in the Diſſolution of both, and was never yet Printed, We have thought it material enough to be here word for word inſerted.

To the Supreme Authority of theſe Nations the Parliament *of the* Commonwealth *of* England, *&c.*

The Humble Petition and Propoſals of the Officers under the Command of the Right Honoutable the Lord *Lambert* in the late *Northern* Expedition.

Humbly Sheweth,

The Tenour of the Armies *Petition* and *Propoſals.*

THat whereas we, with others who deſire to fear the Lord in theſe Nations (though by our provocation we were ripe for deſtruction) have been again ſaved by the Lord, and have had a late view of his appearance as of old; in the beholding of whoſe gracious Footſteps, as we cannot but rejoyce, ſo our ſelves tremble, leſt the fruit of all (which the Lord may expect, and his People long earneſtly for) become abortive now in the day of our deliverance: We therefore preſent unto your Honours Conſideration theſe enſuing Propoſals *which we humbly lay before you:*

1. *That the* Humble Petition and Addreſs *of the* General Council of Officers *at* Wallingford-Houſe *to the* Parliament, *which was ſo unanimouſly and chearfully agreed to, and approved of, in a day of our greateſt Confuſions, may not be laid aſleep, but may have freſh Life given unto it; It being upon farther and clearer grounds ſtill upon our hearts, as the beſt and only Expedient yet offered (notwithſtanding many Eſſays) to a happy and durable* Settlement, *being a fixed and firm Fence and Boundary (under God) for the ſecuring the Civil and Spiritual Liberties which the Spirit of the Nation is unwearied in travel, not only to invade, but upon every opportunity (as We have often ſeen, and lately had a clear Evidence of) is ready to attempt the ruine and deſtruction of the ſame.*

2. *That whereas God having given a Spirit to the Army fixed and faithful to the Intereſt of his People, and Our Good Cauſe; when many who had been Friends, were either* Apoſtates, Malignants, *or* Neuters, *joyning with the old Enemy, leaving the* Parliament *and* Army, *and their few active Friends ſingly to conflict with their late difficulties; And having now no ſuch hopeful way like to prevail to ruine and fruſtrate what we have ſo long Conteſted for, as by working Diviſions in the Army, making Breaches, begetting Miſ-underſtandings, and diſſolve its Unity, wherein, under God, its greateſt ſtrength lies: We do therefore, as the moſt effectual means for the maintaining the Diſcipline and Conduct thereof, and preſerving its Unity inviolable,* Humbly Propoſe, *That his Excellency the Lord* Fleetwood *may be ſettled Commander in Chief of the* Armies (*his Commiſſion expiring within a few Months;*) *that the Lord* Lambert *be the General Officer and Chief Commander of the* Army *next and under him; and alſo, that the Lord* Desborow *be the Chief Officer of the Horſe under them: And that General* Monk *be the Chief Officer and Commander of the Infantry: They being all Perſons under whoſe Conduct, Courage, and Fidelity, We have had eminent Succeſs, Victory and Deliverance in the days of greateſt Straights, and have been ſignally bleſſed and owned by the Lord; to Whom, and not to Man, be the Honour of all.*

3. *That having had very ſad experience of a grand Apoſtatizing Spirit gone through the Nations, and amongſt many of thoſe who were intruſted for the Safety thereof, very few acting or appearing in ſeveral Counties for the preventing the Plots, and ſuppreſſing the Power of the Enemy in the late Rebellious Deſign, and many others not only flattering, but falling in with them, whereby a total ruine was threatned, and had been effected, had not the Lord in Mercy prevented:* We therefore humbly Propoſe, *That there may be a diligent enquiry in all parts, by faithful men imployed to that purpoſe, what intruſted Perſons have been guilty of any Contrivance, and acted againſt the* Common-wealth *Intereſt, and that they may be proceeded againſt accordingly. And likewiſe what Perſons upon wicked purpoſes have been Neutral in ſuch a diſtracted day, when their Aſſiſtance, according to their Imployments and Truſts, would have been not leſs uſeful than ſeaſonable; and that all ſuch may be removed from their Places and Imployments, Civil and Military; and that ſuch, who on the contrary in this Juncture of the diſcompoſed Affairs, declared their owning of this Intereſt, either in the County Troops, or Militia Volunteers, or otherwiſe, may be looked on as Friends, encouraged, ſatisfied their Arrears, protected from Injuries, countenanced by you, and as they are capacitated, inveſted with Authority in their ſeveral Countries.*

4. *That in the late* Inſurrections, *ſome conſiderable Corporations, have not only aided, abetted and countenanced the Enemies Deſign, but have alſo made uſe of the Arms lodged with them, and themſelves appeared in the Rebellion, willingly receiving the numerous acceſſion of all engaged therein:* Therefore We humbly Propoſe, *That ſuch* Corporations *may be diſcountenanced, and that You would be pleaſed to give Your Signal mark of diſfavour againſt them; As alſo for the future, ſo to regulate* Corporations, *that ſuch Perſons well Qualified according to the* Government *of a well Conſtituted* Commonwealth *may be intruſted with Authority of* Magiſtracy *in every of the ſeveral Towns:* That ſo the Footſteps of Monarchy may be rooted out.

5. We humbly offer, *That all Perſons whatſoever,* Magiſtrates, Miniſters *or others, who have openly or ſecretly ſtirred up, or provoked the* Inhabitants *of theſe Nations to War and Commotions againſt the* Parliament, *and particularly to the late* Inſurrections, *(of which is viſibly apparent, many of them have not only been Abettors, but in their Perſons appeared with Inſtruments and Weapons of War, as ſome of Us know) may be proceeded againſt, as You in your Judgment ſhall think fit.*

After

The House signifie their displeasure, and vote against the effect of the Petition.

After the reading of this Paper, the *House* adjourned till the next Morning, and Ordered then to resume the Debate of it, and that no other business should intervene; And at their meeting, they Voted, *That to have any more General Officers in the Army than are already setled by the Parliament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the* Commonwealth; *and that* Fleetwood *shall acquaint them with this Resolve.*

They had it under Consideration, to have imprisoned those that brought the Petition; but because the chief and most remarkable design of it tended to set up some new General Officers in the Army, they thought it enough to declare against it.

The Officers resolve upon more moderate Propolals.

Fleetwood the next day, at a Meeting with many of the Leading Officers at his own House, informed them of the *Parliaments* displeasure signified in their late declarative Vote against the *Petition* and *Propolals*, and they thereupon resolved to decline the insisting thereon; but agreed, that some of their number should draw up somewhat in Writing of a more moderate nature, to be presented to the House, to profess an adherence to their Authority, in oppotition to the King and his Party, (whom they styled the *Common Enemy*) and that they would stand by them in the Settlement of the *Commonwealth* against all disturbances whatsoever: And that this should be prepared and brought to be read and considered by a General Council of Officers to meet for that purpose the 27th of *September*, in the Chappel at *Somerset-House*.

Another Petition brought into the Council of Officers more high than the former.

And the said Petition was at the appointed time prepared and brought into the General Council by those to whom the care of framiug it was committed, with a long Preamble, and many Propolals far different from what was expected by many that were then present; for there seemed at their former meeting, to be a general sense and opinion, that they should humble themselves for what they had before done without the permission and consent of their Masters, and make some Declaration of their intention, never to interpose more in matters of Government. But contrary to this, they arraigned them for what they had done against the Petition of *Lambert*'s Brigade, and for what (they said) had been groundlesly and without cause alleadged against them; and were so far from acknowledging their offences, thereby to recover the good opinion of the House towards them, that they justified their own proceedings with a kind of Reprehension of those that mis-informed the House concerning it. Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Hacker*, Colonel *Sanders*, Major, *Daberon*, Major *Barton* and Major *Breman*, with many others, did much oppose the carrying on of this Representation, which retarded the Progress of it. And some of the dissenting Officers writ to General *Monk*, and sent him a Copy of what was brought in, with all the debates thereupon, desiring him to imploy his Credit with *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* to put a stop to it; as *that which would, if not prevented, put an irreparable Breach betwixt the* Parliament *and the* Army.

Monk writes his sense of it in a Letter to *Fleetwood*.

Monk was somewhat at a stand to know how to behave himself in this matter, but to avoid suspicion, he writ to *Fleetwood* a Courteous Letter of his opinion of the whole Affair, but insisted chiefly on that part of the Petition wherein it was proposed, *That no Officer or Souldier should be cashier'd or dismist from their Places, without a due Proceeding at a Court-Martial, or by his own consent, except in case of Reducement or Disbanding*; desiring they would add (after the words *Court-Martial*) *or by order of the Commander in Chief of the Army upon the place*; alledging, *That although the removing or displacing of Officers or Souldiers, otherwise than by Sentence of Court-Martial, was a thing rarely practised: yet if a General, or the Supreme Authority, should be understood to be restrained therein, it might encourage the more Inferiour Officers and Souldiers to affront the Superiour, and the General himself, and would in time make the Army a kind of separate Corporation from the Parliament.*

Monk offers himself to march into the assistance of the Parliaments Party.

This Letter came not to *Fleetwood*, till the greater part of the Officers had agreed to the Representation to be presented to the House. But *Monk*'s intention was to make his advantage of this devision, and to that end, sent his Brother *Nicholas* to *London* to *Clarges*, to Authorize him principally to acquaint such of the Members, as he thought most fit, *That if they would assert their own Authority, he would march into* England *to justifie it against any opposition.*

During this Debate at *London* of the General Officers, all imaginable endeavours were used by the Dissenters, to protract and lengthen the time, but they were by much over-numbred. And the Petition was Signed by 230 Commission-Officers of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, who were then in and about *London*.

Orders made by the *Junto* of Commons, for the incouragement of the Souldiers, the better to ingage them to their Interest.

The Leading Members had from time to time Notice of the Progress of this Petition, and the matter of it, so that to prevent the Officers of the Army, even in the most reasonable of their Demands, They made many Orders concerning Pay of the Souldiers, and Mariners, and Provisions for the maimed Souldiers, and Orphans, and Widows of such as were killed in their Service. To the Souldiers they ordered, that all the Arrears, as well of those of the Army, as the Militia-Troops and Companies should be paid out of the Moiety of such Moneys as should be raised by the Sale, or other disposition of the Estates of Delinquents Sequestred, and to be Sequestred upon the late Insurrection, and out of one Moiety of Money to be raised by the Sale of Forests and Chaces, excepting *New Forest*, and the Forest of *Deane*. And excepting such Timber and Trees as should be thought fit to be reserved and made use of, for the use of the Commonwealth. And to the Officers and Mariners of the Navy, they ordered the other Moiety of the Money to be raised upon Delinquents Estates. And also that *Hampton-Court*-House, Parks, and *Somerset-House*, (except the Chappel which was reserved for a *French* Congregation) and all other Mannors, Parks, Houses and Lands contained

Orders for the sale of *Hampton-Court*, *Somerset-house*, &c.

contained in the ſeveral Acts for Sale of the King and Queens Lands, ſhould be ſold, and the Money go to that uſe. And for the maimed Souldiers, Orphans and Widows, of ſuch as were ſlain in their Service, they ordered the Committees formerly conſtituted for inſpections into the Publick Treaſuries, to pay two months pay to them, and to take care to put ſuch of their Children to be Apprentices as were fit for it. They likewiſe to gain themſelves the more general Eſteem, conſidered of ſome way to ſatisfie part of the Debts contracted to raiſe Arms againſt the King, at the beginning of the War, upon the Publick Faith of the Parliament, which had been long neglected; and in order thereunto, they ordered, that the other Moiety of the Money to be raiſed by the Sale of the Foreſts (except as aforeſaid) ſhould be employed towards the payment and ſatisfaction of thoſe Debts. The Houſe imagined that theſe their Proceedings would ſo far ſatisfie the Generality of the Officers of the Army, as to divert them from the delivery of their Petition; and many of the moſt active Members in credit with the leading men did what they could to hinder it, but could not prevail. And upon the 5th of *October*, Colonel *Desborow*, with many others, came to the Door of the *Parliament*, and ſent the Serjeant to inform the Speaker, that he, with ſome others of the Officers of the Army, attended with ſomething to be preſented to them, whereupon he was called in with thoſe in his Company, and in the name of the reſt ſpake theſe following words.

The remnant indeavour in vain to divert the delivery of the Petition.

Desborows words at the delivery thereof.

"I Am Ordered by the General Council of "the Army, with the reſt of theſe Gentle- "men, to wait upon you, to preſent unto you "their *Humble Repreſentation* and *Petition*; "and they humbly deſire you would accept it, "as that which proceeds from the Hearts of "thoſe who deſire nothing more than that the "Lord would ſtrengthen your Hearts, in car- "rying on that good Work of ſetling theſe "Nations upon the Foundation of a Free Com- "monwealth, whereby the Religious and Civil "Liberty of the good People thereof may be "preſerved and ſecured.

Having ſaid this, he and thoſe with him withdrew, and the *Petition*, being delivered by the Serjeant at Arms attending, into the *Speakers* Hands, was by his direction read. The Title was,

The Humble Repreſentation and Petition of the Officers of the Army, to the Parliament *of the* Common-wealth *of* England.

The ſubſtance of the Armies humble Repreſentation and Petition.

In the *Preamble* they ſet forth, "That ha- "ving had by their Order ſome late *Votes* of "*Parliament* Communicated unto them by "Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* their Comman- "der in Chief, occaſioned by a Debate in "Parliament upon the *Petition* and *Propoſals* of "the Officers under the Command of the "Lord *Lambert* in the late *Northern* Expedi- "tion; they have enquired diligently into "their Hearts and Ways with reference there- "unto, and finding nothing amongſt them but "Faithfulneſs and Integrity to the Parliament "and Commonwealth, they are ſenſible that "there have not wanted ſome Perſons who "have endeavoured to beget miſ-underſtand- "ing betwixt the Parliament and the Army, "and to that end have repreſented their Acti- "ons and Intentions ſo, as it is taken for gran- "ted, that there hath been irregularity a- "mongſt them, at which they fear they have "taken offence, whereas if there had not "been an Anticipation, they are perſwaded it "would have appeared to all unprejudiced "Spirits, that neither they (who for the gene- "rality of them were ignorant (*for ſo they "pretended*) of that whereat the offence was "taken, nor their Faithful Brethren of the "*Northern* Brigade, who ſigned the ſaid Peti- "tion and Propoſals, did deſign or intend any "thing tending to the interruption of the Par- "liament, the prejudice of the Peace of the "Commonwealth, or any other bye or ſiniſter "reſpect, not becoming the Truſt repoſed in "them. Wherefore being ſenſible of the "Evils that Perſons abroad may make from "the leaſt apprehenſions of Difference betwixt "the Parliament and the Army; and that they "may, as much as in them lies, remove all oc- "caſions of ſurmiſe, juſtifie their own Inno- "cency before them, and fruſtrate the expe- "ctations of any, who by blowing up the "Coals of Diſſention, hope to warm them- "ſelves thereby; They have thought it their "Duty to preſent their naked Thoughts to "them, hoping they will find ſo much of In- "tegrity and approved Faithfulneſs in them, "for the welfare of the Commonwealth, as "may continue a firm Confidence of them, and "engage their Zeal againſt all ſuch as ſhall go "about to reproach their Faithful Army, or "any Member thereof for the future, eſpecially "conſidering that the Peace of theſe Nations "depends much upon a Cordial and Affectio- "nate Union of the Parliament and Army, "and an uninterrupted good underſtanding of "each other.

It could not rationally be believed, that theſe men could think this their manner of Proceeding ſuitable to the temper of Subjects to their Superiours, or that it could tend to any thing but that which they ſeemed to avoid; namely, a Breach betwixt their *Parliament* and them. But a clearer manifeſtation of this was apparent in their *Propoſals* annexed to this *Preamble*, uſhered in with Four bold Declaratory Aſſertions; of all which we ſhall inſert the words themſelves as they were preſented. Where they ſay,

We do humbly and plainly declare,

1. *That notwithſtanding what any perſons may ſuggeſt or ſay to the contrary, We are not for, but againſt the ſetting up of any* Single Perſon *whatſoever in ſupreme Authority: And for a demonſtration hereof, We may appeal to your own Judgments, upon our late Aſſings, wherein ſince*

The Armies Propoſals.

our Declaration *of the sixth of* May *last, We have with all Industry and Faithfulness endeavoured to render our selves serviceable to you and the* Commonwealth, *and have chearfully observed your Commands, some of Us with our Lives in our hands in your late Service; wherein to our great encouragement the Lord hath once more appeared to own you and your Army, and the* Good Old Cause, *for which we have contended. And at the late Return of this* Parliament *to the Discharge of their remaining Trust, We did with simplicity and plainness in our* Humble Petition *and* Address *presented to you, manifest our Hearts and Desires, and that with much unanimity and fulness of consent which we apprehended was well accepted by you.*

2. *That we have not since changed our Principles, leading to a well-regulated* Commonwealth, *wherein the Liberties of the People thereof both Spiritual and Civil may be fully secured, and Persons of known Integrity, Piety and Ability imployed in Places of Trust and Concernment; but resolve by the Assistance of God to remain constant to them: And make it our humble Prayer to God, that he would incline your Hearts effectually to prosecute the same, and make you Instrumental in bringing forth such a Foundation of Government, whereby all the Good People of these Nations may rationally expect that such Liberties and Rights shall be preserved to them and their Posterities. And we can truly say, that it is in our Hearts earnestly to desire, that God would Crown you with the Honour of making these Nations happy by such a* Settlement *as may not be liable to every Change of Governours, to have the Peace thereof disturbed by introdneing new Governments.*

3. *Whereas a* Petition *and* Proposals *were lately drawn up by the Officers of the Brigade, that (under the Command of Major General* Lambert) *hazarded themselves in your Service with good success, whereby through the Blessing of God upon them, and others of your faithful Friends and Servants, the Peace of this* Commonwealth *is still continued: And the said* Petition *was sent up to some Officers here, to be presented to the Lord* Fleetwood; *which hath been by some interpreted to evil and sinister Ends, and from thence suggestions derived, as if there were intentions to violate the* Parliament, *to set up a* Single Person, *or another* General: *In order thereunto, We do sincerely profess, (whatever the design of any Persons may be to promote such Causeless Jealousies) We have had no other than Faithfulness and Candor in our Hearts and Actions towards the* Parliament; *nor do we apprehend (with submission we may speak it) any reason or cause of offence to be conceived against your faithful Servants, who lately gave so ample proof of their Fidelity and Courage.*

4. *We cannot but esteem our selves unhappy, to have been so mis-represented to the* Parliament, *as should occasion such a publick Admonition upon Record; and considering what evil use may be made of these things by a Publick Enemy, and to the end they may be disappointed of their hopes, and all such Persons discouraged as shall go about for the future to promote Jealousies, or by mis-information to beget Divisions betwixt the* Parliament *and their Faithful Servants the Army: And that a good understanding may be preserved between them; We humbly pray,*

1. *That the Officers of the Army, and particularly those who have reason to bear the marks of Your Favour for their Faithfulness in the late* Northern Expedition, *may stand right in Your Opinion, and have your Countenance.*

2. *That whatsoever person or persons shall for the future Groundlessly and Causelessly inform the* House *against your Servants, thereby creating Jealousies, and casting scandalous Imputations upon them, may be brought to Examination, Justice and condign Punishment.*

3. *That it being an undoubted Right of the People to have a Liberty in a peaceable and submissive way, to Petition the Supreme Authority, which Liberty hath been by your selves asserted, allowed and approved of; We cannot but also assert the said Liberty, and humbly Conceive, that your Faithful Servants of the Army have no way forfeited their Rights as Free-men, and that therefore they hope it will be no offence for them to submit their humble Desires to the* Parliament.

4. *That You would be pleased to take into Your serious Consideration, the necessitous Condition of the poor Souldiers of your Armies, and that all possible care may be taken for their timely supply, their Wants being such as earnestly call for it: And that some speedy and effectual course may be taken to provide for the Maimed Souldiers, and the poor Widows and Orphans of such as have been slain in Your Service, that the blessing of God may be upon you.*

5. *That such who have freely offered themselves in the several Counties and Cities of these Nations, to own and stand by you and your Cause in the late* Insurrections, *with the hazard of all which is dear unto them, may have your Encouragement, and be imployed in Places of Trust and Command.*

6. *That it being a thing granted by all, that without due Execution of* Martial Discipline, *the Peace, Union and good Government of an Army cannot be preserved; the Discipline of the Army may be preserved inviolable, and in particular, that no Officer or Souldier of the Army may be Cashiered or Dismissed from their Places without a due proceeding at a* Court-Marshal, *or by his own Consent, except in cases of Reducement or Disbanding.*

7. *That it being judged necessary by the* Parliament, *for the keeping of the Army under such a Conduct as may render the same Serviceable to the* Commonwealth, *to appoint a* Committee of Nominations, *for the proposing of Officers to the* Parliament *for their Approbation; We humbly pray, That no Officers may be brought into the Army, but such as shall first come under the Consideration of the said* Committee, *and be by them presented.*

8. *The Office of the Commander in Chief of the Army being of so great Concernment to the Peace of this* Commonwealth, *and his Commission at present (as we conceive) expiring within a few Months, We humbly pray, that the Consideration of that matter may come before you, and some such effectual course be taken therein, as may prevent our fears, and the hazard of leaving the Army to Confusion.*

9. *And that you would retain a good Opinion of your Army, and against all discouragements what-*

soever

ſoever, proceed in the carrying on of that good Work intruſted in your Hands, for the Glory of God, and advantage of theſe Nations. In the proſecution whereof, through the help of our God, We ſhall be found (notwithſtanding all endeavours to the contrary) faithful to You and this Comonwealth.

The Inſolency of theſe *Propoſals*, gave our preſent Senators reaſon to ſuſpect their Authority to be of no long continuance; but in regard many Officers of the Army diſſented from the Repreſenting and Propoſing Party, they imagined the reſt would not be very haſty to make a Rupture: Therefore they reſolved to aſſert their Power at any hazard; in order whereunto, they had many ſharp Debates, about this *Repreſentation* and *Petition*; but in the end they concluded with moderation, and directed their *Speaker* to call the Petitioners into the *Houſe*, and acquaint them, "That the Par-
"liament had read their Repreſentation and
"Petition, and taking notice of the good Ex-
"preſſions therein of their Affections and
"Faithfulneſs to this Parliament and Common-
"wealth, had Commanded him to give them
"the Thanks of their Houſe for them; and
"to let them know, that they had already ta-
"ken into conſideration the Relief of the Poor
"Widows, Orphans, and maimed Souldiers,
"to whom Penſions had been formerly allow-
"ed; and had alſo ſettled a way for ſatisfaction
"of the Arrears due to the Officers and Soul-
"diers, and would endeavour to bring the ſame
"to ſpeedy effect.

The *Juncto* diſſemble at firſt their diſtaſte at theſe Proceedings of the Army.

Desborow gives an Account of this Anſwer to a General Council of Officers who aſſembled that Afternoon on purpoſe. It was not unknown to them, that the *Houſe* reſented their Addreſs, and that in ſuch a degree, that it was evident they intended to alter the Conſtitution of the *Army*. To provide againſt this, they thought fit to ſtrengthen their Party, by getting more Subſcriptions to their *Repreſentation* and *Petition*, and immediately they agreed upon the Form of a Letter to be ſent to *Ireland*, and another to *Scotland*, and to every Regiment in *England*; for the Signing and Diſperſing of which, they nominated from among themſelves a ſelect number in the Nature of a *Committee*. That to General *Monk*, was in theſe Words:

The Council of Officers labour to get Subſcriptions to their *Repreſentation*.

Right Honourable,

A Letter from a Committee of the Council of Officers to General *Monk* concerning the Armies *Repreſentation*.

"WE do by Command from the Gene-
"ral Council of the Officers of the
"Army now in *London*, tranſmit the incloſed to
"you, being a true Copy of the *Repreſentation*
"and *Petition*, which was this day by them hum-
"bly preſented to the Parliament; and the *Votes*
"of the Houſe paſſed thereupon: And are
"further to ſignifie as their Deſire, that the
"ſame may be communicated to all the Com-
"miſſion-Officers of that part of the Army
"under your Command, and the Subſcripti-
"ons of all taken to the *Repreſentation* and *Pe-*
"*tition*, that are free to Sign the ſame; which
"being ſo Signed, it is deſired you will be
"pleaſed to cauſe them to be cloſe ſealed up,
"and returned to *Thomas Sandford* Eſquire, Se-
"cretary to his Excellency the Lord *Fleetwood*,
"who is to give an Account thereof. As we
"have thus fulfilled the General Councils Plea-
"ſure, we are well aſſured you will be pleaſed
"to comply with their Requeſt; which is all at
"preſent from

Your humble Servants,

J. Lambert, Rich. Creed, John Desborow, John Maſon, William Packer.

The General had intimation of this Letter, from *Clarges* before it came to his hands, with a full Narrative of the Occurrences that paſſed upon the delivery of the *Repreſentation*; which made him reſolve to admit of no Subſcriptions in *Scotland*. And when the Letter came to his hands, He returned in Anſwer to it; *That he thought it unfit to have any Subſcriptions made to that, to which now the* Parliament *had given an Anſwer, leſt it ſhould be underſtood to make a Party againſt them.* And in purſuance of this Reſolution, he ſent Orders to all the Regiments under his Command, to forbid them to ſubſcribe.

The Subſtance of General *Monk's* Anſwer.

The *Houſe* a little before this Agitation, had begun to Court General *Monk* very much, as thinking it a matter of no ſmall importance, to gain him wholly to them. And he having ſent a Letter to them, (which they received two days after the delivery of the the *Repreſentation* of the Army) to acquaint them with the peaceable condition of *Scotland* in obedience to their Government, wherein he moved ſomething in favour of ſome of his Officers, and commended the temper of his Army: They returned him anſwer the ſame day with the thanks of the Houſe, and let him know, *The high eſteem they had of the Services which with ſo much Valour, Prudence and Faithfulneſs he had performed; and that they had granted the deſire of his Letters, with aſſurance to him and his Officers and Souldiers under his Command, of returns of Favour from the* Parliament *anſwerable to their merit*

He is Courted by the Parliament party.

And complemented by a Letter with gratulatory expreſſions for his good Service.

Upon the tenth of the ſaid Month, they took the *Propoſals* in the Armies *Repreſentation* into Debate:

To the Firſt they Anſwer,

"That the Officers of the Army have re-
"ceived, and ſhall from time to time receive
"marks of the Favour of the Parliament, and
"countenance anſwerable to their Merit and
"Faithfulneſs.

To the Second they Anſwer,

"That it is the Duty of all Perſons, eſpeci-
"ally the Members of Parliament, to inform
"the Houſe of any thing, which in their appre-
"henſion may concern the publick Safety;
"And it is the undoubted Right of the Par-
"liament to receive, and debate thoſe Infor-
"mations, and to reſolve what they think fit
"thereupon.

The *Houſe* takes into Debate and anſwers, one by one, the Armies *Propoſals*.

To the Third they Declare,

"That every Member of the Army, as Free-
"men of *England*, have right of Petitioning
"the Parliament: but withal, think fit to let
"them know, That the Petitioners ought to
"be very careful both in the manner, and in
"the matter which they desire; That the way
"of promoting and presenting the same may
"be peaceable; and the things Petitioned for
"not tending to the disturbance of the Com-
"monwealth, nor to the dishonour of the
"Parliament: And that it is the Duty of Peti-
"tioners to submit their Desires to the Parlia-
"ment, and to acquiesce in the Judgment
"thereof.

In Answer to the Fourth Proposal,

"They Order Two months Pay to be
"forthwith paid to the Officers and Souldiers
"of the Army in *England*, out of the Six
"months Assessment of Five and Thirty thou-
"sand Pounds a month now due; And that
"the Council of State do give Order, that the
"same be paid accordingly; And that Two
"months Pay be also issued to the Officers and
"Souldiers in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. To that
"part of the *Proposal*, To provide for the maim-
"ed Souldiers, and the poor Widows and Or-
"of such as had been slain in their Service,
"They refer the former *Votes* made in their be-
"halfs.

To the Fifth Proposal they Answer,

"That such Persons as have been Faithful and
"Active for the Parliament in the late *Insurrection*,
"the Parliament will take care to give them all
"due encouragement as occasion shall be of-
"fered.

This Resolute Proceedure of the Members at *Westminster*, filled the Army with strange Rumours: And they in the mean time to provide against all Accidents, consulted, If any Breach should be made upon their Government, how to leave them that did it as destitute as might be of Means and Authority to maintain themselves in such Actings. And since nothing could more weaken them in such Confusion than want of Money, They for a time deferred their further Consideration on the *Proposals* of the *Representation*, and made an Act against the raising of Money upon the People without Consent of *Parliament*; wherein they enacted,

An Act of the Remnant against raising of Money without Consent of Parliament.

That all Orders, Ordinances *and* Acts, *made by any Single Person and his Council, or by both or either of them, or otherwise, or by any Assembly or Convention pretending to have Authority of Parliament, from and after the Nineteenth day of* April, 1653. *and before the Seventh of* May, 1659. *and which have not been or should not be Enacted, Allowed and Confirmed by this present* Parliament, *should be declared, deemed, taken and adjudged to be of no force or effect from and after the said Seventh day of* May, 1659. *And that no Person or Persons shall after the Eleventh day of* October, 1659. *Assess, Levy, Collect, Gather, or Receive any Custome, Impost, Excise, Assessment, Contribution, Tax, Tallage, or any Sum or Sums of Money, or other Imposition whatsoever, of this* Commonwealth, *without their Consent in* Parliament, *or as by Law might have been done before the Third of* November, 1640. *And that every person offending contrary to this Act, should be adjudged to be guilty of High Treason, and forfeit and suffer as in case of Treason.*

That which chiefly provoked them to the hasty making of this Law, was a *Letter* which had been communicated to them, under the Hands of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Berry*, *Kelsey*, *Alsofield*, *Cobbet*, *Packer*, *Barrow* and *Creed*, directed to Colonel *Okey*. It was much to the same purport with that sent to General *Monk* before mentioned, and in the same Form: This *Letter* was by accident delivered to *Okey*; for there being many *Letters* signed, to be sent to the several Regiments, which were left to be disposed of by *Fleetwood*'s Secretary, he, amongst others, directed one to *Okey*; who, as soon as he had it, shewed it to Sir *Arthur Hasserig*, and he to the House; who looked upon the Contents thereof, to be such as tended to the fomenting of the Army against them; but respited the Consideration of it till the next morning, which was the twelfth of *October*.

A Letter to *Okey*, the chief cause of the speedy putting forth of this Act.

That Night Mr. *Nicholas Monk* arrived (after not above four days Journey from *Scotland*, and had Orders from the General to tell *Clarges*, *That he was resolved, if the Parliament would be resolute in asserting their own Authority against the Army, he would assist them in it; and if required thereunto, march into* England *in their Defence.*

Mr. *Monk* arrives from *Scotland*, with private Orders from the Gen. to *Clarges*.

Clarges, early the next morning, communicated this to *Walton*, *Hasserig* and *Scot*, who were so much encouraged by it, that at the first sitting of the House, they moved, that the Doors might be shut, that none of their Members might go out; and then after a long and brisk Debate, they Ordered that the Commissions of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Berry*, *Kelsey*, *Alsofield*, *Cobbet*, *Packer*, and *Barrow*, who subscribed the said *Letter* should be void.

The Commissions of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, and others, voted void.

They had it in motion, to declare at the same time, that the next immediate Officers to them should have their Commands conferred on them, but delayed that till the next day, yet ordered the Names of those Officers to be brought to them, and before they parted, they made an Act, appointing Commissioners for the Government of the Army; wherein they first repealed and made void the ACT, *Constituting* Charles Fleetwood, *Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of the Forces raised, and to be raised by Authority of* Parliament, *within* England *and* Scotland, *and all Power and Authority thereby given; And that all the Armies for the future should be governed by Commissioners, in the place and stead of a Lieutenant-General.* These Commissioners were, *Fleetwood*, *Monk*, *Ludlow*, *Hasserig*, *Morley*, *Walton* and *Overton*, who were impowered *to execute all and*

An Act appointing Commissioners for Government of the Army, and removing *Fleetwood* from the Chief Command thereof.

and singular the Powers and Authorities, incident or belonging to the Office of Lieutenant-General, from the 11th *of* October, 1659. *to the* 22*d of* February, 1659, *&c.*

They likewise Ordered the Serjeant at Arms to carry the Orders for Discharge of the said Officers Commissions, to the respective Persons whom it concerned: And because *Lambert* was the most considerable Person, and the next Officers to him were men they knew, and in whom they confided, they immediately ordered *Camfield*, his Lieutenant-Colonel, to have the Command of his Regiment; and that *Skypper* the Major should be advanced to be Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain *Bradshaw* to be Major of the Regiment. Three of these, lately Constituted Commissioners for the Government of the Army, met at Night, in the *Speakers* Chamber at *Westminster*, and Ordered Colonel *Morley*'s and Colonel *Mosse*'s Regiments, as a guard to the *Parliament*, who possessed themselves of the *Palace-Yard*, and the Great Hall: *Lambert* on the other side, seeing what was like to become of him, if Matters were driven on at that rate, as they were begun against him, thought best to play his Game, while it was in his power to prevent; and to that end drew some Regiments together, who marched to *Kings-Street*, and possessed themselves of all Avenues to the *Parliament*.

Lambert removed from his Regiment, and the Officers under him successively advanced.

Col. *Morley* and *Moss* ordered with their Regiments to Guard the House.

Lambert, with the Reg. that adhere, stops the Passages to the Par. House.

In the morning the *Speaker* came with his Coach towards the House; but at the Entry into the *Palace-Yard*, he was stopt by Lieutenant-Colonel *Duckenfield*; and after a little Expostulation was forced to return. The Souldiers on both sides kept their Station till towards the Evening in a posture of Hostility, ready to have fired one against the other, only expecting when the Word would be given for Onset; so that it was verily thought the Business would have come to a sharp Conflict between them: but they were better advised, insomuch that the *Council of State* meeting at *White-Hall*, and ordering all of them to draw off to their Quarters, both Parties agreed thereunto, and marched away that Night: However, *Lamberts* Party obtained their Desire, forasmuch as none of the Members were permitted that Day to assemble; and for the future, *Fleetwood* took care always to keep good Guards at the Door of the *Parliament-House*, to prevent them from Meeting. The next Day divers of the chief Officers of the Army met at *White-Hall*, and chose Ten Persons as a Council, for carrying on the Affairs and Government of the *Commonwealth*, till further Order. These were *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Desborow*, Sir *James Harrington*, Major *Salway*, *Berry*, *Sydenham*, and *Archibald Johnston* a *Scotchman*, commonly called the Laird of *Warreston*; And at *Wallingford-House*, the same Day, the General Council of Officers agreed, That *Fleetwood* should be Commander in Chief over all the Armies; that *Lambert* should be the next Chief Officer under him; and *Desborow* Commissary General of the Horse; and that all the Officers to be constituted in the Army, should be nominated by Sir *Henry Vane*, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Ludlow* and *Berry*; but in especial manner they took care for the preparing of *Articles of War*, for the good Government and Discipline of the Army, as that which would be most necessary for their Consistence. In this they were very industrious; and in all the time since the first modelling of their Armies, their Discipline was so exact, that the Carriage of their Souldiery was very tolerable to the People, and that made their Enormities, in reference to the Government, less obnoxious to Vulgar Censure. Some mentioned General *Monk* to be considered in their Distribution of Offices, but were not hearkned to; and those that opposed it, assured the rest, that he had little power over the Officers of his Army; and if he disagreed to their Counsels, he might easily be displaced: They had not yet received his Resolution concerning the Subscriptions about which they writ, to be made by his Officers to their *Representation* and *Petition*, and therefore were ignorant of his Dissent from their Actions: So that in Confidence of his Concurrence, they dispatched Colonel *Cobbet* to him, with a large *Narrative* of the Reasons of their Proceedings.

Lambert and his Party dissolve the Remnant Parl. by hindring the Members from coming into the House.

A Council of Ten Army Officers appointed to be Managers of the State-Affairs *pro tempore*.

The prevailing Party of the Army no great Favourers of Gen. *Monk*.

The Lord *Mordant*, and some others of the Kings Friends lying at *Callais*, immediately upon the News of these Disorders in *England*, dispatched Mr. *Nicholas Armorer* to his Majesty, who was then at *Fontarabia*, industriously soliciting for Supplies of Men and Money, of which he had large promises from the *Spaniards*, and for the defraying the Expences of his Journey, he received from *Don Lewis D' Haro* a Present of Twenty Thousand Crowns: His Majesty had once a purpose to have gone directly to *Madrid*; but upon the Advice brought to him by Mr. *Armorer*, in hopes that something might fall out in *England* to his Advantage, he chose to return to *Bruxels*. The Earl of St. *Albans* coming up to the Borders to the King, just upon the Dissolution of the Treaty, met his Majesty at *Bayon*, in his Return from *Fontarabia*; Cardinal *Mazarine* being before departed from St. *John de Luz*, not having received any Visit from his Majesty before his departure.

Mr. *Armorer* sent by the Lord *Mordant* to the King at *Fontarabia* to inform him how matters went in *England*.

The King returns from *Fontarabia* toward *Bruxels* meeting the Earl of St. *Albans* by the way.

The Earl of St. *Albans* conferred much with the King whilst he staid with him, which was not long, and then he went to *Paris*, whither the King followed him *incognito* by easie journeys; and after some stay there, went from thence to *Bruxels*.

At this time such of the Kings Friends as had opportunity were very active in his Service, amongst whom the endeavours of Mr. *Evelin* of *Says-Court* near *Deptford* in *Kent*, is not to be omitted, who having some acquaintance with Colonel *Herbert Morley*, one of the five Commissioners for the Command of the Army, whose Birth, Education and Interest in his Country rendred him unlikely to be cordially inclined to prostitute himself to the ruine of his Country; he attempted with just and honest Arguments to draw him to the Royal Party, to which he believed he might be very useful, as having a greater credit than any of his Party in *Sussex*, where he lived, in case his Majesty should Land there, and having

also

also a good Influence upon the Fleet, and two of the Army Regiments.

Morley, after some Hesitation, was perswaded by Mr. *Evelyn* to return to his Allegiance, and he desired him to intercede with the King for a Pardon to himself and some few others of his Relations, (which he named) and then departed into his Country, and gave him notice how to correspond further with him.

The Council of Officers consult about a Frame of Government.

The Council of Officers had frequent Meetings at *White-Hall*, and a *Junto* of the wisest of them were in deep Consultation, how to make such a Frame of Government as should be durable and lasting against all Attempts whatsoever. They found most of the Gentry in *England* to be some way or other involved in the late Endeavours for the King, and were advising of a way to seize all their Estates, and divide them amongst their own Party; whereby the Riches of the Nation, the most powerful of all Interests, would be absolutely changed into the the Hands of Persons irreconcileable to *Monarchy*. This was such Advice, as if it had succeeded, might have proved fatal, and laid a Foundation to Slavery, never to have been subverted.

A certain number of Persons called to take upon them the Government, under the Title of a *Committee of Safety*. Their Instructions.

The General Council, on the twenty sixth of this Month, nominated twenty three Persons to be intrusted with the Management of Publick Affairs, whom they called a *Committee of Safety*; and the next day they invited them to sit, and gave them Powers ond Instructions; of which the chief were,

1. *To execute all the Powers of the late* Council of State, *together with Authority to call all* Delinquents *to Accompt, that were in the late* Insurrection, *and to proceed to a bringing them to* Justice, *and to give* Indemnity *to all Persons that had acted for the Service of the* Common-wealth, *since the Year*, 1649.

2. *To oppose and suppress all* Rebellions *and* Insurrections.

3. *To treat with* Foreign States *and* Princes.

4. *To raise the* Militia *in the several* Counties.

5. *To dispose of all Places of* Trust *that are void, and to remove such as are Scandalous.*

6. *To make Sale and Compositions for all* Delinquents Estates.

Their Names.

The Names of these Governours were, *Bulstrode Whitlock*, lately made Keeper of their Great Seal, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Steel* Chancellour of *Ireland*, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Sydenham*, *Salway*, *Walter Strickland*, *Berry*, *Lawrence*, Sir *James Harrington*, the Laird of *Warreston*, Alderman *Ireton*, *Tichborn*, *Heveson*, *Clark*, *Bennet*, Colonel *Lilborn*, *Cornelius Holland*, *Henry Brandriff*, and *Robert Thompson*.

They likewise published a *Declaration*, in the Close whereof they Declare; That

The substance of their Declaration.

'They think themselves obliged, for preventing the manifold Evils and Inconveniencies which must necessarily fall upon the 'other *Good People* of the Nation, as well as 'themselves, by reason of the several *Orders*, '*Acts*, pretended *Acts*, or other *Declarations*, 'or any of them, Enacted, made or past on '*Monday* the tenth of this Instant *October*, and on '*Tuesday* and *Wednesday* then next following, to 'declare them, and every of them null and void 'to all intents and purposes: and likewise all '*Acts*, *Orders* and *Proceedings* thereupon had or 'done in as full and ample manner, as if the said '*Orders*, pretended *Acts* or *Declarations*, and every 'of them, had never been: all which they publish and declare, that all Persons concerned may 'take notice thereof, and no Person whatsoever suffer any further prejudice thereby, hoping that all peaceable, well-minded, and unprejudiced persons will acquiesce in the necessity 'and Justice thereof.

'They further Declare to the World, that 'it is upon their Hearts, and they earnestly 'desire, and shall endeavour, that a due Liberty may be assured to all the Free-Born 'People of these Nations, both as Men and 'Christians; That a full and through *Reformation* of the *Law* may be effected; as also, 'that a Faithful, Godly, and Painful *Gospel-Preaching-Ministry* may be incouraged and 'provided for, by some certain Way that may 'be less troublesome to them, and less vexatious to the People, than that of *Tythes*. And 'further, that they have no Aim or Ends to 'set up a *Military* or *Arbitrary Government* 'over the Commonwealth: But have already 'provided, that the Civil and Executive part 'of Government shall be lodged in a *Committee of Safety*; and they obliged in a short 'time, to prepare such a *Form* of *Government*, 'as may best suit and comport with a *Free-State* and *Commonwealth*, without a *Single* 'Person, *Kingship* or *House of Peers*: and that 'they shall to the utmost of their Endeavours 'labour to obtain those desirable things so 'often declared for; and to maintain and preserve the Peace of these Nations in their 'several Stations and Places; and shall hope, 'that God for his own Glory, and the good 'of his own People, will give a blessed end of 'these Troubles, by a happy Settlement upon 'the Principles formerly declared for; and 'which have been, and still are, so earnestly 'breathed after, by all those that truly fear his 'Name.

And then to Cajole the Godly Party (as they called them) they proceeded to tell them;

'They doubt not but such being truly sensible of the many Temptations befetting them 'on every hand, the great Difficulties they laboured under (and know not what further 'Straights a Day may bring forth) will say 'on their behalfs, *Who are sufficient for these* '*Things?* And out of former Experiences being taught, That the Lord is a present Help 'in time of Trouble, will cry aloud for them 'before the *Throne of Grace*, That the LORD 'himself may appear, and carry on his own 'Work in their Hands: And if it shall please 'him by his Spirit, to stir up those that fear 'his Name to be instant on their behalf, they 'shall not fear what evil Man can do unto them.

These

The Exorbitancy of their Actions somewhat restrained by the mixture of some moderate men among them.

These unreasonable Men, impatient of all Government, thought by these Insinuations, to silence all Gainsayers, and to make the People believe, they could frame any Government, and not be obliged to submit to it. Their Confidence was great, and their frequent Invasion of several Constitutions so successful, that they thought they were not by any to be opposed, in the most extravagant of their Actings; yet in this Design of theirs, they had the better grounded hope, in regard *Vane*, *Whitlock*, and *Salway*, and some others of the most prudent of their Party, assisted in their Councils.

Whitlock indeed, was much censured for his Conjunction with them; but some wise men, that marked this Demeanour, and the Moderation he used, did believe, that if he had not in a great measure restrained the Exorbitancy of their Intentions, they had in the short time of their Tyranny, done much mischief to many of the King's Friends.

The substance of General *Monk*'s Letters to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*.

That which put the greatest Check to their Carrear, and gave some Life to the fainting Hopes of all good men, was the Arrival of *Letters* from General *Monk* in *Scotland*, to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, which came to them the twenty eighth of *October*, in the Evening. He complained therein, *Of their Violation of Faith to the* Parliament; *and declared his Resolution, to endeavour to restore them to their Power, against all Opposition whatsoever.*

Fleetwood, *Lambert* and *Desborow* immediately met at *White-Hall* in much Confusion; and about twelve at Night they sent Major *Haynes* to desire *Clarges* to come to them; who when he came, after some question of his knowledge of the Generals Proceedings (to which he made very wary Answers) they desired him to go into *Scotland* with Colonel *Talbot*, (whose Regiment was then at *Edenburgh*) to prevail with *Monk* for a Treaty of Mediation, to prevent the effusion of Blood. They said, they chose *Talbot* to accompany him, because he was very grateful to the General.

Clarges dispatched away into *Scotland* by the Grandees of the Army, together with Col. *Talbot*, to solicite *Monk* to a Treaty.

Clarges was very glad of this opportunity to get away, (for he feared to be much worse Treated,) and they were so pressing for his Departure, that they allowed him but three hours preparation for his Journey.

Monk well informed of all passages in *England*.

In the mean time, *Monk* in *Scotland* had by an express from *Clarges*, which came to him the 17th of *October*, received exact Information of the Interruption of the Parliament; and at several times before, he had notice of all the Proceedings introductory to it, which made him expect no less, and therefore gave him time to prepare for what hapned.

What Forces he had, and how dispersed.

He had in *Scotland* at this time ten Regiments of Foot compleat, each consisting of a Thousand Souldiers, besides Officers; except four Companies which had been drawn into *England* a little before upon the Alarm of Sir *George Booth*'s Rising; his Numbers of Horse were but small, having had two Regiments of them likewise removed upon the same occasion: so that there remained with him but two Regiments of Horse, viz. his own, and Colonel *Philip Twisleton*'s, and one Regiment of Dragoons, Commanded by Major General *Morgan*: The Foot were dispersed at great distances, Eight Companies of his own Regiment lay at *Edenburgh*, and two of them at *Dalkeith*, where his Residence usually was: All Colonel *Talbot*'s Regiment was quartered in *Edenburgh*; Nine Companies of Col. *Wilks* his Regiment were in the Cittadel at *Leith*, and one of them in the Castle at *Edenburgh*; Nine Companies of Colonel *Read*'s Regiment were at *Sterlin*, and the Tenth in *England*; Eight Companies of Colonel *Overton*'s Regiment at *Dundee*, and two of them in *England*; Colonel *Daniel*'s Regiment lay at St. *Johnstons*; Colonel *Sawries* Regiment at *Aire*; Colonel *Cobbet*'s at *Glasgow*; Nine Companies of Colonel *Fairfax*'s Regiment at *Aberdeen*, and the other in *England*; and part of Colonel *Smith*'s Regiment at *Innernes*; and the rest of the Garrisons in the *High-lands*: The Horse and Dragoons lay in several places near the Foot-Quarters; but at such distances, as might not incommode the Country.

The late Commissioners of Nomination, whilest they sate at *White-Hall*, had much changed the Officers in all the Regiments both of Horse and Foot, which raised great Discontents amongst them: They had given Colonel *Daniel*'s Regiment to *Pierson* his Lieutenant Colonel, an *Anabaptist*; They had also displaced *Hubblethorn*, who was Major to Colonel *Talbot*'s Regiment; *Hughes*, who was Major to *Wilkes*, they had reduced to be but Captain, and preferred one *Knolles* an *Anabaptist* to his Command; *Johnson* the Eldest Captain in his own Regiment of Horse, they put out, (and many more too long to mention) in all the Regiments; few or none of those New Officers chosen at *White-Hall*, to supply the places of those removed, were yet come into *Scotland*: So that General *Monk* taking that Opportunity to retain all the displaced Officers in their respective Commands, made them, who had been thus disobliged before, thereby intirely depend on him.

Monk keeps in those Officers whom the *Commissioners* had displaced;

Having resolved to stand upon his Guard, and Declare against the Army in *England*, the first thing he did, was to Consult which way was best to secure these Regiments, and the several Garrisons with least hazard; and knowing that in Actions of great Concernment, there was more use of Execution than Counsel, he made very little hesitation in what he intended to Act: He was most diffident of his own Regiment of Foot, (which during his Absence in the *Dutch* War had been so transformed, that most of the Officers were become *Anabaptists*) and the three Regiments in *Glasgow*, *Aire* and St. *Johnstons*.

And removes those whom he himself distrusted.

The first minute that he had Notice of the Disorders at *Westminster*, which was on the before-mentioned 17th day of *October*, he sent Captain *Jeremiah Smith* of his own Regiment of Horse, to *Edenburgh* and *Leith*, to signifie his Pleasure to Major *Hubblethorn*, Major *Hughes*, and Captain *Johnson*, to have them come to him to *Dalkeith*: The first was Major to *Talbot*'s Regiment of Foot; the other, to that of *Wilks*'s, quartered at *Leith*; and *Johnson* comman-

commanded a Troop in his own Regiment of Horſe.

The General ſignifies his Reſolution to ſeveral of his Officers, to march into *England*, to reeſtabliſh the Parliament, and hath their conſent and incouragement.

Theſe came immediately upon Summons to the General, and there they met Captain *Morgan* of his own Regiment of Foot, and *Miller* of *Wilks* his Regiment, who had the Guards of *Dalkeith* Houſe: The Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major of the Generals Regiment, were both *Anabaptiſts*, and at that time abſent; Lieutenant-Colonel *Cloberry* of *Read*'s Regiment, was by chance there, and was adviſed with. The General communicated his Intelligence to them, and his Reſolution to march into *England* with a part of his Army, to re-eſtabliſh the Parliament; To which they all freely conſented: *Hubblethorn* gave him perfect aſſurance of all *Talbot*'s Regiment of which he had now the Command; becauſe the Colonel, and *Pownel* the Lieutenant-Colonel were both in *England*: And indeed much muſt be attributed to the Courage and diligence of that Gentleman, whoſe Regiment was by him intirely, both Officers and Souldiers, made at the General's Devotion; which being then quartered at *Edenburgh*, gave a great Reputation to the whole undertaking: For although ſome in all the Regiments, and many in moſt, were ready upon the Confidence they had in the Generals Courage and Conduct, and were well inclined towards him; yet they were all apter to follow in any Deſign (as moſt naturally are) than to begin the Action: Captain *Johnſon* had been by the Nominators at *London* removed from his Troop, but was now by the General reſtored to it; and as he was Eldeſt Captain of the Regiment, by the abſence of Major *Knight*, he had the Command under the General of all his Regiment of Horſe, and was well beloved by them: Major *Hughes* gave him hopes of making all Colonel *Wilks* his Regiment at his Service: *Hubblethorn* (whom he made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment) was Ordered to draw it early the next Morning into the High-Street at *Edenburgh*, and to let all the Musketeers have Matches lighted, with Powder and Bullet; and *Johnſon* was Commanded to be ready in *Edenburgh* at the ſame time, with his own Troop; and that of one Captain *Symoel*'s, an honeſt ſtout Officer: *Hughes* was appointed in the abſence of his Colonel, and Lieutenant-Colonel, who were ſent for the next morning to confer with the General, to ſecure the *Cittadel* at *Leith*: He had upon ſome kind of expectation of Change, kept Captain *Witter* (of the Regiment lying at St. *Johnſtowns*) and Captain *Robſon* (of the Regiment at *Aire*) both at *Edenburgh*, and had ſent for them to him; and upon Conference with them, they both undertook, one to ſecure the *Cittadel* at St *Johnſtowns*, and the other at *Aire*; which were very difficult ſervice to perform, in regard that moſt of the Officers in thoſe Regiments were very ill-diſpoſed towards the General: Little more was done that Night, but the ſending an Expreſs to Major *Knight*, who was then in *Yorkſhire* at his own Houſe, to haſten him to his Command.

Great preparations in *Monk*'s Army, for the fortifying themſelves againſt the prevailing Faction in *England*.

The next day after Dinner the General marched to *Edenburgh*, with only Captain *Smith*'s Troop of Horſe, having before diſpatched away *Witter* and *Robſon*. *Morgan* had been ſent before to *Edenburgh*, to draw up his Regiment, but had Orders to give them neither Match, Powder nor Ball: As ſoon as he came into the High-Street, and found the Regiments in that Order he expected, he retired a little into his Quarters, to model his own Regiment, and ſent for *Morgan* to him, whom he immediately made Lieutenant-Colonel; Captain *Nicholas* he promoted to be Major, and at the ſame inſtant diſplaced all whom he knew to be diſaffected to him, and ſuch of them as were dangerous he impriſoned: which done, he marched with both the Regiments to the *Gray-Friars* Church, where he called together the Officers, and told them, *That the Army in* England *had broken up the Parliament out of a reſtleſs uncontroulable diſpoſition of being pleaſed with nothing that tended to the welfare and happineſs of the People; that though they had lately taken ſhame to themſelves (in their publick Declaration) for their former Apoſtacies, yet now, finding the Parliament unapt to humour them in all their Extravagancies, they were weary of them: He ſaid he was reſolved to make the Military Power ſubſervient to the Civil, and that ſince they had their Protection and Entertainment from the Parliament, it was their Duty to ſerve and obey them againſt all oppoſition; which ſhould be his Practice, and he expected their Concurrence and Aſſiſtance to joyn with him. But if any were diſſatisfied, and would declare it to him, they ſhould have free Liberty, without Reflection, to leave the Service, and have Paſſes to go home.*

The General marches to *Edenburgh*, and there orders all things to his beſt advantage.

His ſpeech to his Officers.

Upon this, Colonel *Wilkes* and his Lieutenant-Colonel with all that were preſent, unanimouſly declared to live and die with him; Captain *Johnſon* was then diſpatched to *Barwick*, to ſecure that Garriſon, which was then under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Mayers*; and he did it very effectually, and it was a Service of great Advantage to *Monk*'s Deſigns; Captain *Hatt*, and Captain *Dennis*, two well approved Officers of Colonel *Cobbet*'s Regiment, being both at *Edenburgh* when theſe tranſactions were, and having received private Orders to model that Regiment then quartered at *Glaſcow*, and to march with it to *Edenburgh*, came thither before any knowledge of the alterations at the Head-Quarters, and privately conſulted with ſuch of the Regiment as they were confident of before they publickly diſcovered their Orders. Lieutenant-Colonel *Young*, who was there in chief, in the abſence of the Colonel and Major, did as much as he could to oppoſe it; but he being preſently ſecured, *Hatt* and *Dennis* performed their Inſtructions, and immediately marched the Regiment to the General.

Captain *Johnſon* ſecures *Berwick*.

Capt. *Hatt* and *Dennis* bring off Col. *Cobbets* Regiment to the General.

Captain *Witter*, as ſoon as he came to S. *Johnſtown*, drew up two Companies, whom he moſt confided in, upon the Sands before the Cittadel, and propoſed to them what he had in charge from the General; whereupon they all ſhouted in conſent to it, at the noiſe whereof the Souldiers coming in confuſion out of the Cittadel, he marched with the aforeſaid Companies

Capt. *Witter* takes poſſeſſion for the General of the Cittadel of St. *Johnſtouns*.

panies into it, and took poſſeſſion thereof; He made Lieutenant-Colonel *Keine*, and Major *Kelk* Priſoners; the firſt whereof was afterwards upon his conſent to joyn with the General, releaſed from his Impriſonment, but *Kelk* was ſtill detained. Of this Regiment at St. *Johnſtown*, *Witter*, for his handſome performance of this undertaking, is by the General advanced to be Major.

And is made Major of the Regiment.

Robſon gets poſſeſſion of the Cittadel at *Ayre*,

Robſon at *Ayre* was more deliberate in the execution of his Orders; he dealt ſo with the Officers, that moſt of them except the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, agreed to comply with the General. The Lieutenant-Colonel privately got away to *Carliſle*, and ſecured that Garriſon for the Army in *England*; the Colonel temporiz'd a while, but finding his Arts ſucceſſes, and thereupon flying away into *England*, the General gave the Command of the Regiment to *Robſon*, for his good Service; and ſent into *England* for Colonel *Daniel*, who had been a little before diſplaced, (and *Pierſon* his Lieutenant-Colonel advanced to the Command of that Regiment) to take again his Command of Colonel thereof.

and is made Colonel of the Regiment.

The ſettlement of theſe two Regiments gave much incouragement to the General, in reference to the carrying on of his deſign; and the rather, in regard he himſelf had look't upon it as none of the eaſieſt works to compaſs.

He made no alteration at firſt in thoſe Companies which belonged to Colonel *Overton* at *Dundee*, becauſe he had hopes to gain him to declare for him with the Garriſon at *Hull*, then under his Command; and in regard they were on that ſide of the River *Tay*, they could not have done much if they had oppoſed. He ſent to Colonel *Fairfax*, who quartered with his Regiment at *Aberdeen*, to haſte with it to *Edenburgh*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Cloeberry* was ſent to *Read*, his Colonel at *Sterlin*, to appoint him to march to the General with all his men except two Companies, which were to be left for the ſafety of the Town and Caſtle. And at the ſame time, he ſent a Commiſſion to *Innerneſs* to Colonel *Man*, to be Colonel of that Regiment, in the place of *Smith*, (who adhered to the Army in *England*) and appointed him to ſend three of his beſt Companies to *Edenburgh*. He diſpatch'd alſo ſome truſty Officers to the Horſe Troops, and then went himſelf to *Leith*, to ſettle the Cittadel and Regiment in obedience to him; upon his firſt coming, he diſplaced *Knoller*, and confined him, and reſtored *Hughes* to be again Major to the Regiment, and likewiſe ſome other *Anabaptiſt* Officers were put out, and others placed in their rooms; Capt. *Clifton*, who with a Company of this Regiment from *Leith*, had the Command of *Edenburgh* Caſtle, upon promiſe of faithfulneſs and Service to the General, was by him continued in his Command with Truſt and Confidence. And thus theſe three Regiments of Foot at *Leith* and *Edenburgh*, were in one Afternoon pretty well ſettled till more time could be allowed to refine them.

Smith's Regiment at *Innerneſs* given to Colonel *Man*.

The General marched to *Leith*, to ſettle the Cittadel, and Regiment there.

And thence to *Linlithgow*.

Upon the 21ſt. he marched ſome Companies of Horſe and Foot to *Linlithgow*, intending to go thence to *Glaſcow*, to ſettle *Cobbet*'s Regiment, of which he was in ſome doubt; but he there received intelligence of what was done by *Hatt* and *Dennis*, and therefore went no further.

He there alſo had notice of the ſubmiſſion of the Cittadel at *Ayre*, and that *Barwick* was rendred to him, where Colonel *Cobbet* was ſtayed and detained in Priſon, as he was coming into *Scotland* with his Regiment, and it was reaſonably done; for if he had been permitted to paſs, the opinion which was had of him by the Souldiers, might have much hindred the General's proceedings. He was brought with a Guard to *Edenburgh* Caſtle, and kept there, the General being much incenſed againſt him, upon private advice that he had inſtructions to have ſeized him, if he had not agreed to the Armies Actions in *England*. At *Linlithgow* at a Council of Officers, it was adviſed that ſome way ſhould be uſed to draw off the *Independant* Churches in *England*, from favouring the *Engliſh* Army, which would have much weakened that Party, if it had ſucceeded, for moſt of the inferiour Officers were of that perſwaſion; for the effecting of this, a Declaration was framed, agreed to, and publiſhed and diſperſed all over *England*: And at the ſame time, another Declaration was alſo made to ſatisfie the Kingdom in general, with the reaſon of his taking Arms, alledging that he did it for the vindication of the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the freedom of *Parliaments*.

Col. *Cobbet* detained priſoner at *Barwick*.

Two Declarations publiſhed by the General, in vindication of theſe proceedings of his

Two Expoſtulatory Letters were alſo writ, the one to *Fleetwood*, and the other to *Lambert*, blaming the violence of their Proceedings againſt the Parliament, and another to the Speaker, to be informed of the Condition wherein the Houſe then was; declaring therein, that whereas there ought to be a right underſtanding between the *Parliament* and the *Army*, he would be ready, in caſe the Army perſiſted to diſobey their Orders, to aſſiſt them with the Forces under his Command, according to his Duty.

By this time, Major *Knight* was returned out of *England*: for hearing of the diſorders at *London*, and that ſome jealouſies had been entertained of him, upon an Information that he had been ſome months before engaged with the Lord *Caſtleton* in Sir *George Booth*'s Riſing, he thought beſt for his own ſecurity, to make all poſſible haſte down to his Command; his Arrival fell out to be three days after the General had firſt declared; *Morgan*'s Regiment of Dragoons, was made a Regiment of Horſe; and Major *Farmer* was ſent with a Troop to ſecure *Carliſle*, who when he came thither, did not march into it with Confidence, as *Johnſon* did into *Barwick*; but ſent in to treat with the Governor, and was ſo long doing it, till *Elton* that Commanded the Town, had fixed the Souldiers to a Reſolution of keeping him out. Moreover, *Monk* conſidering that his Army could not be got together in ſix weeks time, to march into *England*, he therefore to amuſe the Faction there, ſent Major *Knight* with four Troops of choice Horſe, and ſix Companies of Foot, to ſurprize *Newcaſtle*. The Horſe-Troops

Major *Knight* arrives in *Scotland*.

Maj. *Farmer* ſent by the General to poſſeſs *Carliſle*, is kept out by the Souldiers.

Major *Knight* ſent with a Party to ſeize *Newcaſtle*, but is prevented.

were Commanded by *Knight*, *Johnſon*, *Wilmot*, and *Simuel*, and the Foot by *Miller*, *Mansfield*, *Collins*, *Winter*, *Seymour* and *Belcham*, all Gallant and well reſolved men. But being come as far as *Morpeth*, he had advice, that ſome Forces were got into *Newcaſtle* before him, which being intimated alſo to the General, he preſently countermanded him and his party to *Anwick*, where he ſtaid for ſome time; the not-taking *Newcaſtle*, was no diſcouragement to the General or his Army; for upon more deliberate conſideration he thought the miſs of it rather fortunate, than prejudicial to him, ſince if he had taken it, it would in all probability have been immediately beſieged by *Lambert*. And then he muſt have been obliged to attempt the relief of it, and fought before he could have been well enough prepared for it, and thereby have hazarded his whole deſign.

Monk invites Lieutenant-Gen. *Ludlow* in *Ireland* to a conjunction with him.

The General at the ſame time that he ſent the before-mentioned Letters to *London*, did likewiſe ſend a Meſſenger with Letters to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, who Commanded the Army in *Ireland*, to move him to joyn with him, or at leaſt to repreſent to him ſo fair an account of his Action, as might induce him not to be his hinderance in any of his Undertakings.

Col. *Lilburn* in *Yorkſhire* makes all poſſible oppoſition againſt Gen. *Monk*.

Colonel *Lilburn*, who lay at *York* with ſome Forces, upon the firſt Rumour of *Monk*'s Declaration, drew what Forces together he could, and without ſtaying to be well informed of the Reaſons of *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*'s breaking up the Parliament; He drew all the Officers in thoſe parts to enter into an Aſſociation againſt *Monk*, and to joyn with the Army at *London*, in whatſoever they deſigned.

He endeavours to ſeduce the General's Secretary from his Service, but prevails not.

He alſo writ to Mr. *Clarke*, the General's Secretary, who was an active uſeful Inſtrument in his affairs, to ſeduce him from his Service; the truth is, the greateſt part of *Clarke*'s Eſtate was in *England*, and he was a man of ſo civil and ingenious a converſation, that he might have been the better excuſed in a Neutrality to both Parties, and his Intereſt did direct him to it. But he was reſolved to hazard all his Fortunes in the Generals bottom, and would not by threats or cunning, (which were both uſed by *Lilburn* to him) be prevailed with to quit his Party. For which his Fidelity and Conſtancy at this time, he was ever after ſo much eſteemed by the General, that he truſted him with his moſt ſecret tranſactions.

He intercepts the Generals Letters to Maj. Gen. *Morgan*.

Major General *Morgan* had lain long ſick of the Gout at *York*, and began about this time to recover his health. The Letter which *Monk* ſent to him was intercepted by *Lilburn*, which *Morgan* little reſented, but thought it adviſable ſo far to conceal his paſſion (till he might have convenient opportunity to get into *Scotland*) as to ſeem to *Lilburn* rather to diſlike than approve of the Generals proceedings.

Talbot and *Clarges* arrive at *Edenburgh*, and are well received by the General.

Colonel *Talbot* and *Clarges* came not to *Edenburgh* till the ſecond of *November*; they were both very well received by *Monk*, but eſpecially *Clarges*, being his Brother-in-law, with whom he had that night much Conference in private. The General wondred that *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* would ſend him, and thought it a good *Omen* to his ſucceſs, that he had him to aſſiſt his deſigns. *Clarges* frankly asked him what was the true end he aimed at in this Enterpriſe; telling him, that it was impoſſible for him to be ever truſted after this Rupture if he patched up a Peace with the *Engliſh* Army, and withal acquainting him that he obſerved a great Conſternation in the Officers and Souldiers as he paſſed, and that he believed many of them would fall off to him.

He diſcovers to *Clarges* ſome glimmering of his intention.

The General (as the moſt reſerved man then living) was in ſome trouble to be preſſed to diſcover his Intentions, and at that time opened himſelf no further than to let him know he was reſolved to endeavour to free his Native Country from the ſlavery it was under, and to effect it, he thought it one of the beſt Expedients would be to reſtore the Parliament; but in their Admiſſion to ſit (if it were by his Arms) he would make no difference betwixt them, but let in as well the Secluded Members as others. Having ſaid this, he conjured *Clarges* to ſecreſie, being very ſenſible that the jealouſie had on him by the Army was ſo great, (it having been often caſt in his diſh, by ſome of his ill-willers, that the King was in the bottom of his Deſigns) that all he could contrive, would be little enough to beget a Confidence, even in his own Party to engage with him.

The preſent condition of *Monk* for Money and Ammunition.

As to the preſent Condition of his Affairs, he acquainted him that he had about Seventy thouſand pounds in money, part whereof was already in his Treaſury, and the reſt would in a ſhort time be paid into it. And that all his Magazines were very well ſtored with Ammunition, Arms, and all other neceſſaries, and that he had in part modelled his Army fit for his purpoſes, and ſhould in a while perfect it. *Clarges* let him know, that the wants in *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*'s Army were very great, and that upon *Lambert*'s Expedition they were not able to advance one months Pay for his Army, which would make them by free-Quarter be very burthenſome and diſtaſtful to the Country. So that if by a Treaty, or any other means he could protract time, his buſineſs might be done without hazard. The General replied, That he thought the Overture of a Treaty from *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* might be improved to his great advantage, for he could not in a months time draw his men together. And that his ſending *Knight* with a Party to lodge at *Anwick*, was to make them think him in greater readineſs than he was, the more thereby to diſtract their Levies. The General then reſolved upon a Treaty, and the next Morning ſummoned his Chief Officers together, to nominate Commiſſioners, and to reſolve upon Inſtructions for them, he choſe to adviſe with his Officers in all theſe matters to free them from Suſpition. Colonel *Talbot* was very glad his Journey was ſo ſucceſsful to obtain a Treaty ſo eaſily. The General and his Officers met, and at the firſt Propoſition they conſented to the motion for a Treaty, and when he put them to name fit Perſons to be Commiſſioners, they referred it to him.

Lambert's Army in great want of Money.

Gen. *Monk* takes hold for his advantage of *Lambert*'s Overture for a Treaty.

He

Mr. *Knight* Col. *Clotherry*, and Col. *Wilks* made choice of to be the Generals Commissioners in this Treaty.

He then appointed Major *Knight*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Clotherry* to be two, and put it to them to name a third, and they proposed Colonel *Wilks*, who was reputed to be a good Religious man, and acceptable to *Fleetwood*, and the Officers in *England*. They then came to consider of Instructions, and were so hot in debate, that the question was not without much contest carried for allowing them a fortnights time for the Treaty. The General was perplexed in his mind at this; for he would not have them limited to time, because that was the only thing he wanted, yet he discovered no displeasure: however, in the rest of the Instructions, he so invented matter to confound their Debates, that they had no power given them to conclude any thing; and they were to insist on the restoring the *Parliament*: But if the Members should refuse to sit, then to debate of some other Form of Government. They were likewise to provide for an Act of Indemnity for all Acts done since the first of *October*, and to take care that the Arrears of such part of the *English* Assessment as was appropriated to the Pay of the Army in *Scotland*, should be forthwith paid; and that a Godly, Learned and Faithful Ministry, with competent maintenance, and other incouragements, should be continued in the Three Nations; the like regard being had to Schools and Universities, with many other matters sufficiently remote from the present Affair. Moreover, it was particularly inserted, That they should provide, that the Acts of the Army in *England*, should not be deemed the Acts of a General Council of the Army, without the Concurrence of the Officers of the Armies of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Their Instructions.

They meet *Lambert* at *York*, and began the Treaty there: but not agreeing, they set forward to *London*.

These Commissioners were hasted away, and *Lambert* was so far advanced with his Army, as to meet them at *York*, where he told them he had full Power from *Fleetwood*, the Officers of the Army, and the *Committee of Safety*, to treat and conclude with them of all differences. They seemed not averse to it, but when they began to enter upon the matter, and proposed the Restitution of the *Parliament*, he told them, *Fleetwood* and the Officers at *London* had agreed with him and his Officers not to conclude of any thing concerning that matter, without the common consent of all, and so they went forwards towards *London*. Nevertheless, as a thing previous to the Treaty, it was by both Parties accorded, that the Forces of neither should advance from their Quarters, and that there should be a free uninterrupted intercourse of Letters during the Treaty.

Monk's Army inferiour to *Lambert*'s in number, but better paid.

The Army of Horse and Foot with *Lambert* did amount to near twelve Thousand, and *Monk* had not above half the Number; nevertheless he had this advantage, that he paid all his Men, and the other did not. The way he had for providing Money, was very accidental: The late *Parliament* (so called) about the latter end of *June* (as is before expressed) had made a short Act to authorize the payment of a years Tax upon *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, appointed to be raised by one of *Cromwell*'s *Parliaments*: and they in that Act directed *One Moiety of Money to be paid the First of* August, *and the other the tenth of* October *following*. The Proportion for *Scotland* to pay of this Tax was Six Thousand pounds a Month; and in regard the Country was poor, and burthened with many other payments, the General writ to all the Commissioners of Shires, and indulged them so far as to grant them forbearance of payment till the tenth of *October* for the first Moiety, and two Months after for the rest, which they readily undertook to do, and performed it for the most part: And this he had represented so effectually by *Clarges* his Agent to the Parliament, that he got twenty thousand pounds in Money to be sent into *Scotland* towards the pay of his Army, till that money could be collected. And that was the bulk of all the Money he had in this undertaking; but it was increased by *Excise* and *Custome*, and other Duties; for after he declared, he seized on all. And of this we make the more particular mention in this place, because some, ignorant of these Transactions, have published, That the General had an *Assessment* raised for him at a Convention of the Nobility of *Scotland*; which was first invented by the Seditious in *England* to his prejudice, and afterwards, because uncontradicted, believed for a Truth.

Major Gen. *Morgan* takes his Journey into *Scotland* to Gen. *Monk*.

Lambert was informed by his confident *Lilburn*, that Major General *Morgan* (who had been some time sick of the Gout in *York*) was dissenting from General *Monk*'s Proceedings, and that he would be willing to go to him to dissuade him from the pursuit of them; and therefore he dealt with him to take a journey thither (on pretence of repairing to his Charge, which was then in *Scotland*) to use the credit he had with him to an Accommodation betwixt them: *Morgan* (who waited only for an occasion to get away) was glad of this Overture, and undertook to do his part in this business, so that at a days warning he began his Journey from *York* towards *Edenburgh*. He had with him one *Trowbeck*, a Chirurgeon (upon pretence of taking care of his health) a very subtile Intelligent Person, excellent in his Profession, and withal of great Discretion, and much beloved by the Souldiers of both Armies, and of considerable Interest among them. These got safe to *Edenburgh* about the seventh or eighth of *November*; and the coming of *Morgan* was a good Accession to *Monk*'s Party, and a great encouragement to all the Officers and Souldiers: For he was esteemed by them to be next the General, a Person of the best Conduct of any then in Arms in the Three Nations, having been near Forty years a Souldier, and present in the greatest Battels and Sieges of Christendom for a great part of that time; and particularly in *Flanders*, where he Commanded a Brigade of Foot, he acquitted himself to the astonishment of his Enemies, and the admiration of Marshal *Turenne*, and all the *French* Commanders in that Service with him. At his first coming to the General, he asked him aloud merrily, *If he would lay down his Arms, and be Friends with* Fleetwood *and* Lambert? To which he was answered by him, *If they would restore the* Parliament, *he had little more to say, and if he pleased, he might let them*

His joyning with *Monk*, a matter of much importance.

The Discourse betwixt the General and him at their first meeting.

them know as much. Morgan *replied, I promised to ask you the Question, but not to return to them that sent me, if you denied it: I am very glad I am here with you to assist you, and follow your Fortunes in all your undertakings; You know I am no Statesman; I am sure you are a lover of your Country, and therefore I will joyn with you in all your Actions, and submit to your Prudence and Judgment in the Conduct of them.*

This generous Friendship was kindly received by *Monk*, and it was the more valuable, in that it was done in a time when the Army in *England* was at its greatest height; and that in *Scotland* very inconsiderable in respect of the other, and not yet well settled; for a day or two before, one of the Troops of *Morgan*'s own Regiment ran over *Tweed* to *Lambert*.

He privately delivers a Letter to the General from Mr. *Bowles* a Minister of *York*.

In the evening *Morgan* was private with the General, and delivered him a Letter which he brought from Mr. *Bowles* a Minister of *York*, a very eminent Man of those parts, and of great Credit with my Lord *Fairfax*, and many others of good Note in that County, (*Clarges* being yet at *Edenburgh*, and consulted with in the business.) The Letter imported, *That the Lord* Fairfax, *and many others of good Interest in* Yorkshire, *were willing to joyn with the General, but that they disapproved of his* Declaration *which was restrained to the Restoring of that Part of the* Parliament *only which sate after the Seclusion of the rest; and was filled with many Protestations for the asserting of no other than a* Commonwealth *Government.* To this the General answered, *That* Clarges *could witness his Intentions in those Particulars, That what was printed in his name, was not (at that Conjuncture) to be regarded as the Result of his own Reason, because his Writings were drawn by other hands; and till his Affairs had a firmer Consistency, and he more Power in his hands, it was unseasonable for him to contradict what was done; since all that was writ could scarce prevail with the Army to believe he had not a design to set up the King in his Government.* The Conclusion of this was to send *Clarges* to *Fairfax*, *Rossiter*, and several others to engage them; it being thought expedient at the same time, to imploy all possible care to amuse the Parliament and Army, till the General could get a power in his hands to justifie other Counsels. *Clarges* was dispatched to *Bowles*, with a Letter of Credit to him, to cause a belief in him of what he should acquaint him with, on the part of the General, and another Letter to the same purpose to my Lord *Fairfax*, from whom he was to have an Address to *Rossiter* in *Lincolnshire*.

The effect of the Letter.

Clarges sent to *Fairfax*, *Rossiter*, and others to engage them to General *Monk*.

Col. *Talbot* prevailed upon by *Lambert* to take part with him.

Talbot knew nothing of these Traverses, but carried himself with much moderation all the time of his stay, and with so much profession of respect to the General, That he assured him, *If he would go to* London *and be a Neuter, he would preserve his Regiment for him*: Which he promised to do, but was afterwards by the importunity of *Lambert*, prevailed upon to act contrary to that Engagement, and (some think) to his own Inclinations; for he was esteemed by all that knew him to be a Person not averse to a better and more just Government than he at that time lived under, and was obliging to all the Gentry where he lived, that needed his assistance and help.

Capt. *Dean* Mr. *Caryll*, Col. *Whaley*, and *Goff* sent by *Fleetwood* to G. *Monk*.

Fleetwood could not conceal his fears; for the same Week that *Talbot* and *Clarges* were sent to endeavour a Reconciliation, before he had any return from them, Captain *Dean*, one of the Treasurers, and not long after, Mr. *Caryll* the Minister, with Colonel *Goffe* and *Whaley*, were sent to the General on the same Errand: Likewise Mr. *Hammond* and Mr. *Barker* were deputed in the name of the Independant Congregations in and about *London*, to mediate a Peace betwixt the two Armies.

Mean while, *Clarges* and *Talbot* took their leaves of the General to return home. The pretence of *Dean*'s coming into *Scotland* before *Caryll* and *Whaley*, was to look after his Charge; for he was one of the Treasurers at War; but he privately dispersed Tickets as he travelled, to seduce *Monk*'s Souldiers from him, bringing him withall a Letter from *Fleetwood*, which contained an Offer of what Command in the Army he should desire, upon the least private intimation of his inclining to take part with him. This made the General to believe there were some jealousies betwixt *Lambert* and him; which he might have improved to the breaking of one of them; but he chose the more generous way, and refused the Offer; letting him know, *He sought not himself, but the good of the Nations, and when that was obtained, he would rather lay the Command be had, down, than seek to enlarge it.*

Fleetwood by Letters courts *Monk* to side with him.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Barret* came at the same time from *Ireland* with a Letter from Sir *Hardress Waller*, *John Jones*, and the ruling people of that Country, (for *Ludlow* was then in *England*) declaring their Refusal to joyn with the General; letting him know by their said Letter, bearing date the fourth of *November*;

The ruling Faction in *Ireland* declare their resolution not to joyn with Gen. *Monk*.

That at a General Meeting of the Officers of the Irish *Army, they Unanimously resolved not to approve of the Resolution he had taken, which tended* (as they alledged) *to the Engaging of part of the Armies of these Nations against their Brethren, or the dividing of them in Interest or Affection; being well assured that such a Practice would be found in the Issue to be nothing else but the opening of a door for the* Common Enemy *to come in, (whatever Umbrage should be put upon it) and destroy those very Persons and Authority, on whose behalf their Affections inclined them to undergo very great difficulties.* Adding, *That they held it a Duty incumbent on them towards him (as their honourable Friend of whom they had a very high esteem) in the behalf of all the People of the Lord in these three Nations, to bear their Witness against any such Resolution or Practice, and to improve their utmost endeavours to prevent the same.*

Another Party in *Ireland* inclineable to the General.

The General was not at all discouraged at this return to his Civil Letters and Declaration sent thither, having at the same time received Advice from Cornet *Monk* by another hand, *That Sir* Charles Coot, *Sir* Theophilus Jones, *and a very considerable part of the Army were resolved to Assist him; That Sir* Hardress Waller *himself might in time be drawn*

drawn to joyn with them, and that he doubted not in a ſhort while to receive good effects of their endeavours.

Dean and *Barret* ſent back into *England* with a check.

But in the mean time, upon notice that *Dean* and *Barret* were active to withdraw the affections of the Souldiers from their Duties, they were thereupon ſent away from *Scotland* with a ſevere Rebuke; the General being unwilling to puniſh them by Impriſonment or any ſeverer courſe, becauſe they came to him on publick Buſineſs.

Theſe Men did much miſchief amongſt the Souldiers, who were many of them by their inveiglements ſeduced; two Troops of *Twiſleton*'s Regiment of Horſe, commanded by *Aſhley* and *Dean*, refuſed to joyn with the General, and thirty three of them were diſmounted, diſarmed and caſhiered, and Foot-Souldiers put on their Horſes; but fourty of *Dean*'s Troop with their Colours ran into *England*; and two Companies of Foot of the Regiment which came from St. *Johnſtons*, being quartered at *Dunbar*, had like to have been betrayed to *Newcaſtle* by one Captain *Guillim*, who had been lately of that Regiment, and was diſcharged; This *Guillim* procuring leave to go into *England*, came to *Dunbar*, where he made the Souldiers believe that he was by the General reſtored to his Command, and had order to ſecure Captain *Thompſon*, who then Commanded them, and to carry them in Boats to *Berwick*; ſome of the Sergeants ſo far gave Credit to him, that they placed a Guard upon *Thompſon*, whileſt he in the mean time was hiring Boats to carry them, and was ſo earneſt in it, that he would have taken any, though never ſo leaky, for their Conveyance: This put the Men into ſome jealouſie, inſomuch, that they deſired to ſee his Orders, whereupon he leaped upon his Horſe, and ran away.

Cap. *Guillim* endeavours to betray two Companies of the Generals men, but is found out.

The General takes care to reform his Regiments.

At *Sterlin*, a Troop of Colonel *Sanders* his Regiment were in the like Diſorder, and about thirty of the Men diſmounted, and others put in their places. This obliged the General to be more circumſpect in the reforming his Regiments; ſo that he diſcharged all the Officers whom he any way ſuſpected, and ſent them into *England*. In Colonel *Fairfax* his Reegiment eighteen Officers were diſplaced; and in moſt of the reſt ſome were put out, in all, to the number of ſevenſcore Perſons: Thoſe Regiments wherein leaſt alteration was made, were *Talbots* and *Reads*; the firſt, through the diligence of *Hubblethorn*, who a while after deſervingly, upon *Talbot*'s joyning with *Lambert*, had the Regiment conferred upon him; and the latter, by the Care and good Example of the Colonel, who was a Perſon that always loved and eſteemed the General.

Clarges excuſes Major Gen. *Morgan* to *Lambert*.

Lambert was much troubled when he heard that *Morgan* had deſerted him, and when *Talbot* and *Clarges* came to *York*, he complained of it as a kind of Breach of Faith, but was quickly by *Clarges* better ſatisfied: for he aſſured him, he heard him move General *Monk* to a Peace with him; but being Major-General of that Army, he could not refuſe to do his Duty, in ſtaying there where his charge was, ſince the Difference between the two Armies was not yet come to that degree, to make it beyond hopes of Reconciliation; and that he might rather further the ſame by his Preſence, than Abſence.

Clarges his Conference with Mr. *Bowles*

Clarges, as hath been already mentioned, had received a Letter to the Lord *Fairfax*, from the General, and ſome Inſtructions to *Roſſiter*, and ſeveral others; about which he was ſecretly to confer with *Bowles* the Miniſter at *York*, to whom alſo he brought a Letter of Credit, for what he ſhould propoſe to him; *Bowles*, with whom he had much Diſcourſe, deſired to be fully informed of the Generals Intentions, and was by *Clarges* ſo well ſatisfied in them, that he undertook to negotiate with the Lord *Fairfax*, Colonel *Bethel*, and ſeveral others in *Monk*'s behalf; and for Evidence of it, he adviſed him to ſtay privately in *York* till he went to confer with the Lord *Fairfax* at his Houſe at *Nun-Appleton*, ſix miles from thence, (that he might know what Advice to ſend into *Scotland*) which he accordingly did. And at his return, acquainted him, That *Fairfax* would riſe by the midſt of *January*, and he might be confident *Bethel* and *Smithſon* would joyn with him, who were men of good Intereſt, and well-beloved of the Souldiery in *Lambert*'s Army: On the other ſide, *Bowles* preſſed to know what expectations the General had from other places, and was by *Clarges* informed, that Colonel *Whetham* at *Portſmouth* was a great Friend to the General, and he doubted not, but he would take the firſt Opportunity he could to declare with that Garriſon for him, which he liked very well; for *Whetham* was a moderate Man. He told him likewiſe, that Colonel *Hacker* with his Regiment would raiſe ſome men in *Nottinghamſhire* and *Leiceſterſhire*, and Colonel *Hutchinſon*, and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* would joyn with them; and that *Okey* was labouring to make Diſturbances in *London* amongſt the Regiments there. *Bowles* at firſt was not well pleaſed that he ſhould make uſe of theſe Aids: but when he was acquainted by *Clarges* with the Reaſons which induced him to it, he was ſatisfied.

The firſt thing the General deſign'd, was to break *Lambert*'s Forces, to make himſelf Maſter of all the Armies; and to effect this, it was requiſite to refuſe no help, ſince the major part of the whole would be ſuch as he could make uſe of to model the reſt, to any purpoſe he ſhould imploy them in. Then they found out a ſecret Meſſenger to ſend with intimation of this Conference to *Monk*; and *Clarges* went towards *Lincolnſhire* to purſue his Negotiations; but about *Doncaſter* he had ſo grievous a fall from his Horſe, as he was riding Poſt, that his Life was deſpaired of; but after a little ſtay there, he was brought to a Village betwixt *Tuxford* and *Newark*, where he was forced to ſtay ten days ere he was able to travel; nevertheleſs, in the mean time he ſent Expreſſes ſeveral ways, and by the means of one *Briſtow*, a Confident of Colonel *Roſſiers*, he had opportunity to ſend to him, and had his Anſwer; which was, *That he would joyn with* Fairfax, *and do what he ſhould direct*. When he came to *Leiceſterſhire*, he heard nothing of *Haſlerig*, but that he had, in deſpair of doing any

Clarges Negotiations retarded by a Miſchance that befel him.

Hasilrig having promised Aid against *Lambert* withdraws for fear of giving incouragement to the Kings Party.

any thing, retired to *Woodstock*; and the Reason he gave for it, was, *That if he should raise Forces in his County, it might give occasion to the Kings Party to Arm, and thereby hazard the whole Cause; and that therefore it would be better to close with the Army in all their Exorbitances, than venture with so much danger to oppose it.*

Clarges was somewhat troubled at this Discouragement, but omitted not to proceed in his Endeavours; and thereupon sent to many of the Council of State, who were retired, to draw them privately to *London*, to assist with their Counsels, in promoting the Restauration of the Parliament; which he did upon observation amongst the Souldiers of *Lambert*'s Army, that they favoured much the Declaration of *Monk*, for restoring that Authority, and were only diverted from joyning with him against *Lambert*, upon a Jealousie of the Kings being in the bottom of his Design; which was often insinuated by the Council of Officers at *London*, in their publick and private Debates: So that in the immaturity of that time, nothing could more advance *Monk*'s purpose of subduing the *English* Army, than to beget a Confidence in them of his adherence to his Declaration.

Clarges deals with the Members of the late Council of State, to abet *Monk*'s Designs against *Lambert*.

A Conference between *Monk* and the Commissioners of the Independent Churches.

This Practise prevailed so far, as to get the Council of State together in *London*, where they had many private Meetings: but in the mean time, the Commissioners for the *Independent* Churches, which were sent into *Scotland*, were solicitous to divert *Monk* from the prosecution of the War; and so far the Business proceeded, that there was a Conference appointed with them at *Holy-rood-House*, where were present to treat with them, General *Monk*, Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Syler*, Doctor *Barrow*, the Judge Advocate of the Army, and Mr. *Gumble* one of the Generals Chaplains.

At this Conference, Mr. *Collins* an *Independent* Minister (who had been one of the Preachers of the late Council in *Scotland*) was admitted to be present as a Neuter.

The effect of Mr. *Caryl*'s Speech in the name of the Churches.

Mr. *Caryl* was the first that spoke, who in a long and studied Speech declared, *That the Commissioners had desired him to speak for them; That they all came, not to deliver their own Sense of the Generals Proceedings, but the Sense of the Churches*, (for so upon every occasion he called the *Independent* Congregations) *That the Churches had not given them Commission to enter into the Merits of the Cause, nor to Debate whether* Lambert's *Action of turning out the Parliament were justifiable or not; but only to present it to his Lordship as their Opinion; That though that Action could not be justified, yet his Lordship had not a Call to appear against it, in that manner he then did; That his Lordship had only in Charge to keep* Scotland *in quiet, and was not bound to take notice of any Differences that should happen in* England. *(Nor indeed could it reasonably be expected of him, he being in a place where he could not be supposed to have such true and timely Information, as was necessary in a Business of that Concernment)* He proceeded to shew Reasons why the General should go on no further, telling him, *That it would put a Strife amongst those that hitherto had been Brethren engaged all along in the same Cause, partakers in the same Dangers, and the same Successes amongst those that still in their Papers and all their Addresses called and owned one another for Brethren, and that at a very unseasonable time, whilest the* Canzonites *and* Peirrites *were in the Land:* And thereupon he took occasion to inlarge himself upon all the Advantages the King and his Party would reap by this Quarrel, and all the Dangers the People of God (for so he called his own Party) might run into; And at last by way of Aggravation, he told the General, *That what Inconveniences soever should happen, would be laid at his Door, in regard he would appear to have been the Beginner of the War.*

The General's Answer.

At this the General, in a little heat, interrupted him, shewing, *That the War was already begun by* Lambert *and his Party, who had offered violence to those, from whom they had all received their Commissions*; not sparing freely, and at large to lay open *their restless Instability, which would not suffer the three Nations to enjoy any settled Government at all, but keep them in a perpetual Circumvolution, till they were in danger to be brought to utter Ruine*; repeating much of their Declarations, and many of their Actions; and declaring, *That if they continued in that Course, he was resolved to oppose them to the uttermost, and would* (to repeat his own words) *lay them on their Backs.*

The Treaty ended between the Commissioners of the two Armies.

Caryl and his fellow Commissioners endeavoured to excuse that Expression of theirs, which stirred up the Generals anger; and *Barrow* on the Generals side, did qualifie and mitigate his Answer, not thinking it meet wholly to disoblige so considerable a Party as the *Independents*, as things stood at that time; and so by degrees Expressions came to be very calm on both sides, both being in expectation of the issue of the Treaty then on foot, between the Commissioners of the Army of *Scotland*, and those of the Army in *England*; but after this time there was no more Meetings, for upon News from *England*, that Matters were tending to Accommodation, these Commissioners thought their Business done, and made haste to return to *London*.

Clarges, disabled by his Fall, could not get soon enough to *London*, to prevent the hasty conclusion of the Treaty there, (which was concluded on the fifteenth of *November*) although he endeavoured by several Letters to Major *Knight*, one of the Commissioners, to prevent it, forasmuch as the rest of them were so prevailed on by the importunity of the English Officers, or else so terrified with their great Preparations, that he could not hinder the speed of it: As he came to *London*, he passed by *Cambridge*, and settled there a Correspondency with Mr. *Pradman*, one of the Fellows of *Kings Colledge*, by whose Care and Secrecy all his Packets were conveyed safe to *Scotland*, when all the ordinary wayes were obstructed. Mean while, being much troubled to find, that that very night he arrived at *London*, the Treaty betwixt the Commissioners on both parts was concluded, he seriously expostulated with the Commissioners about

about their precipitant proceeding, telling them what Progress he had made in his Negotiations, and that by the midst of *January* there would be in many places such strong Diversions made, that the General could not but obtain his Ends: That his Money would last till the beginning of *February*, and by that means his Men would be so united and encouraged, that if he did nothing but lye still, *Lambert*'s Army by their great wants which made them insupportable to the Country) must break off themselves.

Knight was very sensible of his Error in this hasty Conclusion, and the rest were so far convinced, that in their Letter of the sixteenth of *November*, to the General-Council of the Officers of the Army in *Scotland*, giving them an Account of the conclusion of the Treaty, they confess, they had exceeded their Instructions, out of a Suspition, as the Posture of Affairs then stood, that the Issue of the Difference, if longer continued, would not be to the Advantage of themselves, or of their Brethren of *England*, but of the *Common Enemy*.

The Agreement it self consisted of Nine Articles, which were expressed in the following words, *viz*,

The Articles of Agreement between the *Commissioners* of the two Armies.

1. *That we will to the uttermost of our Powers, in our several Capacities, oppose the Interest and pretended Right of* Charles Stewart, *in and to the Government of these Nations, as also of all and every Person claiming a Right or Title to the said Government, or any share therein; together with, under or from him, or any other Person or Persons pleading or pretending such a Right or Title, by virtue of his or their descent from the same Line with him.*

2. *That we will not give our consent unto, but will oppose to our utmost Power, the setting up of any* Single Person *whatsoever, in the place of and and for the Chief Magistrate of these Nations; and will endeavour to our utmost, that the Government of these Nations may be setled in the way of a* Free-State, *or* Commonwealth, *without a* Single Person, Kingship *or* House of Lords.

3. *That no form of Government shall be determined of, and asserted by any part of the Army, as the Supreme Legislative Authority of this* Commonwealth, *and the Territories thereunto belonging, without the Approbation and Consent of a* General-Council *of the Officers of the Army and Navy of this* Commonwealth; *which* General-Council *shall consist of two* Commission-Officers *for each Respective Regiment, chosen by the* Commission-Officers *of the said Regiment, or by the Major part of them who can conveniently meet together; and likewise such Governours of Garrisons as are not Regimented, and can conveniently be spared, may be called to the said Council, and ten Officers of the Fleet, chosen by a Council of the Officers of the Fleet; and that the* Quorum *shall be thirty one, and the day of their Meeting to be the sixth of* December *next at* White-Hall *in the Old Council-Room.*

4. *That a* Parliament, *or a Supreme Delegated Authority of this* Common-wealth, *be with all possible speed Constituted and Summoned in such manner and form as shall be by the aforesaid* General-Council *agreed unto; and the Qualifications of the Members thereof, to be agreed on by the Lord* S. John, *the Lord* Warriston, *Lieutenant-General* Ludlow, *Sir* Henry Vane, *Lord* Whitlock, *Sir* James Harrington, *Major* Salway, *Colonel* George Thompson, *Colonel* Berry *and Mr.* Scot; *together with the Lord* Steel, *Colonel* Barrow, *and Lieutenant-Colonel* Dobson, *as Commissioners for the Army in* Ireland; *and three Commissioners for the Army in* England, *to be appointed thereunto; with the three Commissioners for the Army of* Scotland, *whereof the* Quorum *to be Nine.*

5. *That the Proportion of Money out of the* Assessments *of* England, *formerly appointed for the Supply of the Forces of* Scotland, *be duly paid and no further stop upon the same, but that it may be returned by* Bills *of* Exchange, *or otherwise with all convenient speed, and any former Order and Orders to be made void.*

6. *That the case of the Officers of the Army of* England *and* Scotland, *that are suspended or displaced, or that have laid down their Commissions since the Eleventh of* October *last, only by reason of the precedent Differences, be determined by fourteen Commissioners of the Army in* England *and* Scotland, *or the major part of them; the one half of the said* Commissioners *to be chosen by the* Council of Officers *in* England, *and the other half, of the* Council of Officers *in* Scotland; *and that forthwith the said* Officers *be discharged from their Imprisonments or Confinements. The Day of Meeting of of the said Commissioners, to be the first day of* December *next, and the place of their Meeting to be at* Newcastle *upon* Tyne.

7. *That no Officer, or Souldier, or other Person of these Nations, that have acted in the late Differences betwixt the late* Parliament *and the* Army, *or between any of the Forces of this* Commonwealth, *for or against each other, relating to any Difference, since the tenth of* October *last, be questioned for the same, but fully indemnified, and all Unkindness to be put in perpetual Oblivion.*

8. *That a Godly, Learned, and Faithful Ministry, with competent Maintenance, and other Incouragement, be continued in the three Nations, and that the Universities and Schools of Learning be so Countenanced and Reformed, as that they may become the Nurseries of Piety and Learning.*

9. *That the Forces of Horse and Foot respectively, both of* England *and* Scotland, *that have been drawn forth by reason of the late Difference, shall forthwith March to such Quarters in both Nations where they may best secure and preserve the Peace of the* Common-wealth, *against the Enemies thereof; and that there be no further difference or appearance of difference amongst Us.*

We the Commissioners hereunto appointed and authorized by General Monk, *and the General Council of Officers in* Scotland, *do this fifteenth of* November, 1659. *in the name, and on the behalf of the said General* Monk, *and General Council of Officers in* Scotland, *fully Consent and agree to the aforementioned Agreement, and*

and every part thereof, and do engage our ſelves and every of us to the full performance of the ſame.

Preſent as Witneſſes, *Signed,*
Tim. Wilkes,
R. Barrow, R. Brown, R. Knight,
Edw. Smith, Jo. Cloeberry.

Signed as the Agreement of the General Council of Officers of the Army met at Wallingford-Houſe *the fifteenth of* November, 1659. *And I do for my ſelf, and in the name of the ſaid General Council, conſent to the aforementioned agreement, and every part thereof, and do engage to the full performance of the ſame.*

Witneſſes, *Signed,*
R. Barrow, Edw. Swift,
Bry. Leavens, Ro. Brown. Ch. Fleetwood.

Wallington and *Lloyd*, two Captains of the *Engliſh* Army at *London*, were ſent with this Agreement to General *Monk* to put it in Execution; and as they went, Major *Cambridge* of *Lambert*'s Army was ſent by him in their Company. But *Clarges* was careful to ſend a Copy of it to him ſome days before they arrived; and the General was in much perplexity at the Receipt of it, as that which diſtracted his Deſign almoſt paſt recovery; he was reſolved not to accept of it, but could not well tell how to decline it.

The General conſults how he might with the handſomeſt pretence refuſe his Aſſent to theſe Articles.

To take any pretence from thoſe Articles which excluded the King's Government, would confirm the ſuſpicion which was fomented of his ſecret Intentions for the Royal Family; and to ground his Diſſent from the Subſcription of the Commiſſioners, where they aſſume an authority (which they never had) and undertook for the performance of that Agreement for the General and all his Officers would not be thought material enough to continue the breach betwixt them; That which was moſt plauſible, was to break it upon the Sixth Article, where it was provided, *That all the Officers diſplaced by General* Monk, *might be in a Capacity of being reſtored to other Commands; and all thoſe put by him in their place* (wherein his ſtrength conſiſted) *be removed*; he called together a few of his Confidents to adviſe what to do; theſe were Major General *Morgan*, Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Lydcott*, Doctor *Barrow*, and Mr. *Gumble*; *Lydcott* was admitted, becauſe he was from a private Captain newly preferred to the Command of *Cobbet*'s Regiment, and therefore by intereſt ſuppoſed to be averſe to this Agreement. The General and theſe Gentlemen having had much diſcourſe of the buſineſs, they all thought it fit to diſapprove of the Agreement, but differed in the manner; but at laſt it was by *Barrow* propoſed, and agreed to by the General and the reſt, That they ſhould not declare a poſitive diſſent to what their Commiſſioners had done; but urge, that there was ſomething untreated of, further to be agreed upon; and ſome of thoſe things conſented to by their Commiſſioners, which without further explication, could not ſtand with their Declaration or Inſtructions; and that therefore it ſhould be deſired, that two more might be allowed to be added to their Commiſſioners, to meet a like number of theirs to be thereunto authorized, to put a more abſolute period to their differences.

Lloyd and others ſent with a Letter to the Officers at *London*.

The ſame Evening, *Wallington*, *Lloyd* and *Cambridge* arrived; and the next morning at a General Council of Officers at *Edenburgh*, when the Agreement was communicated to them, they were ſo artificially prepared, that they unanimouſly diſreliſhed it, and a Letter was framed, which they all ſubſcibed, to the ſame purpoſe with what was agreed on the day before, and *Lloyd* and thoſe with him went with it to *London*.

Mr. *Atkins* and Colonel *Markham* ſent by the General with a Letter to the City of *London*.

The City of *London* was very much diſcontented at the *Committee of Safety*, and *Fleetwood* became doubtful of them: But to heighten them the more, General *Monk* ſent a Letter to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, which was delivered to them by Mr. *Atkins* and Colonel *Markham*, about the ſeventeenth or eighteenth of *November*: wherein he acquainted them,

The Effect of the ſaid Letter.

That at the firſt notice he had of the Force upon the Parliament, *he had ſent a Letter to them, declaring his Reſolution to endeavour their Re-eſtabliſhment, and that his Army was very Unanimous to concur with him in it; but that Letter miſcarrying, he had with the advice of his Officers now again written to them, to let them know, they were conſtant to their firſt Reſolution; and were the more confirmed in it, for being informed that the Authors of that Force had proceeded ſo far as to null and make void ſome* Acts of Parliament; *(which the King when he was at the higheſt, never attempted to do, and which no true* Engliſhman *can endure to ſee done, by any but* Parliaments *themſelves) and after they had ſubverted the Foundation of an ancient Government, were contriving by their own Power and Authority to ſet up a new Government over the Nation*, Adding, *that if this ſhould be ſuffered, he knew not to what purpoſe ſo much Blood had been ſpilt, ſo much Treaſure ſpent, and ſo many Engagements made; They muſt take upon themſelves the Guilt of all, and look upon this Slavery they had brought upon themſelves, as a Judgment upon them for their Murthers, Rapines and Perjuries*: He proteſted *to aim only at the reſtoring* Parliaments *to their former Freedom and Authority, and the People to their Juſt Rights and Liberties; in which he expected to be ſure of their Aſſiſtance. As to Religion*, he told them, *he intended not that thoſe that truly feared God, ſhould be abridged of their Worſhip, but he ſhould be unwilling that ſome under pretence of maintaining that Liberty, ſhould endeavour the overthrow of National Miniſtry, and by conſequence leave the greateſt part of the People to utter Ignorance and Atheiſm*: Concluding nevertheleſs, *That Religion was not that about which he did at preſent contend, being deſirous to leave that to the Conſideration of the* Parliament, *for the Defence whereof, he and thoſe with him were reſolved to venture to the utmoſt; and if he ſhould miſcarry through want of their timely aid, it would be too late for them by their own*

own strength to assert their Freedom; And if he succeeded, it would be dishonourable for so Famous a City, and so much Concerned, that its Liberty should be asserted without its own help: inciting them *therefore now whilest so great an Army is waiting on him in the* North, *to use their Endeavours in the* South, &c.

The Letter look't upon as fictitious, and the Messengers imprisoned.

This Letter was dated the 12th of *November* at *Edenburgh*, and did so much incense the *Committee of Safety*, that the Gentlemen who delivered it were put into Custody: And the more to aggravate the business, *Monk*'s Commissioners were either so imprudent, or so unsincere, as to declare, *That they believed the Letter was fictitious*; which made the City less active in pursuance of the Contents of it.

Whilest things were thus traversed in *London*, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, and all the Officers in *England*, could not dissemble their Confusion of Mind upon *Monk*'s refusal to ratifie the Treaty, and sending for a Blank Pass to insert new names of additional Commissioners; and many Expostulatory Letters passed betwixt them about it, but more especially betwixt *Lambert* and his Officers, and him; for they were very apprehensive, that this motion of a Blank Pass for adding to their Commissioners, or the naming of new ones, was only meant to gain time; but at last they did consent to it, though it never came to any effect, as shall be hereafter discovered.

Nine of the Old *Council of State* meet.

Nine of the old *Council of State* met privately in *London* the nineteenth of *November*, they a little resented, that General *Monk*'s Commissioners did not communicate their Counsels with them, yet omitted not to give him all the encouragement they could; And in order thereunto, one Captain *Elmes*, with *Horton* a Servant of Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*'s was sent with a Letter to him to *Scotland*; wherein they signified,

And send a Letter to the General.

That his faithful Actions in discharge of his Trust and Duty to that Parliament, and for the good of the Three Nations and Posterity in these Times of so great Hypocrisie and Defection, was most gratefully acknowledged by them; and they assured him, his Service was exceedingly well resented by all sober and interessed persons, that love a Commonwealth; *and that he might be confident, that they would adhere to him, and to their utmost promote the good Cause which he had hitherto with so much Wisdom and Courage highly owned, and that it was their Resolution to stand and fall with him in defence thereof; and that they would, as occasion should offer it self, the Lord enabling, be assisting to him according to his Declaration for removing the Force from this* Parliament, *that so they may Sit with Freedom, and, by Gods blessing, lay a Foundation of a happy and lasting Settlement.*

This Letter was Subscribed by

Tho. Scot, President,	*Arthur Hazlerig*,
Herbert Morley,	*Valentine Walton*,
Robert Reignolds,	*Anth. Ashley Cooper*,
Robert Wallop,	*Josias Berners*.
Henry Nevil,	

This was a great Encouragement to the Officers in *Scotland*; for the wisest of them did conclude from these appearances of Action at *London*, that their Party was increased in *England*, imagining that otherwise they durst not have so openly acted.

The Parliament party begin busily to appear against *Lambert* and his Faction.

Colonel *Whetham* at *Portsmouth* was labouring to frame a Design of declaring for General *Monk* with that Garrison; and Colonel *Morley*, *Walton*, and *Hazlerig* went privately towards him to Treat about it: But before they went, the *Council of State*, at another Meeting before the time appointed by *Parliament* for their continuance was expired, framed a Commission, wherein they constituted General *Monk* Absolute Commander in Chief of all the Armies in *England* and *Scotland*, which was Dated the 24th of *November*, sealed with their Seal, and left in the hands of *Clarges*, till a safe Messenger might be sent with it to him.

As soon as *Fleetwood* had received General *Monk*'s Letters against the Ratification of the Treaty, and his desire to have two more Commissioners added to his, to renew the Treaty at *Newcastle*, *Wilks*, *Clotherty*, and *Knight*, the Commissioners had their dispatch, and a Pass to license their repair thither; But before they got to *Newcastle*, at a Meeting of all *Lambert*'s Officers, a Letter was framed, and sent by Colonel *Zanchy* to General *Monk*'s Officers, and one from *Lambert* to the General himself.

The effect of a Letter from *Lambert*'s Officers to *Monk*'s.

In that from the Officers they write, *That they had advised their General to acquaint General* Monk, *that if he pleased to appoint two Commissioned Officers of his Army to be added to those already in* England, *and signifie their Names to him, a safe Conduct should be forthwith given to them; but withall, That nothing in the Agreement be parted from, nor any new matter, or further explanations admitted, which are not consentaneous to what is already concluded; And that the General Council (agreed upon in the third Article of the Agreement at* London) *to meet upon the sixth of* December, *may accordingly hold their meeting.* And in a *Postscript* to this Letter, they complained of the detention of Colonel *Cobbet*, who, they said, was a Publick Messenger, and desired therefore he might enjoy his Priviledge accordingly, except by some miscarriage he had forfeited the same. Colonel *Zanchy* was very kindly receiv'd by General *Monk* and all his Officers, and they met together with all convenient haste to give him his dispatch; acquainting him, *That they should not disown any thing in that Agreement that was conformable to the Instructions by which their Commissioners were authorized; but what should appear to be beyond, they insisted to have it Treated on and explained. As to the third Article, mentioned in their Letter, they would not admit of any meeting in pursuance of it, till the whole should be concluded.* And concerning *Cobbet*, they alledged, *That he came not to* Scotland *as a Publick Messenger, but as a Colonel to Command a Regiment (after his Commission had been vacated by the Parliament, the day before their Interruption) and without any leave from General* Monk; *And that the General had intimation from a Person of Credit, That he had a*

The Conference of *Monk* and his Officers with Colonel *Zanchy*.

design to seduce the Army from their obedience, if not to seize on his Person. This Letter was signed the 7th of *December* at night, and the next day Colonel *Zanchy* was to have returned with it to *Newcastle*, but upon Intelligence received, that a Party of *Lamberts*, consisting of three Regiments of Horse, and a Regiment of Dragoons, with two Drakes was marched into *Northumberland*, and that sixty Dragoons had possessed themselves of *Chillingham* Castle, near the *Scotch* Borders, the Colonel was staid; and the General, at three of the Clock the next morning, marched out of *Barwick*, and sent order to draw his Forces together toward *Coldstream*, a very convenient Pass upon the *Tweed*, where he settled his Head-Quarters. A little before this, his own Commissioners were come to him to *Barwick*, where he confined Colonel *Wilks* for discovering, or at least not pursuing some private Instructions; but after a while he was released, upon satisfaction that what he did was out of Ignorance, and not Malice.

Col. Whetham at Portsmouth declares for Monk.

Colonel *Whetham* at *Portsmouth*, very generously declared for General *Monk*, with that Garrison, after he had secured Captain *Peacock*, and Captain *Brown*, and some other refractory Officers, that he was jealous of.

Commissioners from the several Shires and Burroughs of *Scotland* wait upon the General at *Barwick*.

Commissioners from the several Shires and Burroughs of *Scotland*, being summoned to wait upon the General, and he having appointed them to be at *Barwick* the thirteenth of *December*, he came on that day thither to meet them accordingly, releasing *Zanchy*, and sending by him a Letter to *Lambert*, wherein he acquainted him, he would by the next Post more fully inform him of his Resolutions.

The *Scotch* Commissioners appointed five to attend the General, and treat with him, which were the Earls of *Glencairne*, *Rothes*, *Weems*, and *Eglington*, and Mr. *Alexander Bruce*. These presented a Paper to the General, consisting of five Proposals.

Their Propositions.

1. *That the Lord General may be pleased to appoint a Committee in each Shire, for regulating the Affairs thereof, in order to his Lordships Commands, and their own preservation.*

2. *That his Lordship will allow each Shire presently to raise (for the securing the Peace, and their own safety) some small proportion of Horse, under the Conduct of such Persons as his Lordship shall think fit to trust.*

3. *That his Lordship will declare, for the greater encouragement of the Shires, at the return of their Commissioners, if the Treaty shall break up, and take no effect, immediately upon the notice thereof, that he did authorize the Shires to put themselves in the best posture they can for his Assistance, and their own Defence.*

4. *That for the said effect, his Lordship will be pleased to furnish each Shire with some proportion of Arms, upon payment of just Rates thereof, within one Months time after the Receipt of them.*

5. *That all Gentlemen who are free to comply with his Lordships desires, may for themselves and Servants have Liberty to carry their Arms.*

The General adviseth with his Officers about them.

The General, upon the receipt of this Paper, advised with some select Officers about an Answer to it, *viz.* Colonel *Fairfax*, Major *Jeremiah Smith*, Colonel *Lydcot*, Colonel *Read*, and Doctor *Barrow*. And the chief Question debated on, was, whether they should permit the *Scots* to Arm for their Assistance? Colonel *Read* was for Arming them: He argued, that it was a common danger, and they ought to make use of any aid that could be obtained for their defence. The General himself told them, That if he should draw all the men from his Garrisons, he could make his numbers of Foot quickly equal to *Lamberts*, but he had hitherto declined that, being unwilling to put *Scotland* out of *English* hands, and that he doubted not, if he could get a few more Horse than he had, even with those Foot he had without weakening his Garrisons, he should well enough defend himself against *Lambert*.

Others were of opinion, that although they should not imploy whole Troops, or Companies of *Scots*, yet they might safely mingle a good party of them with the English. But Doctor *Barrow* was against all motions of Arming the *Scots* at that time, believing if it were done, many of their own men might desert them, but if the General would take any opportunity, though it were but to beat up any of *Lambert*'s Quarters, so that they might once come to *Blood*, that the devision being likely to increase after such an action, he might then strengthen himself with what Accessions he pleased. Nevertheless, he moved that some privately might confer with the leading men of the *Scotch* Gentry, to try if they would be brought to provide any numbers of Horses, on which the General might mount *English* to reinforce his own Troops. This last was approved as to the main Question; but upon the whole debate, they agreed upon particular Answers to every Article in the Generals name.

The Generals Answer to the *Scots* Propositions.

1. To the First, *That he would authorize the Noblemen and Justices of the Peace of each County with the Advice and Consent of the Governour of the next adjacent Garrison, to put in execution such Orders and Commands as his Lordship shall give for securing the Peace of the County.*

2. To the Second, *That he would allow the Counties next adjacent to the* High-Lands, *viz. to the County of* Dumbarton *and* Sterlin, *Forty men to bear Arms; To the County of* Perth, *Forty men in Arms; To the County of* Forfar *and* Kinkardine, *Forty men in Arms; And to the County of* Aberdeen, *Forty men in Arms, which are to be a Guard for the security of the said Counties against Thieves and Robbers. And for the rest of the Shires, his Lordship would take care, if he should have occasion to remove farther out of* Scotland: *And he would allow the Heritors of the above-named Shires, to make choice of a fit Person to Command the said respective Guards; They giving Security to the Governour of the next adjacent Garrison, for their Fidelity and good behaviour, in Six hundred Pounds* Sterling.

3. To the third, *His Lordship deferr'd his Answer, till the Issue of the Treaty now intended*

intended between him and the English Army.

4. To the Fourth, *That he would furniſh them with fit means for their defence, whenſoever he ſhould apprehend their Peace and Safety to be in imminent danger.*

5. To the Fifth, *Such Noblemen and Gentlemen as ſhould ſubſcribe to live peaceably, and Act nothing to the prejudice of* England, *ſhould have liberty with Paſſes to wear their Swords, and have four Servants armed for their Attendants.*

Glencarn's Arguments to the General, for arming the *Scots* to his aſſiſtance.

At a Conference with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, upon the delivery of theſe Anſwers to their Propoſitions, they ſeemed unſatisfied with them, and the Earl of *Glencarne* in the name of the reſt, told the General, *Since they were willing to hazard their Perſons and Eſtates with him, they hoped he would not deny them to Arm for his Aſſiſtance and their own Safety, ſince if he ſhould engage and be worſted, they ſhould be expoſed to great ruine for their Affection and Reſpect to him, from which otherwiſe, by a Neutrality, they might be ſecure.* To which he anſwered, *That if that ſhould happen, they ſhould then Arm to what numbers they pleaſed.* To this the Earl Replied, *That the Country were now willing to riſe in Confidence of his Conduct and Courage, but if his Force ſhould be defeated, they would not be perſwaded to it. And beſides, they could not under ſix weeks time make their Levies. And if permiſſion were now denied, the Enemy, if Victorious, would be in their Bowels before they ſhould be in a poſture of Defence.*

The *Scotch* Nobility depart home from *Barwick.*

The cautious General would not be prevailed on with theſe Arguments, and ſo they departed, he returned to *Coldſtream* to his Quarters, and the *Scotch* Noblemen and Gentlemen to their ſeveral Countries.

They had abſolutely refuſed the raiſing any Horſe to mount *Engliſh*, yet this came to no breach between them and the General, in regard, before they left *Barwick*, the General acquainted them with Intelligence he had received from *England*, of the diſtractions in the Engliſh Armies and other Affairs, which made them to fear leſs than before, their own peace at home, and ſo all parted with mutual reſpect.

The General prepares to make defence againſt *Lambert*, if occaſion were.

After this meeting, the General was contriving how to break off the Treaty with *Lambert*, which he had hitherto, not without great Artifice delayed; but he conſidered, that as ſoon as that ſhould be done, *Lambert* would march towards him, and therefore he made preparation to fight him, if occaſion ſhould urge him to it. In order to which, he ſent an expreſs to *Clarges*, to provide him ſome good Horſe-Officers, and ſend them by Sea in a nimble Bark. Mean while, in *Northumberland* the *Oagles* raiſed him two compleat Troops, and more Horſe were raiſing. He increaſed his number of Pikes in each Company, to be equal to his Muſquets, as thereby to be better able to make defence againſt Horſe, in which *Lambert*'s greateſt ſtrength was placed.

What advantages he had againſt *Lambert*'s Army.

Coldſtream was nine miles from *Barwick* upon the *Tweed*, and he had quartered all his men ſo conveniently, that he could draw them all together in ſix hours; for the Villages are much thicker upon the *Scotch* than *Engliſh* Borders. And if *Lambert* marched towards him, the Villages in *Northumberland* being thin, he muſt have quartered at ſuch diſtance, that his men would have been expoſed to great hazard of being often diſturbed in their Quarters. And if he had marched to fight, the General, being upon the defenſative part, could have brought as many hands to action as he. Or if he had marched to *Carliſle*, to have invaded *Scotland* that way; *Monk* would then have marched directly to *London*, and ſhould have been two or three days march before him. Or if he had divided his Army, the General would have preſently fallen on the neareſt part to him. In this poſture he lay at *Coldſtream*, when he received Intelligence from *Clarges*. "That there "were many great differences in *London*, be- Differences between the City of *London* and the Armies Party there. "twixt *Fleetwood* and the City. That the Ap- "prentices, and ſeveral others in favour of him, "had many Conſultations to make diſturbances; "that they were framing a Petition to the Lord "Mayor and Common-Council, to preſs their "Interpoſition for the reſtoring the *Parliament*, "and preſervation of Magiſtracy, which was "endeavoured to be ſuppreſt by the *Committee* "*of Safety*, who emitted a Proclamation to pro- "hibit all gathering of hands to Petitions, "which incenſed the young Men ſo much (be- "ing fomented by wiſer heads) that they roſe "in many places in a tumultuous manner. "And thereupon, Colonel *Hewſon* was ſent into "*London* to ſuppreſs them, whereby a rumour "was raiſed, that the Souldiers came to plun- The Souldiers affronted by the Apprentices, not without Blood-ſhed. "der them, and all Shops were ſhut up, and "many reproachful Words paſſed in the "Streets, between the Souldiers and Appren- "tices, to that heat of Paſſion, that two of the "Apprentices were ſlain, and about twenty "wounded, and the reſt for that time diſper- "ſed. But the Souldiers were ſo vilified, "ſcom'd and hiſs'd, that they were aſhamed to "march, and many Officers when they went "into the City, durſt not wear Swords for "fear of affronts, and that many of the Pri- "vate Souldiers, eſpecially the Horſe, wiſhed "themſelves with him; Captain *Izod*, and Oppoſitions from all parts increaſe againſt *Lamberts* faction. "others, being active to draw them from "*Fleetwood*'s Party. That he had ſent Captain "*Goodwin* with ſome Horſe-Officers to him by "Sea to *Barwick*, and that *Goodwin* had his "Lordſhips Commiſſion for Commander in "Chief, of all the Armies in *England* and "*Scotland*. And that he had treated with "Mr. *Phillip Howard*, who had undertaken to "raiſe an hundred Gentlemen well armed and "mounted in *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, "on Condition to Command them for his Life- "Guard, which he had promiſed his Lord- "ſhip ſhould conſent to; but that juſt as he "was preparing for his journey, he was taken "with the Small Pox, but his Elder Brother "in the mean time, had writ and undertook "to promote the Levies of the Men; that he "had treated with Colonel *Redman*, a gallant "Horſe-Officer, and Colonel *Bret*, who had "been both by *Ludlow* removed from their "Commands, to draw off the *Iriſh* Brigade

" from *Lambert*, many of the men having been " before Commanded by them, and therefore " eaſily perſwaded; and that Colonel *Morley*, " Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, and Colonel *Walton* " were active in *Portſmouth*, and alll the Foot " which were ſent to beſiege that Town, had " ſeized on their Officers, and carried them Pri- " ſoners into it, and five Troops of Colonel " *Rich* his Regiment, and two of Colonel *Ber-* " *ries* were come in to them; That thoſe of " *Berries* were commanded by Colonel *Crook*, " who was lately their Major, and is ſent into " the Iſle of *Wight*, where his Forces are increa- " ſed to ſeven Hundred: And at *Taunton*, and " ſeveral other places, there was great defection " amongſt all the Souldiers; That Sir *Michael* " *Livſey* in *Kent* had raiſed two Regiments, " and Colonel *Gibbons* was joyned with him, " and Vice-admiral *Lawſon* had with two and " twenty Sail declared for the *Parliament*, and " was come into the *Hope*, ſtopping up the River " of *Thames*. And the *Block-houſes* near *Graveſ-* " *end* on both ſides the River, had alſo declared, " That the Lord Mayor and ſeveral Aldermen, " have had many ineffectual Treaties with *Fleet-* " *wood*, and the Chief of the Army, and Com- " mittee of Safety; the City demanding the " management and conduct of their own Mili- " tia, and the Inſtant Reſtauration of the *Par-* " *liament*, or the calling another, which are re- " fuſed to them, and the diſcontents thereby " much augmented.

A Letter of Advice from *Monk* to *Lambert*.

Upon Receipt of theſe Letters, the General writ to *Lambert*, by Major *Bannifter*, one of the Officers at *Barwick*, acquainting him, *That ſince his Laſt by* Zanchy, *he had certain Advice, That three of the Commiſſioners appointed by Act of Parliament, for the Government of the Army, were now in* Portſmouth, *acting by vertue of the ſame Authority, upon which he Acted, and declaring for the ſame ends: And that he and the Army were thereby obliged in Honour and Duty, to take their Advice and Conſent in all Affairs that relate to the Cauſe they are now engaged in, which he doubted not, but he would judge reaſonable and neceſſary; and therefore he deſired a ſafe Conduct for the Major, to acquaint them with what had paſſed in the ſeveral Overtures betwixt them; but withall, he told him freely, he could not think it adviſeable to proceed further in Treaty (and he expected the other Commiſſioners would be of the ſame mind) till he remanded all thoſe Troops he had ſent into* Northumberland, Cumberland, *and* Weſtmoreland, *during that time.*

The Treaty between *Monk* and *Lambert* broke off.

Lamberts Party daily decreaſe upon the appearance of the *Portſmouth* Commiſſioners.

Lambert upon advice with his Officers would not let *Bannifter* paſs, but ſent him back to *Barwick*, for he began now plainly to perceive, that the General intended nothing leſs than to treat further; whereupon both ſides prepared for War: but *Lambert* was ſo daily alarm'd with the ſucceſs of the Commiſſioners at *Portſmouth*, and the daily ſubmiſſion of ſeveral Troops and Companies of men, that he thought it more neceſſary to march *Southward* to aſſiſt his Friends in *London*, than hazard Battel with General *Monk*.

Fleetwood, and the reſt of the Committee of Safety were in no leſs diſorder than *Lambert*, but that which moſt amuſed them, was the Declaration of *Lawſon* with his Fleet for the Parliament (*which was chiefly tranſacted by the endeavours of Colonel* Streater, *an Active Inſtrument for the King in all theſe Revolutions, who was fore'd to fly thither upon diſcovery of a Deſign he had to ſeize on the Tower*) for they thought themſelves ſure of *Lawſon*, and by his defection (added to the reſt) their Authority came to be generally deſpiſed, even by their own Souldiers, ſo that they abandoned all; and *Fleetwood*, with great contrition and ſubmiſſion, in behalf of his Confederates, ſent to the Speaker to deſire him to ſend to the reſt of the Parliament Members, and with them to return to the exerciſe of their Truſt and Power for the Government of the Nation; acknowledging, That *the Lord had blaſted their Counſels*, and (to repeat his own words) *ſpit in their faces.*

Fleetwood ſubmits, and deſires the Members to ſit again.

Upon this ſeveral Members met privately in the *Speakers* Houſe, and gave Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Markham*, Colonel *Allured*, and Colonel *Moſs* orders to draw the Regiments about *Weſtminſter* to a Rendezvouze in *Lincolns-Inne-fields*; which being performed accordingly, the Souldiers declared to live and die with the Parliament, and marched down *Chancery-lane*, where at the *Rolls* they made a halt till the Speaker came to them, and received their acknowledgements, and from thence by his Orders, they went to their Quarters, having firſt from him received the *Word*.

Several Regiments, being drawn up in *Lincolns-Inne-fields*, declare for the late Members.

And two days after, that is to ſay, on the twenty ſixth of *December*, in the Evening, the Speaker and the Members of Parliament, reſumed the Government, and ſate in the Parliament-Houſe, having met firſt at *White-hall* in the Council-Chamber, from whence they went on foot through *Chanon-Row* (the Mace being carried before the Speaker) to *Weſtminſter-hall*, where as they paſs'd, the Souldiers upon the Guard ſtood in Ranks, and made acclamations. At their firſt meeting, They Ordered Colonel *Alexander Popham*, Colonel *Thompſon*, Mr. *Scot*, Colonel *Okey*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Colonel *Matthew Allured*, and Colonel *Markham*, *or any three of them, to order, direct, and Conduct the Forces of the Army, and all other Forces, and to Command the ſame to ſuppreſs all Tumults, Inſurrections, and Rebellions, and all ſuch Forces which ſhall oppoſe or reſiſt the Command of the Parliament, and to obſerve ſuch Orders and Directions as they ſhould receive from time to time from the Parliament, or the Commiſſioners appointed by Act of Parliament, to Command the Army, or any three of them, till they ſhall come to* London *or* Weſtminſter, *or until the Parliament ſhall take further order.*

They take their Seats again in the Parliament Houſe.

They order ſeven Commiſſioners for the management of the Army.

From theſe Commiſſioners an Order was ſent to *Lambert* to diſperſe his Forces, but they were upon breaking before notice thereof came to him.

We made ſome relation of a Treaty betwixt Mr. *Evelyn* and Colonel *Morley*, which at this time Mr. *Evelyn* thought to bring to ſome advantageous iſſue; for *Morley* upon this Change had his Regiment reſtored, and with it the Government of the Tower conferred on him, and

and his Brother Colonel *Fagg* had alſo a Regiment; Mr. *Evelyn* had done for him towards his Majeſty, all he deſired, for Pardon of him and his Friends; but when he came to him with the report of it, he was very reſerved, and would not entertain any diſcourſe with him of that matter, and after one time would rarely admit him into his Company, which made him ſuſpect he had altered his Intentions, and put him to the hazardous experiment of a ſharp and expoſtulatory Letter; but he was newly involved with General *Monk*, and Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* in intrigues of the like nature, which he durſt not communicate; and Affairs were not yet mature enough for the things which Mr. *Evelyn* propoſed, nor was he aſſured of the Officers and Souldiers in the Tower for ſuch a Service; but it is moſt certain he received ſuch impreſſions from Mr. *Evelyn*'s former diſcourſes, that he was one of the forwardeſt of his Party to embrace all occaſions for the King's Service, as was evident by his early, vigorous and hazardous oppoſition in Parliament, ſhortly after their ſitting, to that impious Oath of abjuration of the King's Family and Line (hereafter mentioned.)

The *Iriſh* Brigade brought off to *Monk* by *Redman* and *Brut*.

When the Parliament thus reconvened, and *Lambert* in his declenſion; the *Iriſh* Brigade ſubmitted to *Redman* and *Bret*, and was brought off by them; and at the ſame time, the Souldiers of two *Dunkirk* Regiments, then with *Lambert*, were in Mutiny for the General, who ſcarce had received Information of theſe Actings, when Captain *Campbel* alſo arrived at *Coldſtream* with Letters from Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, and others from *Dublin*, with Intelligence of the Surpriſal of *Dublin* Caſtle by Captain *Joyer* and Captain *Bond*, which was thus performed; one of *Bond*'s men ſoftly knocking at the Gates, the Sentinel opened the door, and as he opened it, the reſt preſently ruſhed in, and on a ſuddain ſurpriſed them within, and ſeized on Colonel *John Jones*, *Miles Corbet*, Colonel *Matthew Thomlinſon*, Colonel *Richard Lawrence*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Henry Jones*, Mr. *Standiſh* the Treaſurer, and *Tombes* the Store-keeper: The Deſign was chiefly managed at *Dublin*, by Sir *Theophilus Jones*, *Trevor*, the three *Warrens*, Colonel *Bridges*, *Thompſon*, *Liſle*, *Worder* and *Temple*, having been two months in Agitation, and was the more dangerous, becauſe but in one of Five Foot Companies that Quartered in the City, they could repoſe any Confidence; neither durſt they communicate their Intentions with more than one Officer of that Company, and ſome few Officers of Horſe, whom they engaged out of three Troops; and ſo much they differed about the time of putting the buſineſs in execution, that till the night before the action, they had not reſolved it: The pretext made uſe of for the buſineſs, was their Meeting to promote a Petition in the Army to call a General Council; which ſo dazled the Eyes of the Commander in Chief, and ſeveral other of his Confidents, that they ſuſpected no other thing to have been intended. And that which the Execution was moſt remarkable is, that not one drop of Blood was ſhed. The next day after, the City of *Dublin* drew out their *Militia*, and declared with them; and although they had but eight hours notice, there appeared above two thouſand Foot, beſides Horſe.

The manner of ſurprizing *Dublin* Caſtle.

Cornet *Monk* was privy to the deſign, and ſent to *Wexford*, *Waterford*, and thoſe parts, to incline them to joyn in it: But Sir *Charles Coot* and his Brothers had the hardeſt Task in the Province of *Connaught*; but they overcame all difficulties, and in a very ſhort time brought the whole Souldiery and Garriſon there to obedience, and in leſs than a Weeks ſpace, *Limrick*, *Clonmel*, *Toughal*, *Roſs*, *Kilkenny*, *Drogedah*, *Dundalk*, *Antrim*, and many other places declared their Concurrence.

Sir *Charles Coot* reduceth all *Connaught* to a compliance with the preſent Deſign.

The General always carrying an even temper in his behaviour, ſeem'd not much exalted with this News; yet ſince it was likely to prove of no ſmall Concernment to himſelf, he preſently diſpatch'd Captain *Campbel* back, with great acknowledgments of theſe Services, and deſired to be ſupplied by them with ſix Troops of Horſe with all convenient ſpeed: This good news was ſeconded with advice from *Bowles* of the Lord *Fairfax*'s Riſing in *York-ſhire*, which was ſomewhat ſooner than his promiſe, but very ſeaſonable to make a diverſion to *Lambert*'s Forces, with whom Colonel *Lilburn*'s Regiment joyned by means of Major *Smithſon*, who was a great lover of General *Monk*, and Colonel *Redman* came in to them with the *Iriſh* Brigade; Colonel *Bethel*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, Captain *Strangwaies*, and Mr. *Arthington* alſo joyned with them; the ſaid Meſſenger alſo informed him, that the *Parliament* was again Sitting, and that *Fleetwood* had ſubmitted to them; which made the General immediately march (for he heard that *Lambert* kept his Brigade together, and intended to oppoſe the Lord *Fairfax* and his Friends, and having quitted *Newcaſtle*, was marched towards them;) wherefore on the ſecond of *January* at night he advanced with two Regiments of Horſe and two of Foot, and marched to *Wooller*: He had the day before ſent Colonel *Knight* with three Troops to *Morpeth*, to whom he that night ſent Orders to ſeize on *Newcaſtle*, which he did by ſix of the Clock in the morning. Major General *Morgan* was left ſick, and Colonel *Read*, who commanded the Rear of the Army, marched the next day with two Regiments of Horſe, and three Regiments of Foot, with which his whole number amounted in all to five thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe. By that time he came to *Morpeth*, he had Information that *Lambert*'s whole party was of themſelves diſperſed into ſeveral Quarters in Submiſſion to the *Parliaments* Orders. And to aſſure him of the *Parliaments* Sitting, he received a Letter from the *Speaker*, dated the 27 of *December* of thanks for his Service; wherein the reſtitution of their Authority was wholly attributed to his Fidelity, Care and Courage.

The Lord *Fairfax*, and ſeveral of *Monk*'s Party joyning with him, riſe in *York-ſhire*.

Gen. *Monk* begins his march into *England*.

He receives a Letter of thanks from the Speaker.

The knowledge of this did more than any thing perplex the General, as one of the moſt fatal Accidents that could happen to him; for by their over-haſty Reſumption of Power, back'd with a great Army newly return'd to their Obedience, he deſpaired of doing the good he intended to his Country, and thought

no

no longer of continuing in Arms than till a fair Opportunity should be offered him to lay them down and retire, without making them jealous of him; *For he expected they would not have thought their Sitting safe, till his arrival at* London *with his Army, and then he would have restored all the other Members with them without undertaking to judge of the Difference betwixt them.*

He receives an Address at *Morpeth* from the City of *London* by their Sword-Bearer. As likewise from the Gentry of the Country in all parts as he marcht along. He is visited at *York* by the Lord *Fairfax.*

When he came to *Morpeth*, Mr. *William Man*, the Sword-Bearer of *London*, came to him, with a very respectful Letter from the Lord Mayor and Common-Council of *London*; to which he made a civil Return the next day from *New-Castle*, and thence he marched with continued Journeys to *York*, where he continued five days, and all the way as he marched from *Cold-stream* he was met by the Gentry, and saluted by all the People as he passed, with great Acclamations of Joy. Colonel *Waters* the Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, met him betwixt *Allerton* and *Topcliffe*, several of the Gentry having attended him the day before at his first entrance into the County. At *York* he was visited by the Lord *Fairfax*, whom he received with much kindness and respect, and very civilly acknowledged Mr. *Bowles* his diligent and industrious acting in his Concerns; there he modelled *Lambert*'s and *Lilburn*'s Regiments of Horse, and gave the first of them to Colonel *Bethel*, and the latter to *Smithson*, and chang'd most of the other Officers.

The new restored Members begin very Actively in setling their Affairs; and on the second of *January* they name one and thirty to be of the *Council of State*, passing an *ACT* for their Constitution; and several Instructions for them to Act by: amongst which it was provided, that none should sit but such as should take an Oath of Abjuration of the King, his Family and Government.

The Names of the intended Counsellors of State were;

The Names of the Persons nominated for the Council of State.

Sir *Arthur Hasterig*,	Mr. *Henry Nevil*,
Colonel *Morley*,	Colonel *Fagg*,
Mr. *Wallop*,	Mr. *John Corbet*,
Mr. *Scot*,	Mr. *Tho. Challoner*,
Mr. *Love*,	Mr. *Say*,
Mr. *Weaver*,	Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*,
Colonel *White*,	General *Monk*,
Mr. *Reignolds*,	Lord *Fairfax*,
Mr. *Robinson*,	Vice-Admiral *Lawson*,
Mr. *Rob. Roll*,	*Josias Barners*,
Sir *James Harrington*,	Serjeant *Terril*,
Colonel *Thompson*,	*Slingsby Bethel*,
Sir *Tho. Widdrington*,	Alderman *Foot*,
Colonel *Dixwell*,	Alderman *Love.*

The form of an Oath of Abjuration to be taken by all the Members of the *Council of State* and *Parliament.*

The *Oath* was in these following words: *viz.*

I do hereby Swear, That I do renounce the pretended Title of Charles Stewart, *and the whole Line of the late King* James, *and of every other Person, as a Single Person, pretending, or which shall pretend to the Crown or Government of these Nations of* England, Scotland *or* Ireland, *or any of them, and the Dominions and Territories belonging to them, or any of them; And that I will by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful and constant to the* Parliament *and* Commonwealth, *and will oppose the bringing in, or setting up any* Single Person *or* House of Lords, *and every of them in this* Commonwealth.

This *Oath* being stricter than any that had ever been imposed, was by many disliked; however, the leading Men that promoted it in Parliament affirmed, *That without this, they could have no certain assurance of Power; And that the* Hollanders, *and those of the Confederated Provinces could never be fix'd in their Government, till they had made a Renunciation of the King of* Spain. And to that height this business was brought, that not thinking it enough for the *Council of State*, they drove on to have it ordered, that every Member in the House should also take the said Oath: This was strongly opposed by Colonel *Fielder*, *Weaver*, *Dove*, *Hutchinson*, both the *Puries*, *Ingoldsby*, and many more of the soberer sort, *Who alledged it would be a Confining of Providence to make such an Oath, a Snare to many good Men, and a Terrour to such as were truly Conscientious, who might suspect this to be a fore-runner of many Oaths to fetter their Consciences.* Of these more moderate sort of men, *Fielder* and *Ingoldsby* only were thought Favourers of the Kings Party, but the rest were such of whom they had no manner of Jealousie at that time; though afterwards they appeared much inclined to a Conjunction with the Secluded Members, and well disposed to Monarchy: So that when the *Act* for the *Council of State* came to be executed, in that part of it which was the Administration of the Oath, Mr. *Weaver*, Colonel *Morley*, *Oliver St. John*, Colonel *Fagg*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and many more, even a third part at least of their number refused it, and were therefore not admitted to Sit and Act.

The Oath opposed by several of the House.

Whilest the General staid at *York*, he had Intimation, that *Overton* was taking Beds into *Hull*, breaking the Ice in the Grafts, and making such preparation as if he took him rather for an enemy than a Friend; wherefore he sent Major *Smith* to him, one well known in that Garrison, to inspect into the condition of it, and writ a Letter to *Overton*, to expostulate with him about the Matter: who returned in Answer to him, *That he perceived Rumour had rendred* Hull *as doubtful to him, as it had his Design dangerous to them and others; but he was glad to hear that he adhered to this Parliament in their present Constitution, against the re-admission of the Secluded Members, a free* Parliament *or* Single Person, *one of which had been continually charged upon him by the Common Cry of the Army.*

The Leading Members of *Parliament*, finding this difference growing amongst themselves about the Oath of Abjuration, contrived how to draw the General to their Party; and in order thereunto, *Scot* and *Robinson*, two of their Members were sent to meet him upon the way to gratulate his Return, but with private directions to engage him to take the Oath as soon as he came to *London*, before he took his place in the *Council of State.*

Scot and *Robinson* sent from the House to Complement and attend General *Monk* upon his Journey.

Of

Of these their Instructions *Clarges* having timely notice, was resolved to be with the General before them; but before he went, he privately got from Quarter-Master-General *Butler* a List of all the Quarters in *London*, for a purpose which shall be discovered hereafter.

He disposeth of several Regimenes and Companies as he came along.

On the twelfth of *January*, the *House*, to testifie their Confidence in the General, passed a *Vote, To approve of all he had done in order to the Service of the Parliament*; and Ordered their *Vote* to be Printed: When he removed from *York*, he sent one of the *Dunkirk* Regiments of Foot, Commanded by Colonel *Clark*, and Major General *Morgans* Regiment of Horse, into *Scotland*, which, with those he left in Garrison there, he thought enough to secure the Peace of that Kingdom, till time should admit further Consideration thereof. He left Colonel *Fairfax* his Regiment at *York*, and disbanded some Companies of *Ashfield*'s Regiment, and mingled the Private Souldiers thereof amongst his Regiments to fill up the Companies: And then having given the *Council of State* an Account of what he had done, he proceeded in his March towards *London* with four Regiments of Foot, *viz.* his Own, Colonel *Reads*, Colonel *Lydcotts*, and Colonel *Hubblethornes*; and three Regiments of Horse, *viz.* his Own, Colonel *Knights*, and Colonel *Cloeberries*, which made his number in all 5800 besides Officers; that is, Four Thousand Foot, and Eighteen Hundred Horse; He came the nineteenth day of *January* to *Nottingham*, where *Clarges* came to him the day following, on which day also, *Scot* and *Robinson* arrived at *Leicester*; and, because the next day was *Sunday*, they rested there, and met the General upon the Road, betwixt *Leicester* and *Nottingham* the twenty second.

Clarges gives the General an account how Affairs stood at *London*.

At *Nottingham*, *Clarges*, having had secret Conference with the General, communicated to him in what Condition all Affairs stood at *London*, and that they had there two thousand Horse, and eight thousand Foot, most of them modelled to their own Principles; That the Horse were the Regiments of *Okey*, *Hazlerig*, *Rich*, and *Desborow*; and though they had newly given the last to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, yet all the Officers under him were of the same Mould as the former. The Regiments of Foot were commanded by *Ayres*, *Markham*, *Streater*, *Fitch*, *Moss*, *Fleetwood*, *Morley* and *Fagg*; of all which, he could have no assurance but of the two last: for *Morley*'s men were firm to him, deserted their Officers in the *North*, and declared for him; and *Fag*'s was a new Regiment, raised about *Portsmouth* in his behalf. He told him, That except he could get all these Horse and Foot out of *London*, (except *Morley*'s and *Fagg*'s Regiments) and disperse them into several Quarters, and march his own men thither, and be Master of *London*, he could never expect to do any good for his Countrey; since in all these times, it had been experienc'd, That to what ever was done at *London*, where they had nine or ten thousand Men to justifie their Actions, all the rest of the Regiments submitted.

And gives his advice as touching the Regiments that were quartered in *London*.

And if his distinct and absolute Command in *Scotland* had not happened in a Conjuncture when *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, the two Chiefe Officers of the Army, were in a Jealousie of each other, and their Treasure quite exhausted, he had never been able to have stood against them; and although there was that Jealousie, and the Principles on which he declared were such, as most of these in Command favoured; yet how slowly did *Ireland* and the Fleet joyn with him? And even the *Council of State* themselves (who had the temptation of Power to excite them) were backward enough to appear, till they saw a Distraction in the other Counsels; for fear, as some of the Chief of them alledged, left the Kings Party might have Opportunity to mingle with their Levies, if they should make any: These Considerations took such impression in the General, as made him apprehend great Difficulties in what he went about, till *Clarges* told him, There were yet probable Hopes to make him Master of his wishes, which he proposed thus: He told him, The *Council of State* consisted of such only as had taken the Oath of Abjuration; and till he should take that, they would be so diffident of him, that whatever he desired of them, of any material Concernment, would be denied; That the major part in Parliament were against the Oath; and therefore in all his Affairs he was to apply himself to them, and therefore that his best way would be to write them a *Letter* to this purpose, *That he thought it inconvenient for their Service, that so many of the Souldiery now in* London, *lately in Rebellion against them, should be trusted with their Guards, till the present Officers by them placed upon them, should have by Discipline reduced them to perfect obedience.* To which the General answered, *That he approved of the Advice, but if they should offer to have an equal Number of his Regiments with the other, that Objection would be removed; and besides, he believed he had not men enough to supply the Guards, which these now in* London *kept.*

To this *Clarges* replied, *It was worth his Attempt to endeavour this; and that the same Reason for not mingling the men, might hold as for not trusting them intire: but as concerning their Guards, that he had brought with him a List of all their Quarters, and did believe his three Regiments of Horse, being in number, within two hundred, as many as the four now there, they might do the same Duty; and that his four Regiments of Foot, now full as they were, might well keep the same Guards as six of theirs.*

The General in fine approving of all he said, *Clarges* drew the Letter to the Parliament, for him to sign, in these words:

The Generals Letter to the *House*.

Right Honourable,

I *Have lately acquainted the* Council of State *with what Forces I have sent into* Scotland, *and more are necessary to be sent thither, to re-inforce them, and secure the Peace of that Countrey, which I presume they have been pleased to report to you; I am now marched in obedience to your Commands thus far on my way towards* London, *with four Regiments of Foot, and two Regiments of Horse; each*

each Regiment of Foot containing a thousand, and each Regiment of Horse six hundred; so that by a List which I have sent to me from the Quarter-Master-General of the Horse and Foot in London, *I have disposed of those Regiments which march with me: And I humbly offer, That all those now in* London, *except Colonel* Fagg's *Regiment, and Col.* Morley's, *may be sent to the several Quarters by me assigned; for, with submission, I conceive it not for your Service, that those Souldiers now in* London, *lately in Rebellion against you, should mingle with those your approved faithful Regiments, till the present Officers by you put upon them have by Discipline reduced them to a more assured Obedience to You. The three Regiments of Horse with me, are as many in Number as those now in* London; *and my four Regiments of Foot near as full as the six I remove, so that your Numbers are not lessened. In this* Letter *I send two* Lists; *in one of them the Quarters are set down for those Regiments which march with me into* London; *and in the other, the several Quarters of those to march out, which I did not appoint, but upon much Consideration of the present Posture of your Affairs, and intelligence of the distemper'd Condition of the Places to which I assign them. I have sent a faithful Servant of yours to receive your Commands in this Business; because on your Forces under me will be drawn to* Barnet: *And if on that Day those in* London *march out, we may supply their Places: But I humbly desire your Pleasure may be so early communicated to us, that I may send the* Quarter-Masters *to make provision for the men; Which is all at present from, &c.*

A List of all the Quarters that were assigned the Souldiery that marched out of *London* upon *Monk*'s marching in.

The General approved of the *Letter*, and signed it; and they agreed, that it should not be sent till he came to St. *Albans*; That those in the House of the Faction for the Oath of Abjuration, might suppose it came with the privity of *Scot* and *Robinson*; and seeing him so near, be less apt to oppose his Desires. It was Midnight before thus much was Resolved; but in regard he was to march the next Morning, he resolved fully to settle the whole Affair before he went to Bed; and therefore sent for the Books of Mapps, for the better assigning the Quarters of those that were to march out. And by the Quarter-Master-General's List he disposed the Quarters of his own men. Colonel *Knight* was one in whom he had great Confidence, and he was sent for to assist in this Assignation of Quarters, but strictly enjoyned to Secrecy.

The Regiments of Horse to march out were Ordered thus:

Okey's Regiment; To *Bedford* one Troop, *Buckingham* one Troop, *Ailsbury* one Troop, *Peterborough* one Troop, and *Northampton* two Troops.

Hazlerig's Regiment; To *Reading* one Troop, *Oxford* two Troops, *Gloucester* one Troop, *Worcester* one Troop, *Hereford* one Troop.

Ashley Cooper's Regiment; To *Basingstoke* one Troop, *Bath* one Troop, *Bristol* two Troops, *Salisbury* two Troops.

Rich's Regiment; To *Ipswich* one Troop, *Colchester* one Troop, *Norwich* two Troops, *Ely* one Troop, *Yarmouth* one Troop.

The Foot were disposed as followeth.

Colonel *Ayres* his Regiment; To *Sandwich* one Company, *Dover* two Companies, *Canterbury* five Companies, *Rye* two Companies.

Colonel *Markhams* Regiment; To *Ipswich* three Companies, to *Colchester* five Companies, and to *Sudbury* two Companies.

Colonel *Streater*'s Regiment; To *Buckingham* three Companies, to *Northampton* five Companies, and to *Newark* upon *Trent* two Companies. *The Confidence the General had of Colonel* Streater, *in placing his Regiment in the midst of the Kingdom, afterwards proved a good Expedient at the breaking out of* Lambert.

The Regiment belonging to *Fleetwood*; To *Hereford* two Companies, to *Oxford* four Companies, to *Worcester* four Companies.

Colonel *Mosse*'s Regiment; To *Cambridge* five Companies, and to *Ely* five Companies.

Colonel *Fitch*'s Regiment; To *Chichester* five Companies, and the rest to *Winchester*.

The disposition of those to be in London *were in this Order:*

The General's own Regiment of Horse in the *Mews*, and in the *Strand*.

Colonel *Knights* Regiment; To have four Troops in *Kings-street*, and *Tuttle-street* in *Westminster*, and two Troops in *Holbourn*.

Colonel *Cloberry*'s Regiment; Two Troops in *Southwark*, one in *Bishops-gate-street*, and three in *Smithfield*.

The General's Regiment of Foot in S. *James*'s, and parts adjacent.

Colonel *Read*'s Regiment in *Somerset-house*, the *Strand*, *Long-Acre*, *Covent-Garden*, and Saint *Martins-lane*.

Colonel *Lydcott*'s Regiment in *Thanet-house*, *Peter-house*, and parts adjacent.

Colonel *Hubblethorn*'s Regiment, in *Holbourn*, *Smithfield*, and parts adjacent.

Colonel *Fagg*'s Regiment in *Southwark*.

Colonel *Morley*'s Regiment in the *Tower*, and parts adjacent.

The next Morning the General marched towards *Leicester*, and he met *Scot* and *Robinson*, the Parliaments Commissioners, in the way to it, and they never parted with him till he came to *London*.

At *Leicester* the General expected to be attaqued about the Oath of Abjuration, and was much troubled to think how to divert it. *Clarges* told him, *He had a plain and a fair Answer to make to them*, which was, *That he heard many men of undoubted Integrity had refused the Oath; and till he came to* London, *to hear the Reasons on both sides, for the taking and refusing, he could not with Prudence resolve it.* This Advice he followed, and succeeded in it. *Scot* and *Robinson* at their first Interview told him, *That the Parliament had Ordered a Thousand Pounds a Year for ever to be settled on him, and appointed them to acquaint him with it; and to let him know the sense the Parliament had of his great Services, and that they were providing Moneys for his Souldiers, and were glad to hear of his repairing to* London.

The Generals Answer concerning the Oath of Abjuration.

Scot and *Robinson*'s Message to him from the House.

The

The General was never more put to it than in this Journey to diſſemble his Inclinations; For theſe men watched every moment of his time: At *Harbrow* Alderman *Fowke*, Alderman *Vincent*, and Mr. *Bromfield*, met him as Commiſſioners from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London*; and at the ſame time, Sir *John Norris*, with many of the chief Gentry of *Northampton-ſhire*, welcomed him into their County.

Commiſſioners from the City, met the General at *Harbrough*.

The Citizens, after a Congratulatory Speech, fell upon Particulars, for the general Settlement of the Kingdom; and Mr. *Bromfield*, in a handſome free Speech, after the enumeration of the ſeveral Calamities it lay under, as the beſt Remedy, propoſed the re-admiſſion of the Secluded-Members, that the *Parliament* might be made full and free. *Scot* was ſo impatient at this, That he took the Words out of the Generals Mouth, and would not permit him to anſwer them. He told them, *Now the Parliament had ſubjected the Military Power, to a due ſubordination to the Civil, they were free; and that having already given their Judgment in the Caſe of the Secluded-Members, it did not become them to inſiſt on their re-admiſſion.* *Fowke* endeavoured to qualifie what *Bromfield* had propounded, by ſaying, *He conceived they were not obliged by their Inſtructions, to deſire the Generals Mediation further, than that they might have all their own Members admitted, ſince it was unreaſonable, that they ſhould be Governed by a Parliament, where they had not their Repreſentatives.*

They propound the re-admiſſion of the Secluded Members.

Scot ſtifly oppoſeth them.

This Diſcourſe, on all ſides, was managed with ſome heat; and the General was forced to comply with *Scot* and *Robinſon*, in their Extravagancies, to preſerve their Opinion of him, which made the Citizens part from him ſomewhat unſatisfied, and ſo they continued, till he ſent *Clarges* privately to give them a better underſtanding of his Intentions. But Sir *John Norris*, and the *Northampton-ſhire* Gentlemen, who were prepared to attend him at *Northampton* with an Addreſs, were ſo much diſcouraged, that they thought to decline it, till Doctor *Barrow* requeſted Mr. *Philip Howard*, to adviſe them to proceed in their Intentions, and to aſſure them, *That though they had not a ſatisfactory Anſwer, they might be ſure it would produce a good effect.* At *Northampton* Sir *John Norris* delivered his Addreſs; and as he marched to St. *Albans*, ſeveral of the ſame nature were preſented to him from the Gentry of *Buckingham-ſhire*, *Oxford-ſhire*, *Norfolk*, and almoſt all Counties, which did all agree in the ſame matter, (*viz.*) *For the Reſtitution of the Members Secluded in the Year*, 1648. *and the filling up the Vacancies in Parliament, or elſe for the calling of a full and Free-Parliament* All which were anſwered with much reſpect by him, although he durſt not diſcover his Approbation of their Deſires: And it is very obſervable, That in all the Counties, ſo much Caution was obſerved, That no Gentlemen ſigned any of theſe Addreſſes, that had ever been engaged in his preſent Majeſties, or his Royal Fathers Cauſe, nor ſcarce any of the Sons of ſuch.

The General ſeems to comply with *Scot* and *Robinſon*.

Sir *John Norris*, and the Gentlemen of *Northampton-ſhire*, make an Addreſs to him.

Several other Addreſſes, pleading for a Free-Parliament.

At *Dunſtable* the General conſulted Major *Knight* and *Clarges*, about the filling up the Blanks in the Letter prepared at *Nottingham*, having had Thoughts to ſend it by *Clarges*, *Knight*, or *Clark* his Secretary: But upon further conſideration, it was thought convenient not to part with *Knight*, becauſe his preſence would be requiſite with his Troops, if any Diſorders ſhould happen upon their March to *London*; as for *Clark*, he was ſo neceſſary to be with the General, for the iſſuing out Orders that he could not be ſpared: and for *Clarges*, it was judged more expedient, that he ſhould be ſent before, to prepare a party in the Houſe; ſo that *Lydcott* was choſen to be ſent, as one very grateful to the Speaker, to whom he was near ally'd, and *Friday* was the Day inſerted for his March into *London*: And upon the next Days Conſultation, which was *Saturday* in the Evening, the 28 of *January*, he was diſpatched away: And on *Monday* the Letter was delivered, which cauſed a long and violent Debate: *Haſlerig* told them, the *Council of State* had before agreed, that four Regiments of thoſe in *London* ſhould march out, and four of the Generals be admitted; but nothing prevailed that he ſaid againſt the Generals Letter: So that after Debate, from eight in the Morning, to twelve at Noon, the Reſult was in theſe words;

Lydcott made choice of, for the carrying of the General's Letter to the Houſe, about the ſending of their Souldiers out of the City.

Monday, January 30. 1659.

Upon Reading of a Letter from St. *Albans*, from General *Monk*, Dated the 28 of *January*, 1659. and two Liſts therein.

The Houſe conſent to the General's Deſire.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Parliament, That the Parliament doth agree with the Diſtributions of the Souldiers, according to theſe Liſts.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Parliament, That it be referred to the Commiſſioners of the Army, to ſee the Souldiers forthwith diſtributed accordingly.

Lydcott returns to the General with the welcome News of theſe Votes, as well might it be ſo to him; for from the moment of the execution of them (which gave him the poſſeſſion of *London*) he could not but think his Conduct would prove very ill, if he did not reduce the Armies, in the three Kingdoms, to his Obedience.

Captain *Cuff*, an Agent from Sir *Charles Coot* in *Ireland*, had attended the General, in all his March from *Newcaſtle* to *London*, and given him, from time to time, an account of all *Occurrences*; by which means the General kept a ſtrict Correſpondence both with him, the Lord *Broghil*, and ſeveral others of the chief Officers there; Who, although they had reduced all that Kingdom to the Obedience of the Parliament, were nevertheleſs ſuſpected by them; and *Scot* inſinuated to the General, *That notwithſtanding all their Pretences, he had good grounds to believe, they had ſome other Intereſt in their Aim, than that of the preſent Parliament.*

The General hath conſtant Intelligence of all Affairs in *Ireland* by means of Capt. *Cuff*.

The General diverted this Jealouſie, with aſſurances of their Fidelity, and that he

would undertake for them; which allay'd the Suspicion for that time, or at least so raked it up in Ashes, that no Sparks outwardly appeared.

A Mutiny among some of the Souldiery, that were to depart out of the City. A Rising in the City, dispersed by the Souldiers.

The Regiments that were to March from *London*, to give place to the General and his Regiments, had a Months Pay assigned them, to be paid at their Remove; but that did not hinder them from Mutiny at their departure, especially those that Quartered at St. *James*'s and *Somerset*-House, which was not without great Industry of the Officers appeased; Upon which followed about Midnight an Insurrection in the City, where about six or seven hundred drew together, and by Beat of Drum about the Streets, invited others to joyn with them for a Free-Parliament, and the Liberty of the City, in expectation to have the Souldiers joyn with them; but two Troops of Horse suddenly dispersed most of them, and took the rest (about eight and thirty) Prisoners, which were the next Morning committed to *Lambeth*-House: This Insurrection, together with the Disorders of the Souldiers, so frighted the *Council of State*, that in the beginning of the fore-going Night, they had sent to the General to March with all haste into *London*; but that was afterwards contradicted, and he drew not near the Town till the Morning, and in the Afternoon, the others being all Marched out, Tumults quieted, and all both within and without in a great Calm.

Gen. *Monk* Marcheth with his Forces into the City of *London*.

He marched with his Army by *Grays-Inn-Lane* into *Holbourn*, and from thence down *Chancery-Lane*, and so through *Temple-Bar*, along the *Strand*, to *White-Hall*. The three Regiments of Horse marched first, and He in the Head of them gallantly Mounted, with his Trumpets richly habited before him, and several Led-Horses after him, with many of his Chief Officers, and several Persons of Honour and Quality; and after them marched the Foot. The Speaker of the House met him in the Street near *Somerset*-House, where they Complemented each other: After which the General marched on to *White-Hall*, and the Speaker went to the *Rolls*. As soon as the Souldiers were Quartered, and all the Guards set, the General was visited by several of the *Council of State*; and being invited to take his place there, he went in compliance with them: But when the *Oath of Abjuration* was tendred, he refused it, for the Reasons before mentioned, and was therefore not admitted, whereupon he returned to his Appartment. The next day was spent in Visits to him, from all the Members of Parliament, and many other Persons of the highest Quality. Mr. *Scot* told him, *The Parliament did intend on* Monday, *publickly in their House, to give him their Acknowledgments of his Service, and that they expected he should there make publick Professions of his Affections to their Interest and Authority, and his Dislike of the Addresses to him, for the Secluded Members and a Free Parliament.*

He refuseth the Oath of Abjuration.

Scot instructs him how to receive the intended Gratulations of the House.

He made little Answer to him, but that he was much obliged to them, for the Honour of so great a Respect; and should endeavour by his future Services, to give Evidences of his just Resentments of it.

It is observable, That from this time, in all the Orders to him from the Parliament, they called him only Commissioner *Monk*, and not General: And although yet no publick Order had superseded the Commission of Commander in Chief, sent to him by the *Council of State*, they allowed him no Authority, but conjunct with others, whereof he took little notice, but proceeded as before in the sole Exercise of the Command of the Army. He was somewhat perplexed, how to behave himself in the Parliament, in reference to the great Professions and Protestations they expected from him, of his Aversions from the King and his Party, to balance his refusing the *Oath of Abjuration*: But he resolved to act in that occasion, as moderate as the Season would bear, and yet to temper his Speech so, as not altogether to fail their Expectations.

The Stile given him in their Orders, not General, but only Commissioner *Monk*.

He is conducted with much Ceremony into the House.

On *Monday*, which was the sixth of *February*, he was brought to the Court of Wards by *Scot*, *Robinson*, and some other Members; after which, *Scot* acquainted the House with his being there: Whereupon the Serjeant with his Mace being sent to attend him, carried it before him, *Scot* and *Robinson* conducting him into the House to a Place on the left Hand within the Bar, where a Chair faced with Velvet was set for him to sit on.

As soon as he had made Obeysance, the Speaker bid him sit down; but he desiring to be excused, and standing behind the Chair, the Speaker expressed himself to him in these words;

The Speakers Speech to him.

IT hath been a common Observation, that the lighter Passions have a loud Voice, but such as are of greater Magnitude are always silent. As it is in Passions, *so in* Actions *also: Those of a lesser* Dimension, *are often magnified above their Measure; but* Historians *do commonly fail in the* Expressions *of Noble and Great* Actions, *and such are frequently lessened; and so it may well be in these of this* Days Remembrance. *The* Infallible Author *tells us*, That in *Judea* is GOD known, and his Name is great in *Israel*; *That Knowledge and Greatness of* GOD *is verified in the Instance of* Martial Affairs, That the stout-hearted are spoiled, they have slept their sleep, and none of the Men of Might have found their Hands. *This is verified this Day amongst Us here present, that both we and You might acknowledge, that it is* GOD, *not* Man, *that hath performed this Great work; that we his Creatures here may neither ascribe it to our Wisdom, or Your Valour, but that it was* GOD *alone, and none else. But yet I have always observed, that albeit the Glory appertains to the* LORD, *yet the Influence of that*

Glory

Glory extends it ſelf to the Inſtruments *in his hand; and thereby thoſe Beams enlighten your Honour and Valour, as an eſpecial* Inſtrument; *not as a* Merit, *but as a* Reward *upon your Prudence and wiſe Conduct. The knowledge of what hath been done in this our* Reſtitution, *is not unknown in theſe Nations; I believe, to this part of the* World, *how our Friends (as we conceived) left us, and what Defection hath been in Duty and Truſt. The Face of this Land was covered with a Gloomy and Black Cloud, and the whole* Nation *left, in the judgment of man, to the uttermoſt of ruine: But in that condition, we did as the* Prophet *in the greateſt miſery of* Iſrael, *eſpy a little Cloud, no broader than a Hand, which is infinitely, in an inſtant, become the Refreſhment of the whole* Nation: *That little Cloud was diſcerned afar off in your Hand, and by the Prudence of your wiſe Conduct, it diſperſed the Miſeries of theſe* Nations, *and became a Glorious Mercy to them all. This* Houſe *hath a true Reſentment of your Prudence and Conduct in this Great Work, and have Commanded Me to return their hearty Thanks: But I muſt not end here, for they have alſo a full Senſe of thoſe Noble Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers, both of their Fidelity, Valour, and Duty in this Expedition: And as I have returned to you their Thanks, ſo it is their Deſire, that you ſhould return the ſame to your Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers, who have been Inſtrumental in theſe Actions.*

After he had ended, the General ſtood up, and ſpake as followeth:

Mr. *Speaker*,

The Generals Speech in Anſwer to the Speakers.

'AMongſt the many Mercies of God to 'theſe poor Nations, your peace-'able Reſtitution is not the leaſt. It is '(as you ſaid) his Work alone, and to 'Him belongs the Glory of it; and I e-'ſteem it as a great effect of his Good-'neſs to me, that he was pleaſed to make 'me, amongſt many Worthier in your 'Service, ſome way Inſtrumental in it. I 'did nothing but my Duty, and deſerve 'not to receive ſo great an Honour and 'Reſpect as you are pleaſed to give me at this time and Place, which I ſhall ever ac-'knowledge as a high mark of your Fa-'vour to me.

'*SIR*, I ſhall not now trouble you 'with large Narratives, only give me 'leave to acquaint you, That as I mar-'ched from *Scotland* hither, I obſerved 'the People in moſt Counties in great 'and earneſt expectations of a Settlement, 'and ſeveral Applications were made to 'me with numerous Subſcriptions to 'them; The chiefeſt Heads of their De-'ſires were for a Free and a Full *Parlia-'ment*, and that you would determine 'your Sitting; a Goſpel-Miniſtry, En-'couragement of Learning and Univer-'ſities, and for admittance of the Mem-'bers Secluded before the Year 1648. 'without any prævious *Oath* or *Engage-'ment*. To which I commonly anſwer-'ed, That you are now in a Free Par-'liament, and if there be any Force re-'maining upon you, I would endeavour 'to remove it; and that you had Voted 'to fill up your Houſe, and then you 'would be a full Parliament alſo; And 'that you had already determined your 'Sitting: And for the Miniſtry, their 'maintenance, the Laws and Univerſi-'ties, you had largely declared concern-'ing them in your laſt Declaration; and 'I was confident you would adhere to it: 'But as for thoſe Gentlemen Secluded 'in the year 1648. I told them, you 'had given Judgment in it, and all 'People ought to acquieſce in that Judg-'ment; but to admit any Members to 'ſit in Parliament without a prævious 'Oath or Engagement, to preſerve the 'Government in being, it was never done 'in *England*.

'But although I ſaid it not to them, 'I muſt ſay, with pardon, to you, That 'the leſs *Oaths* and *Engagements* are im-'poſed, (with reſpect had to the Secu-'rity of the Common Cauſe) your Set-'tlement will be the ſooner attained 'to. I am the more particular in theſe 'matters, to let you ſee how grateful 'your preſent Conſultations about theſe 'things will be to the People. I know 'all the ſober Gentry will cloſe with 'you, if they may be tenderly and gent-'ly uſed; and I am ſure you will ſo uſe 'them, as knowing it to be the Common 'Concern to amplifie, and not to leſſen 'our Intereſt, and to be careful that 'neither the Cavaleer, nor Phanatick 'Party have yet a ſhare in your Civil or 'Military Power; of the laſt of whoſe 'Impatience to Government, you have 'lately had ſo ſevere experience. I 'ſhould ſay ſomething of *Ireland* and '*Scotland*; Indeed *Ireland* is in an unſet-'led Condition, and made worſe by your 'Interruptions, which prevented the 'paſſing an ACT for the Settlement 'of the Eſtates of Adventurers and Soul-

'diers there, which I heard you intended 'to have done in a few days; and I pre- 'ſume it will be now quickly done, be- 'ing ſo neceſſary at this time, when the 'Wants of the Commonwealth call for 'Supplies; and People will unwillingly 'pay Taxes for thoſe Eſtates of which 'they have no legal aſſurance: I need 'not tell you how much you were abu- 'ſed in the nomination of your Officers 'of your Armies there; their malice 'that deceived you, hath been ſufficiently 'manifeſted: I do affirm, That thoſe 'now that have declared for you, will 'continue faithful, and thereby Evince, 'that as well there as here, it is the ſo- 'ber Intereſt muſt eſtabliſh your Domi- 'nion. As for *Scotland*, I muſt ſay, The 'People of that Nation deſerve to be 'Cheriſhed; and I believe your late 'Declaration will much glad their Spi- 'rits; for nothing was to them more 'dreadful, than a fear to be over-run 'with Phanatick Notions: I humbly re- 'commend them to your Affection and 'Eſteem, and deſire the intended Union 'may be proſecuted, and their Taxes 'made proportionable to thoſe in *Eng-* '*land*, for which I am ingaged by pro- 'miſe to become a Suiter to you. And 'truly, *Sir*, I muſt ask leave to intreat you 'to make a ſpeedy Proviſion for the Civil 'Government there, of which they have 'been deſtitute near a Year, to the ruine 'of many Families: And except Com- 'miſſioners for managing of the Go- 'vernment, and Judges to ſit in Courts 'of Judicature, be ſpeedily appointed, 'that Country will be very miſerable.

'I directed Mr. *Gumble* lately to pre- 'ſent ſome Names to you both for Com- 'miſſioners and Judges; but by reaſon 'of your great Affairs, he was not re- 'quired to deliver them in Writing, but 'I humbly preſent them to your Conſi- 'deration.

And ſo concluding, he delivered them the Paper wherein the ſaid Names were contained.

His Speech excepted againſt by *Scot*, and thoſe of his Party.

Scot and ſome others were much offended that he aſſumed ſo much in this Speech, and were once thinking to interrupt him. They complained to their Confidents, *That he was too poſitive in undertaking for the Officers in* Ireland, *of whoſe Affections to the* Parliament *in the preſent Conſtitution of it, there was juſt cauſe of doubt; and that in the whole Speech he ſeemed to affect Popularity, and gave the* Cavaliers *a poſſibility of being received into the exerciſe of Truſt, with a total Excluſion of the more ſtrict Parliament-Party, under the Notion of* Phanaticks.

But that which at this time more diſquieted theſe men than the General's Speech, was the diſcontented Carriage of the City, for the *Common-Council* had been in very high debates about the Government, and were reſolved to pay no Publick Taxes till the *Houſe* were filled up with equal *Repreſentatives*: This they looked upon as drawing towards a Contempt of their Authority, and thought they could not better provide for their own Securities, than by oppoſing in time, and puniſhing ſuch Contumacies; they therefore on the eighth of *February* in the Evening at the *Council of State*, Order the General to go into *London* the next Morning with a good part of the Army, and to ſeize upon Eleven of the moſt Active of the *Common-Council*, and commit them to the *Tower*; as alſo to pull down the Poſts and Chains, and take down the Gates and Perculliſes of the City, and Quarter his Souldiers there, till they were reduced to Obedience.

The City continue male-content.

The General Ordered to march into the City and pull down the Gates.

The General was ſurprized at this Command, and debated many things with them in mitigation or ſuſpenſion of it, till near one in the Morning the next day, but nothing could divert their Reſolution; ſo that he was forced to obey their Orders, or quit his Command, for he had no longer time to deliberate than that very Morning in which they were to be put in Execution: inſomuch, that after three or four hours repoſe to refreſh himſelf, he marched into the City, and pulled down the Poſts and Chains, and took into Cuſtody Nine of the Citizens which he had Orders to ſecure, the other two abſented themſelves: The Nine Impriſoned, were Mr. *Lawrence Bromfield* of *Tower-ſtreet*, Alderman *Vincent*, Alderman *Bludworth*, Mr. *Thomas Brown* of *Woodſtreet*, Mr. *Daniel Spencer* in *Fridayſtreet*, Mr. *Penning* in *Fan-Church-ſtreet*, Mr. *Jackſon*, Mr. *Chamberlain*, and Mr. *Richard Ford*. The City was much Alarm'd at this proceeding: And the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and ſeveral of the chiefeſt of the Citizens applied themſelves to him to moderate his Actions. All the City indeed ſeemed as People confounded with Wonder and Anxiety. And Colonel *Hubblethorn*, and others, the Generals own Officers, were many of them ſo much troubled, that they came to him to offer up their Commiſſions, rather than be imployed in ſuch an Action: They told him, *The honour and reſpect they had to his Perſon ingaged them never to ſerve againſt him, or diſpute his Orders: But in this, ſince they could not without horrour obey them, they with tears prayed him to diſpoſe of their Commands to ſome more neceſſary Perſons.* He was moved much at theſe their paſſionate expreſſions, but privately informed them of his own diſlike of what was Commanded; and therefore Conjured them to continue their Confidence in him, and execute what he had given them in Charge, as that from which better effects would enſue than was convenient at that time to be explained. With this they went away ſomewhat

He obeys their Orders, though unwillingly.

somewhat better contented, though not fully satisfied. He took his Quarter at the Three Tuns in *Guild-Hall*-Yard, where, notwithstanding this Accident, he received with much Civility those which came to him: Among whom, one Mr. *Jolly*, a discreet Citizen, with modesty and temper represented to him the Inconveniences of what he had undertaken, and told him, *The Affections of the City to him were such, that whatever he reasonably could desire of them, should be easier obtained by Perswasion than Force. That the Controversie between Enemies had nothing in it extraordinary; but to be ill Treated by Friends was very grievous. When* Hewson *marched into the City with a greater Number, he could not compass his Ends, but received Opposition with Contumelies and Affronts both to his Person and Party: But when he came, a general Calm and Kindness was seen in the Countenances of the People; And now that he had put his most rigorous Orders in Execution, they seemed rather amazed with Astonishment to receive it from his hand, than provoked to resent the Indignity of it.*

Mr. *Jolly's* Prudent Speech to the General.

This Prudent Speech made great impression on him, insomuch, that he told them thereupon, *That he had Orders to take down the Gates and Percullices as well as the Posts and Chains, but he would immediately write to the* Parliament *to mitigate their Commands.* And accordingly he writ to acquaint them, *That he had secured all the Persons given him in charge to Imprison, except two that were absent; And that the next Morning the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had appointed a Meeting of the Common Council, where they doubted not that all things would be composed to their satisfaction, and the Assessments be paid,* (which was the chiefest cause of his March into *London*) *so that thereupon he had forborn to meddle with the Gates and Percullices, till he should receive further Orders, because such severe acting would highly incense the City, and he hoped by mild means to reduce them to reason.* This Letter made them higher than before; for whereas in their former Orders they had appointed him only to unhinge the Gates, and pull down the Percullices, they now Command him to destroy both Gates and Percullices: And to prevent the meeting of the *Common Council*, they ordered, *That the present Common Council of the City should be dissolved*; and declared them null and void. And without any other Answer, they sent these *Votes* to the General.

The General writes to the *House* to mitigate their Commands.

They so much the more stirred up, send more rigorous Orders than before.

Upon this return, he was not a little perplexed in Mind, and very thoughtful what to do; but at last he resolved fully to execute his Orders, that the *House* might not take occasion from his dispute of them, in the unsetled condition of the Souldiers, to vacate his Commission, and thereupon commanded his Souldiers to break all the Gates and Percullices in pieces. Which done, on *Friday* in the Evening he came back to *White-Hall*; but at his return, *Scot* and *Haslerig*, and some others of their Violent Friends were very much moved, as if he had disobeyed his Orders, by which they said he was to continue with his Army in the City, till several Designs of theirs for the further humbling them to their purposes should be effected; and there was a Whisper, as if he were to have been questioned for it. It was also artificially contrived, that the same day the Gates were pulled down, a *Petition* from a Factious Phanatick Party of Citizens was presented by one *Praise-God Barebone* to the *House*, to countenance the Action, and to press an Oath of *Renunciation* to be taken by all that should be imployed in Civil and Military Affairs: Nevertheless, to please the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they had the Thanks of the *House* for their Moderation in this time of disorder in the City.

The General Commands the Gates and Percullices to be broken down.

A *Petition* to the *House* from the Sectarian Party of the City.

That Evening *Clarges* privately went to the General, and represented to him the ill Consequences of his Proceedings in *London*; *And that the Influence that City had by Commerce, and other occasions, all over* England, *would quickly diffuse the Infamy of the Fact: And all the Cities and Towns would be alarm'd, believing if that Great City should be made a Village, all their Franchises and Priviledges would be quickly subverted. So that he had no way to redeem his Reputation, but the very next Morning to return into the City with his Army, and declare for a Free Parliament.* The General, though he demurred a little upon this Counsel, yet he seemed very sensible of the Contempts they at *Westminster* had put upon him in the whole Progress of this Affair, and was resolved after a day or two's private Consultation with some of his Officers, to do something to regain their Esteem he had lost; for the performance of which, he said, *He would take time but till* Tuesday *Morning*. This was the effect of their first Discourse. But a while after, Dr. *Barrow* came to *Clarges*, earnestly urging him to renew his Advice to the General, setting forth, *That delay might give his Enemies time to put out of his power the doing what he intended; And that it was most necessary to be speedy in the retrieving the good Opinion of the City, to manifest thereby the greater dislike of what he had done the day before, as that to which the necessity of the time (against his own Inclination) pressed him to.* Whilst they were in this Discourse, two Officers of the Army, in whom the General then had much Trust, came in to them, and they all together went to him again, and, with the same Arguments reiterated, disswaded from delay; adding, *That they had certain Intelligence, that the* Council of State *began to be jealous of him, for that little Favour he shewed to the City in the execution of his Orders, and that he ought therefore in Prudence to provide for his own Safety. Barrow* was appointed to gain what Intelligence he could against the next Morning; and the General with *Clarges*, *Thompson*, *Sanders*, and *Barton*, which two last were advised with as two Officers that very much inclined to Admission of the Secluded Members, consulted what to offer to the *House* as a ground for their March into *London*: At last, waving all thought of making any excuse for marching into the City, they conclude, That Orders should be privately issued for about a dozen of the Chief Officers, in whom he had greatest confidence, to meet at Six the next Morning at the General's Quarters, and for

Clarges counsels the General to endeavour the speedy recovery of the Cities good Opinion.

Dr. *Barrow* urges the danger of delay in this business.

The General upon advice with some of his Officers, concludes to return immediately.

for the drawing of some men together before *White-Hall*, to be ready to March; And that a Letter should be sent to the *House* in the Morning signed by the General and a Select number of Military Officers, to complain of many Irregularities committed by them: Amongst others,

The Substance of his Letter to the *House*.

That they gave too much Countenance to Lambert, Vane, *and several that Ingaged with the late* Committee of Safety; *And that they had permitted* Ludlow, *and some others, to Sit in their* House, *that had been by Sir* Charles Coot, *and some of the* Irish *Officers, accused of* High-Treason; *and had Countenanced too much a late* Petition, *to exclude the most Sober and Conscientious, both Ministers and others, by Oaths, from all Imployment and Maintenance:* And in conclusion, to request, *That by* Friday *next they should issue out Writs to fill up their* House; *and when filled, should rise at their appointed time, to give place to a Full and Free* Parliament.

The General having agreed to these Heads, retired to his repose, whilest the rest penn'd the Letter, which he directed to be drawn in his Name, and in the name of the rest of the Officers of the Army. The next day the Officers, who had been sent for to meet at *White-Hall*, repairing thither early in the Morning, the Letter was produced, and read to them, (the General being present) and by all of them approved of; whereupon the General Signed it, and with him several Colonels; (*viz.*) *Saunders*, *Read*, *Lydcott*, *Knight*, *Cloberry*, *Redman* and *Hubblethorn*, one Lieutenant Colonel, which was *Ethelbert Morgan*, who Commanded the General's own Regiment of Foot, and six Majors, *Johnson*, *Barton*, *Smith*, *Bannister*, *Pryme*, and *Nicholls*; *Cloberry* and *Lydcott* were sent with the Letter to the *House*, and *Clarges* at the same time was sent to my Lord Mayor, to acquaint him with the General's Intentions to come and Quarter his Army that Night in the City, and to dispose him and the City to give him a favourable Reception.

The Letter being signed by the General, and several Officers, is sent by *Cloberry*, and *Lydcott*.

The General having sent *Clarges* before to the Lord Mayor, marches to *Finsbury*.

These things thus ordered, the General immediately marched away to *Finsbury*, where he drew up his Souldiers, till he should hear from *Clarges* how the City would receive him: Who finding my Lord Mayor very reserved, and averse to the General's coming, as terrified with his Actions the day before, had applied himself to Alderman *Robinson*, and some others that he durst trust, and acquainted them privately, that the General's coming was for good to the City and Kingdom; but did not instance in the Particulars of what was in agitation, having had Orders to conceal that, till it was known how they at *Westminster* should receive the *Letter*: Nevertheless, *Robinson* sends for two or three Aldermen of his Confidents, and with these they go to the Lord Mayor to mollifie him, but without any effect for the present: Nevertheless, *Clarges* told him, the General was resolved, though he Quartered not in the City, at least to be his Guest at Dinner: And accordingly he sent to the General, to desire him to march with all his Men to *Leaden-Hall-street*, to the Lord Mayor's Door, which he immediately did. While matters were thus carried on in the City, the House was in great Disorder at the reading of the General's Letter; but they temporized so far, as to shew no publick distaste at it; but Ordered,

Clarges finding my Lord Mayor distrustful, applies himself to Alderman *Robinson*.

The House dissemble their Resentment of the General's Letter, and give him good words.

That the Thanks of the House should be given to the General for his Faithful Service in securing of the City; and that, as to filling up the House, the Parliament *were upon Qualifications before the Receipt of his Letter, and the same should be dispatched in due time; and that Mr.* Scot, *and Mr.* Robinson *should attend him with their* Votes, *in Answer to his Letter.*

The General troubled at the Lord Mayor's Diffidence of him.

As soon as the General came to the Lord Mayor, he told him, *He was very welcom to his House, but that the City was full of Fears and sad Apprehensions of his sudden Return, after such violent Actions as the day before his Souldiers had been imployed in.* The General told him, *He hoped to make them of another mind in few hours.* Yet was he inwardly somewhat troubled, not knowing what hindrance this Coldness he found might give to his Designs; insomuch, that he called *Clarges* aside, and checkt him, as one who had over-hastily pressed him on, upon so little time of consideration, to so great an Enterprize. To which he answered, *That he was now too far advanced to go back; and that the best Advice he could give him was, to desire the Lord Mayor presently to appoint the* Aldermen *and* Common-Council *to meet him at four a Clock at* Guild-Hall, *and there to acquaint them with his real Intentions, to comply with the Desires of the whole Kingdom.*

Requests the calling of a Common-Council.

This Motion pleasing, and the said Request being accordingly made to the Lord Mayor, Orders were immediately sent out: but in the mean time, *Scot* and *Robinson* came to him from them at *Westminster*, with the before-mentioned Answer to the Letter.

Scot and *Robinson* sent from the House to the General, with their Answer to his Letter.

Scot made Protestations of the *Parliaments* Affection to him, and their high Opinion of his Services, thereby to divert him from his Intentions of staying in the City: but Colonel *Bridges*, an Officer of *Ireland*, that stood by, told them, *The General had no reason to credit their fair Speeches, since their words and their practices agreed not together, as was manifest in their Contempt of those his Friends in* Ireland, *who for his sake hazarded themselves in their Service; And now when he came from the* Irish *Army to Impeach* Ludlow *and* Jones *of High-Treason, he could have no Justice, but was put off from day to day, when* Praise-God Barebone *could be heard, and admitted with a* Seditious Petition *the first moment he came to the Door of the House.* And *Cloberry* told them, *The General and all his Officers could not but perceive that they grew Jealous of them, and that they went about to Balance them with such as had been their Enemies, which made it high-time for them to consult for their own safeties.*

Bridges and *Cloberry* sharply upbraids them.

The General closed all with Moderation, telling them, *All would be well, if they strictly observed the Advice of the Letter, and issued out Writs on* Friday *next for filling up their House.*

With

An Act for constituting five Commissioners for the Government of the Army.

With this Answer they returned to their Fellow Members, not very well satisfied, as was evident by what they did that very Afternoon in the House; for they passed an Act to divide the Government of the Army among five Commissioners; Namely, General *Monk*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, the Colonels, *Morley*, *Walton*, and *Alured*, and made the *Quorum* of them to be three.

This was opposed by many of the General's Friends, but they were not enough to hinder its Progress; at last, for an Expedient, it was moved, That General *Monk* should always be one of three for *Quorum*: But upon putting the Question, 'twas carried in the *Negative*. When word was brought him of this their Ingratitude to him, he could not avoid expressing much Indignation at it.

The Lord Mayor and Common-Council, being met at *Guild Hall* about five of the clock, the General told them,

The General excuseth his late Proceeding in the City, before the Common-Council.

That the Imployment whereon he was sent, at his last being in the City, was the most ingrateful to him that ever he undertook, and so much against his Inclination, that if any thing less than quitting his Command, could have prevented it, he had never accepted such Imployment; nor did he value his Commission, out of any respect to himself, for he had often desired to lay it down; but as knowing how much it imported both him and them, to keep it out of the Hands of such as most probably would not be so well inclined as He, to the Settlement of these Nations; That what he had now to tell them, was, That he had that Morning sent to the Parliament, *to issue out Writs within seven days, for the filling up of their House; and when filled, to sit no longer than till the sixth of* May, *to give them Place to a full and a free Parliament.*

The City joyfully receives the News of a Free-Parliament.

The News of this was quickly dispers'd through all the City, and received with great Demonstrations of Joy, expressed in Bone-fires, and Ringing of Bells.

After this, he retired for some time to a house in *Cheap-side*, to give order for the Quartering of his Souldiers, and went himself to Lodg at the *Glass-house* in *Broad-street*, till *Drapers-Hall* could be accommodated for his Reception.

The *Monday* after his stay in the City, the Council of State writ to him, *To desire his Presence with them, to assist with his Counsels, in the carrying on the great Affairs of the Nation.*

To which he the next day returned Answer.

The General's Answer to the Council of State, inviting him to come and sit with them.

That till the Oath should be taken away, which put a bar to him, and many others, from acting as Counsellors, his Presence could not be useful to them there: And withal, he informed them, *That the Distractions of the City were increased by the continuance of Arms in the Hands of the* Phanaticks, *and Persons disaffected to the* Parliament, *who had 7000 lately out of the Stores delivered to them, and were providing more: Wherefore he desired them immediately to recal these Arms; and withal, to excuse his stay in the City for some longer time, till the minds of the Citizens were composed.*

The Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and the Chief of the Officers (hearing how earnest the Parliament was to draw him again to *White-Hall*) importuned his Continuance in the City; and to induce him to it, they assure him, it cannot be safe for him, or them, that he remove; for that they had certain Information, That many private Letters were sent from *Haslerig*, and others, to withdraw the Affections of the Souldiery from him, and that certain men were imployed to several Regiments to debauch them. This Information had been enough to induce the General, had he not been resolved before: So that when Colonel *Allured* came from the Council of State, to perswade him against staying in the City, he acquainted him with what he heard. *Allured* laboured to infuse a Belief in him, of his having been misinformed in those things. It was answered by the General, *That he put no greater stress on those Reports, than to be vigilant over the Actions and Motions of the several Parties, deferring the belief of them, till time should evince the truth.* But he assured him, *He was advertized from Persons of good Fame, That notwithstanding that* Lambert *was proscribed, and* Vane *put out of this* Parliament, *and ordered to leave the Town; yet the stay of the latter was connived at, and Sir* Arthur Haslerig, *and several others, corresponded with them both.*

The City, and chief Officers of his Army, dissuade him from hearkning to the Parliaments Invitations, to return back to *White-Hall*.

Col. *Allured* solicits his return in vain.

Sir *Arthur Haslerig* writ many Expostulatory Letters, to free himself of these Imputations, but could not sufficiently clear himself of them. And now by more frequent Addresses than ever, the General is from all Counties solicited to the admission of the Secluded Members, which he only delayed, because the Army was not yet in a Temper for it; but to prepare them he received Visits from some of the Secluded Members, where they were always admitted, to hear by their Discourses, how well they were inclined to the Settlement of the Peace of the Nations. In this Method he so far proceeded, as on the 18th. of *February*, to have a Conference before him, of some of the Secluded Members, and some of the others. Those of the Sitting Members, were, *St. John*, *Haslerig*, *Morley*, *Thomson*, *Ashley-Cooper*, *Weaver*, *White*, *Feilder*, *Hutchinson*, and *Rawleigh*; but *Scot* and *Reynolds* also were intended by the General to be there, but for want of some Notice they came not. The Secluded Members that met them, were, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Evelin*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Colonel *Popham*, Mr. *Annesly*, Mr. *Knightly*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Trevor*, Colonel *Harley*, Colonel *Norton*, Sir *John Temple*, and Colonel *Birch*. They discoursed of many things, in order to a mutual Accord, for the Peace and Welfare of the Nations, but came to no Conclusion; because the sitting Members durst not undertake for the rest of the House, without their consent, which could not be known but by Vote: Yet severally all of them, who were then present, seem'd well satisfied with that moderation and temper, which they found in those Gentlemen with whom they conferred.

The General is importuned from all Parts to admit the Secluded Members.

He admits of a Conference before him, of the Sitting Members, with some of the Secluded.

The General was fully bent to promote their Admission so far, that if it could not be done by

by Common Consent, he Resolved to admit them without it.

The Officers of the Army were consulted with, and they were willing enough to have them sit, on condition they would promise to Declare for a Common-Wealth Government, and pass an Act for the Confirmation of the Possession of their Lands, disposed of since their Seclusion, and to agree upon a short time for their Dissolution. Wherefore, to try how far they were inclined, to admit of those Conditions, Mr. *Clarges*, Colonel *Cloberry*, and Doctor *Gumble*, were appointed to Treat with some of them, who when they met, had many Discourses of the whole Matter.

The Officers of the Army consent to the admission of the Secluded, upon certain Conditions.

Mr. *Clarges* and others, appointed to Treat with some of the Secluded concerning the safe Conditions.

The Secluded Members Declared, as to Government, they intended no alteration in it, or to Act further than in preparation for a Parliament *to succeed them; and since there was no other way for their Summons, but by Writs, in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of* England, *by Authority of* Parliament, *they saw not how there could be by that Constitution any other Government introduced: As to Confirmation of Sales, and Dispositions of Lands, they said, they had been all made since the Seclusion, and they would not alter them, but rather mediate with the next* Parliament, *to pass an Act for their Confirmation; and for the time of their sitting, They were contented it should determine in a Moneths time.* Cloberry *urged the great Insecurity the Army and many of their Friends would be in, if their Publick Lands were not confirmed, which was the price of their Blood; and though their not disturbing such Possessions in* England, *might be a little Satisfaction, yet the whole Nation of* Ireland *was unsettled both as to Adventurers and Souldiers.* To this it was Replyed, *That they should not think themselves in a Capacity to pass any Acts at all, as being but one House; and to prevent all Jealousie of their Actions, they would consent to be Limited to the Chief Heads of what they should consult, during the short time of their Continuance.*

The Consultations upon what the Members had delivered of their Intentions.

When the *Conference* ended, Report was made of the Substance of it to the General, and the rest of the Chief Officers, who approved of every thing proposed by the *Secluded Members*, except the not Confirmation of Publick Dispositions of Lands, and their refusing to pass any Acts of *Parliament*: As to that of Lands, which they would not be drawn to confirm, *Clarges* told the Officers, they could not answer it to the Kingdom, to break with them for that Consideration, *thereby to obstruct the Settlement of it, out of respect to their own private Interests*; he said, The greatest part of his own Estate was in *Ireland*, and that it was acknowledged by all, the greatest Insecurity of Publick Estates was in that Kingdom: yet he would for his own part submit all his Concerns to the Determination of the next Parliament; rather than by opposing the Admission of these Gentlemen, contribute to the hazard of the Publick Peace. And as to that of Publick Acts, he told them, He doubted not, but they would alter their Opinions, because no Money could be raised, to supply the Necessities of the Government; nor could their own Dissolution be, but by an Act.

The General, upon hearing this, seemed very much satisfied; upon which, all the rest assented. And it was agreed, That the *Secluded Members*, that were in Town, should, before their Admission, sign a Paper, to consent to confine their Consultations, chiefly to the four Heads following;

The General and the Officers agree upon admitting the Secluded Members.

1. *To the settling the Conduct of the Armies, in the Three Nations, as might be most serviceable to the Peace of the Nations.*

2. *For the providing Maintenance for the Forces by Sea and Land, and Money for their Arrears, and the Contingencies of Government.*

3. *To the appointing a* Council of State *to settle the Civil Government and Judicatures in* Scotland *and* Ireland, *and to take care for the Issuing of Writs for the Summoning of a* Parliament *to meet at* Westminster *the* 20th. *of* April.

4. *To their own Legal Dissolution.*

The Chief Heads recommended to their Consultations.

This Subscription was willingly made, and on *Tuesday* following in the Morning, the General gave them a meeting at *White-Hall*; Whence, after a short Speech to recommend to them the Settlement of the Nations, with assurance, *That he would impose nothing on them*, they went to take their Places in the *Parliament*: being conducted thither by Captain *Miller* who Commanded the Guards.

The General meets them at *White-Hall*, in order to their Admission into the House.

As soon as the Members were gone, the General Summoned all the Officers of the Army together that were then in and about *London*, to consider of a Letter to be sent to all the Regiments in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to have their Concurrence to what had been done concerning the Admission of the Secluded Members; which was referred to a *Committee* to be drawn up, with special Directions to satisfie them, *That nothing was intended for alteration of Government, but that it should continue as a Free-State and Common-Wealth*: This he did, in regard he knew it impossible, as affairs stood, to keep the Army in Temper any other way. The Letter was in a little time prepared, and so many Clerks were imployed, that Copies of it were that Night Signed and dispersed to all the Regiments and Garrisons in *England*, and to the Commanders in Chief of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. It was penn'd in these Words;

Dear Brethren and Fellow-Souldiers.

The Generals Letter to all the Regiments, to acquaint them with what he had done,

YOU cannot be Ignorant of the many Endeavours, and earnest Desires of many good Men in these Nations to bring Us to a Settlement; which it hath pleased God to disappoint unto this Day, and leave Us as a broken and divided People, ready to run into Blood and Confusion: Which that We might prevent so great Calamities impending,

after

after our earnest seeking to God for his Direction and Assistance, We find no Expedient so likely for the satisfaction of the Good People, and the Quiet and Welfare of this Common-Wealth, *as the re-admission of the Secluded Members, in order to a Legal Dissolution of this* Parliament *by their own free Consent, and to Issue Writs for a future full* Representative *of the whole* Common-Wealth *of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *under such Qualifications as may secure our Cause, to Convene on the twentieth day of* April *next at* Westminster, *for the establishing of this* Common-Wealth *upon the Foundations of Justice and true Freedom. And to take away all just Jealousies from you, We do assure you, That We shall joyn with you in the maintenance of those Ends, and do expect your Chearful Concurrence with Us; having no intentions or purposes to return to our old Bondage; But since the Providence of God hath made Us free at the cost of so much Blood, we hope we shall never be found so unfaithful to God and his People, as to lose so glorious a Cause; but We do resolve with the Assistance of God, to adhere to you in the continuing of our dear-purchased Liberties, both Spiritual and Civil. The reason of Our proceeding in this manner may seem strange, but if you duly consider the necessities of our Affairs and the present state of things, you will certainly conclude nothing so safe to secure Publick Interest, and to engage the Nations peaceably to submit to a* Free-State; *most of the said Members having given us full assurance, that their Session in Parliament shall be no longer than absolute necessity will require, to the putting the Government into Successive* Parliaments, *they not being free so to Act by the old Writs as when they shall be called upon a* Common-Wealth *accompt: And it is the Opinion of the truest Friends to a* Free-State, *That it cannot be consistent with the perpetual Sitting of these Members, being contrary to the nature of such a Government.*

And as We are confident the present Parliament *now Sitting, will not Repeal any of the* Acts, Ordinances, *or* Orders *of this present* Parliament, *for Sales, or publick Dispositions of Lands; so We shall in our Station observe, and cause to be observed all other* Acts *and* Ordinances *of this* Parliament, *whatsoever, and humbly interpose with the next succeeding* Parliament, *not only to pass a further ACT of Confirmation of all such Sales and Dispositions of Lands, here and in* Scotland, *but also of the Distributions and Dispositions of Lands and Houses in* Ireland *to the Souldiery, Adventurers, or any other Persons, made by or in pursuance of any of the* Acts, Ordinances, *or* Orders *of this present* Parliament, *or any pretended Parliamentary Authority. And We intreat you to send up an Officer to give to the Lord General* Monk *an accompt of your Acquiescence with Us herein.*

And if any disaffected persons shall take occasion to make disturbance of the Peace of the Common-Wealth, *either in favour of* Charles Stuart, *or any other pretended Authority, We desire you to secure them till the pleasure of the* Parliament *or* Council of State *be known in that behalf. You shall speedily receive Encouragement and Supplies of Money; and indeed it was not the least Motive to induce Us to this way of Composure of Affairs, that we might facilitate the raising of Moneys for the subsistence of the Army and Navy; which would not otherwise have been done (if at all) but with effusion of Blood. We have nothing more at this time, but to assure you that we shall ever remain,*

White-Hall, Feb. 21. 1659. Dear Brethren and Fellow-Souldiers, Your very affectionate Friends.

GEORGE MONK,

R. Knight,
John Cloberry,
Tho. Read,
John Hubblethorn,
Leonard Lydcott,
Tho. Saunders,
William Eyre,
John Streater,
Richard Moss,
William Farley,
Arthur Evelin,
} Colonels,

John Butler, Quarter-Master-General.

Ethelbert Morgan,
James Mutlow,
James Emmerson,
Joseph Witter.
Dennis Pepper,
} Lieut. Col.

James Dennis,
Richard Wagstaffe,
Thomas Johnson,
Francis Nicholls,
Jer. Smith,
Nathaniel Barton,
Thomas Higgs,
John Clark,
} Majors,

William Goodwin,
Henry Ogle,
} Captains,

These Transactions were managed with so much Secresie, that the Members that were sitting in the House knew nothing of them, till they saw the Secluded Members come in and sit amongst them. Upon which they being surprised, were at first at a demur among themselves, whether they should keep their Seats, or quit the *House*; till at length the grand Sticklers of them for a *Common-wealth*, well knowing that it would not be in their power by staying, to make their Interest good against those who were now the major Party of the *House*, resolved, since they could not hinder them the partial possession thereof, to resign it intire unto them, while those of them that were the most moderate and well inclined staid behind, and took their Seats amongst the new admitted Members: Who in the first place applied themselves to vindicate the Honour of their *House*, as far as in them lay, by nullifying and expunging out of the Journals all *Votes* whereby they were disabled from sitting as Members therein. Next, They order Mr. *Vincent* and Mr. *Bromfield*, and the rest of those Citizens which were committed by the *Council of States* Orders, when the City Gates were broken, to be released; as also all others who were any where Imprisoned upon Sir *George Booth*'s Rising, or for making *Addresses* for the Admission of the Secluded Members: Moreover, they Constituted General *Monk* by ACT of *Parliament*, Captain General of all the Armies of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and repealed that ACT which made him only a Joynt-Commissioner with Colonel *Morley*, *Haslerig*, *Walton*, and *Allured*, for Government of the Army.

Upon the Admission of the Secluded Members, divers of the rest quit the *House*.

Some there were of these restored Members, who at the first admission, could not well be present, by reason of their far distant Habitations; of which number was Mr. *William Morrice*, whom Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, the General's Brother, knowing him to be a Prudent Person, and well disposed for his Prince's Service, and the good of his Country, writ to *Clarges* to put the General in mind of sending for him, that being near him, he might be assistant to him in his Counsels: To this the General was easily perswaded, having had long before by his Brothers report of him, a good Opinion of his Abilities and Worth; and the rather, for that by his Wife he was somewhat allied to him. *Clarges* acquainted Mr. *Nicholas Monk* with what he had done, and incloſed a Letter from the General to Mr. *Morrice*, to acquaint him with his admission of the Secluded Members, and to desire him to repair to the *Parliament*: Where he arrived whilest they were Sitting, and took his place in the *House*; wherein he appeared a most useful Instrument by his great Abilities, in Promoting and carrying on of the General's Affairs in relation to his Majesties Interest.

The *Parliament* repealed the ACT for the former *Council of State*, and the Oath of *Abjuration*, and passed an ACT for another *Council* to consist of one and Thirty Persons: Which were,

A new *Council of State* chosen.

General *George Monk*,
William Pierpoint,
John Crew, Esquire,
Colonel *Rossiter*,
Richard by *Knightly*, Esquire,
Colonel *Popham*,
Colonel *Morley*,
Lord *Fairfax*,
Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*,
Sir *Gilbert Gerard*,
Lord Chief Justice *St. John*,
Sir *John Temple*,
Lord Commissioner *Widdrington*,
Sir *John Evelin* of *Wilts*,
Sir *William Waller*,
Sir *Richard Onslow*,
Sir *William Lewis*,
Colonel *Edward Montague*,
Colonel *Edward Harley*,
Colonel *Richard Norton*,
Arthur Ansley, Esquire,
Denzell Holles Esquire,
Colonel *George Thomson*,
John Trevor, Esquire,
Sir *John Holland*,
Sir *John Potts*,
Colonel *John Birch*,
Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*,
John Swinfin, Esquire,
John Weaver, Esquire,
Serjeant *Maynard*.

Most of them Men of Integrity, and well affected to Kingly Government.

The General hearing that Colonel *Rich* was about St. *Edmonds-Bury*, and having actually debauch'd two Troops, was endeavouring to corrupt the rest of his Regiment, he sent the Life-Guard to reduce them, and gave a Commission to Colonel *Ingoldsby* to Command the Regiment.

The Life-Guard had been lately in defection with the rest of the Troops under *Lambert*, and had not been mustered since the Restauration of the *Parliament*, nor had hitherto any Commander in Chief. And therefore the General thought fit at this time to model that Troop, and to give the Command thereof to Captain *Philip Howard*, making Mr. *Robert Harley* his Lieutenant, and his Kinsman Mr. *Henry Monk*, Cornet; who were so Active, that in six hours time they displaced all of whom they had any suspition, and filled up the Troop with honest and gallant men; who immediately Marched towards *Suffolk*, to execute the General's Orders upon Colonel *Rich*; but he having Notice of the Marching of that Party towards him, retired privately, and the

The Life-Guard, moulded, and conferred upon Captain *Philip Howard*.

Rich his Regiment submit to the General's Orders.

the Regiment quietly received Col. *Ingoldsby* to Command them, who by the General's appointment put out all such Officers as were of froward and seditious Principles in Religion or Government.

The General takes care for the setling of *North-Wales.*

And to reduce *North Wales* to a more setled condition, than it was in at that present; the General gave Colonel *Carter* a Commission to be Governour of *Beaumorris* Castle, (the Souldiers whereof had been placed there by Colonel *John Jones*) with Authority to raise Forces to reduce *Denbigh* and *Conway*, which had been in very ill hands, and to settle that Country in quiet: which he did in a very short time, to the great satisfaction of all the Gentry and people in those parts.

The late *Commonwealth-Parliament* before the admission of the Secluded Members, had given *Desborow*'s Regiment to Colonel *Walton*; but the General disposed of it to Colonel *Charles Howard* of *Naworth*, whom he also made Governour of *Carlisle.*

The Parliament levy a new Tax, and proceed to the settlement of the *Militia.*

The *Parliament* passed an *Act of Assessment* for a Hundred Thousand Pounds a Month for Six Months, and proceeded with much haste to settle the *Militia* both in the City and all other parts of *England* and *Wales*, having vacated the former *ACT* made before their admission, because most of the Commissioners and Officers all over *England*, were of Persons of suspected Inclinations to the Government.

There being at this time an unusual Confluence of Officers of the Army in *London*, and some Troops and Companies drawing together in several Parts of the Kingdom; The *Parliament* by Proclamation Commanded all Officers to repair to their respective Charges, and not to depart from thence without special Order from the Lord General: And that all such Troops and Companies as had removed from their Quarters without the Lord General's Licence, should return forthwith to their last Quarters formerly Assigned, or to such others as should be Assigned them by directions from the Lord General.

They Command all Officers and Souldiers to repair to their several Commands and Quarters.

But notwithstanding all this Care in the *Parliament*, Colonel *Overton* was designing to make Disturbances in *York-shire*; He drew up a Letter to Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Bethell*, and Colonel *Smithson*, which he caused to be Subscribed by all his Officers; And therein signified to them;

A Letter of Col. *Overton* and the Officers with him, to some of General *Monk*'s Officers.

That having received intimation from private hands, That the abandoned Interest of Charles Stuart *doth seem so to shine in the face of Publick Transactions, that many Jealousies and Dissatisfactions were created amongst their Brethren in the Army, who remained faithful to the true* Cause *they had contended for, insomuch, that* (as it was represented to them) *several Regiments had declared their disconcurrence with these present Distractions, and their Resolutions in adhering to the* Cause *God had determined with Victory against all Monarchical Interests, they could not but judge it incumbent upon them to wake in such a time, and to endeavour to be found in the discharge of that Duty which their Instruments commanded from them; wherein as on the one hand they were unwilling to appear precipitate in their proceedings, so on the other they were afraid to fall short of a timely interposing of their Assistance against that old Bondage which was likely to break in anew upon them: And therefore they thought fit to expedite that Intimation unto them, and desire to understand as well what was their sense, as what was signified or imparted to them: That as they were equally engaged and concerned in one Publick Cause, so they might* (if occasion required) *be as conjunctively abetting and assisting to the defence of it; which through the Assistance of God they were resolved to assert and maintain* (*as the fruits of their Blood, the Nations Treasure, and the Prayers of the People of God*) *against any design whatsoever which threatned the ruine of their Civil and Religious Rights.*

Many Copies of this Letter were dispersed amongst the Souldiers before the Original was sent, and an Attestation added in these words, *This is* Overton's *and the Officers of the Garrison of* Hulls *Letter: And it is hoped, will meet with the Concurrence of all our honest Fellow-Souldiers, who have been engaged in the* Good Old Cause *against the Interest of a* King *and* Single Person.

If Colonel *Fairfax*, *Smithson*, and *Bethell* had not been very Active, this practice had perverted many Souldiers, but they were vigilant to prevent it. Upon knowledge of this Letter, the General writ to *Overton* by Colonel *Alured* and Major *Smith*, to give him Satisfaction in his proceedings here; and the *Council of State* upon his Motion did the like. Major *Smith* was well known and beloved in *Hull*, and, the General having a Design to Remove *Overton*, he was privately to deal with some Officers and Souldiers under him who loved him not, to bring him to Reason, if upon Orders for his Remove, he should be disobedient to them; And as soon as they were gone, he sent private Orders to Colonel *Fairfax* (to whom he gave a Commission to be Governour of *Hull*) to draw some Companies to *Beverly*, and Writ to *Overton* to repair immediately to him; his Letter was sent to Colonel *Fairfax* open, that he might see the Import of it. The Letter was in the following Words:

The General sends Col. *Fairfax* to take possession of *Hull.*

SIR,

The General's Letter to Colonel *Overton.*

'I Have seen a Letter from you, and some others at *Hull*, dated from that Garrison 'on the 28 of *February* last, and directed to 'Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Bethell*, and Colonel *Smithson*; wherein you complain of the 'present Transactions of the Publick Affairs, 'as if they tended to the bringing in of the 'King, and a Monarchical Bondage, which '(you write) seems very likely to break in a-'new upon us, and threatens the ruine of our 'Civil and Religious Rights: All which, you 'say, is derived to you from private hands, 'which do not only insinuate their private Jealousies, but inform you that several Regiments have declared their disconcurrence 'with the present Transactions. I must confess, I am a little surprized at this your Letter, and manner of Proceedings, having so 'lately sent to you from my Self, and the greatest part of the Officers of the Army, a full 'Accompt of the Necessities that induced us, 'to consent to the return of the Secluded 'Members to the exercise of their Trust; and 'our Resolutions to that Cause we have so 'long contended for, and to the *Parliament* 'in the prosecution of it: And (notwithstanding the Information you pretend to 'have received, I cannot in my own observation discern any Grounds for such Apprehensions of Affairs here as you seem to entertain: nor has there appeared a discontent 'in any one Regiment of the Army, except 'part of Colonel *Rich*'s Regiment, which is 'since reduced: wherefore (although you pretend not to be too precipitate in your proceedings) your dispersing Copies of your 'Letter before you sent it, may reasonably 'make me judge otherwise: And if you prosecute the matter further, I cannot but interpret your Action as tending to divide the 'Army, by withdrawing their Obedience from 'the *Parliament*, and consequently to involve 'the Nations in a new and bloody War. So 'that to avoid all occasions of this nature, I 'desire that within twenty four hours after this 'Letter comes to your hands, you set forward 'from *Hull* towards *London*, to give me an accompt of the present posture of that Garrison; And that within six hours after this comes to you, you signifie to Colonel *Fairfax*, 'and Colonel *Bethell*, your Compliance herein, 'and the Day wherein you intend to begin 'your Journey, and be with me here, where I 'shall expect you within a Week after your departure from *Hull*. I have written to Colonel *Fairfax* more particularly concerning the 'Peace and Safety of the *Northern* parts, and of the Garrison of *Hull*; and if he communicates any Orders from me to you, I expect your obedience to them:

Yours,

GEORGE MONK.

The Colonel submits to the General's Orders.

Colonel *Overton* was surprized at the receipt of this Letter; but finding himself in no capacity to dispute the Order for his delivery up of *Hull*, he submitted to it; and sent to Colonel *Fairfax* to acquaint him with that his resolution; and himself at Eleven of the Clock, the same Night, began his Journey towards *London* to the General.

The General about the same time gave his Commission to Mr. *Clarges* to be Commissary-General of the Musters of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and to Mr. *Morrice*, to be Governour of *Plymouth*; and to Major-General *Morgan*, to be Commander in Chief of the Army in *Scotland*.

The Army in *Scotland* well satisfied with the General's Actions.

Morgan was already upon the place, but wanted sufficient Authority, till he had this Commission sent to him; and all the Army there submitted to the General's Actions in reference to the *Secluded Members*, except a Company in Garrison in the Isle of *Orkney*, commanded by one *Watson*, which was reduced by Captain *Mar*, and *Watson*, and his Officers imprisoned, and his Company disbanded.

Many private Overtures were made to the General by some of the Peers that sate in the Lords House a little before the death of the late King, to be admitted to Sit; but he thought it inconvenient and hazardous, in regard the Army was already so Jealous upon the Sitting of the *Secluded Members*, that he had difficulty enough to moderate them. Yet at the Request of the Earl of he sent Commissary-General *Clarges* to confer with him.

A Conference between Commissary *Clarges* and a Peer of the Land, about the Sitting of the *Lords House*.

The *Earl told him*, 'The Sitting of the Lords 'would be very advantageous to the good of 'the Kingdom, and to the Souldiers in particular; for that they would joyn in an ACT 'for the Confirmation of their Estates: And if 'it should be thought convenient for the good 'of the Kingdom to receive the *King*, he 'could not upon any Conditions with so much 'safety be restored, as such as should be made by *Act of Parliament*.

To this *Clarges* replied, 'That the General 'was very well satisfied, that the *Parliament* 'was Dissolved by the Death of the late King; 'and that the present Sitting of the Members, 'was a Constitution rather taken up upon Necessity, than Right, which was but to make 'way for another *Parliament*; That one great 'Argument for the Admission of the *Secluded* 'Members, was their Consent to a quick Dissolution; which could not be, if the *Lords* 'should Sit: For they would then think themselves invested in that perpetuity which some 'fancy is of right in this *Parliament* still. *But* 'that which was most convincing, was, That the 'Army was not yet in temper for it.

Every

Every Poſt brought the General *Addreſſes* from all the Regiments in *England*, of their conſent to his Actings: And Sir *Charles Coot* in *Ireland* had with many other Officers, upon the ſame day that the *Secluded Members* were admitted, declared at *Dublin* for them, and had ſecured Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, that had diſſented from him.

An Act propoſed for the ſetling of *Hampton-Court* upon the General.

Thoſe of the former Members who ſtaid in the *Houſe* after the admiſſion of the *Secluded Members*, that they might ingage the General againſt the King, promoted an *ACT* for the ſetling of *Hampton-Court*, with all the Parks and ſome other Lands upon him and his Heirs for ever; which ſo troubled him, that he uſed all the Friends he had to divert it; and at laſt an Expedient was found out, by giving him by *Act* of *Parliament*, a Preſent of twenty thouſand pounds in Money, and the Cuſtody or Stewardſhip of that Houſe, and the Parks for his life: They alſo conferred upon Commiſſary *Clarges* the Hamper-Office; and about the 13th of *March* they Ordered, That the *Engagement*, appointed to be taken by each Member of Parliament, in theſe words, *(viz.) I do declare and promiſe, that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of* England, *as the ſame is now eſtabliſhed without King or Houſe of Lords*, ſhould be taken off the File, and made null.

The Engagement abrogated.

Scot, *Haſlerig*, and ſome others, (whoſe names we ſhall forbear to mention, becauſe they are yet living, and have repented of the raſhneſs of their former proceedings) were much alarm'd at this proceeding, which they took to be an inevitable Prognoſtick of introducing the King; and though they ſo much affected Power, as to endure no Rivals in it, they choſe rather to have the General take the Dominion of the Three Kingdoms upon himſelf, than to have the King reſtored. They conſulted privately with ſome of the Officers of the Army, whom they truſted moſt, and theſe approved ſo well of the Expedient, that the General was Treated with about it in *White-Hall*; where *Haſlerig* told him, 'That many of his Friends were 'much troubled at the *Parliaments* Actions, 'which tended both to the ruine of him, and 'all the good people of the Nation, ſince it was 'evident, that by what they had Voted the day 'before, nothing was intended but the Reſti-'tution of the King. His overthrow, *they ſaid*, 'muſt needs ſucceed the admiſſion of the King; 'for a Merit too great to be rewarded, could 'have no recompence but death; whereof fre-'quent Examples are to be found in all Hiſto-'ry, and in none more pregnant than our own; 'where it is recorded, That the ſame *Stanley* 'who placed the Crown upon *Henry* the Se-'venths Head, had his own ſtruck off, upon a 'very frivolous pretence, when the reaſon was 'only exceſs of Merit. *They told him likewiſe*, 'They found a *Commonwealth-Government* not 'agreeable with the diſpoſition of the People, 'who are always bad Judges of what is beſt for 'themſelves; and therefore ſince a *Single Per-'ſon* was neceſſary, there could not be one fitter 'than he for that Office. To which they had 'very good grounds to believe all the good 'People of the Nation would concur with them.

The *Commonwealth* Faction deſire the General rather to take the Government upon himſelf, than to bring in the King. They Treat with him about it.

The General told them, 'He himſelf was 'not well pleaſed at the late unneceſſary *Vote* 'of *Parliament* concerning the *Engagement*, but 'many of the moſt diſcreet Members had been 'with him, and ſatisfied him, that they had no 'deſign in it, but to keep themſelves free a-'gainſt the next *Parliament*; for in regard '(they ſaid) that he had conſented that the fi-'nal determination of Government ſhould be 'referred to that, they were unwilling to anti-'cipate their Counſels by determining of it by 'that *Engagement*, which would be too great a 'Snare unto them: *Still urging*, 'That they 'knew not any cauſe he ſhould have of fear, 'for that the very Writ of Summons of the next '*Parliament*, did ſufficiently defend the Go-'vernment, in reſtraining their Debates to it. 'As for the Government in his own Perſon, *he 'ſaid*, The experience of *Cromwel*'s Fate gave 'him Reaſons to avoid the Rock on which 'that Family was ſplit.

They replyed, 'That *Oliver Cromwel* uſurped 'the Dominion againſt the ſuffrage of the Ar-'my, and the conſent of all the good people; 'whereas he ſhould have it by their unanimous 'conſent, and under what Name and Title he 'pleaſed to accept it.

The General refuſeth their Offer.

The General would by no means hear more of theſe temptations, reſolving not to loſe the Honour derived to him from as Ancient a ſtock of Gentry as any was in *England*, by ſo treacherous a Proſtitution of it.

A little before theſe Men went to the General, Commiſſary *Clarges* had been tampered with by them, to the ſame purpoſe; and obſerving them to go from him to his Lordſhip, he deliberated how to extricate him from further Applications of this kind, and puniſh the Inſolency of theſe Undertakers.

Commiſſary *Clarges* gives intimation of theſe proceedings to the *Council of State*.

The *Council of State* Sitting at the time of this private Conference, and within two Chambers of the place where it was tranſacted, he ſent in to the Council to Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, and informed him of what he knew, and what he further ſuſpected: Upon which it was agreed, That as ſoon as the General ſhould depart from them, and come into the Council, he ſhould move, That all Clerks and Attendants, that were not Councellors, ſhould withdraw, and the Doors be locked, and then declare, That he had had Information of a dangerous Deſign in ſome ſeditious perſons, who were contriving to make Diſturbances in the Nation, and that they had proceeded ſo far, as to make ſome indecent Overtures to him, of which he deſired that the Council might receive a full diſcovery, that thereupon they might apply themſelves to prevent the Conſequences of it.

The General in favour of thoſe Perſons mitigates the matter.

But the General being unwilling to expoſe thoſe men to ruine, (though they deſerved not his favour) becauſe his purpoſes were deſigned to be effected by the moſt peaceable ways, told the *Council*, *That there was not ſo much danger in agitation as they apprehended; but that it was true, ſome had been with him to be reſolved in ſcruples concerning the preſent Tranſactions in* Parliament, *but they went away from him well ſatisfied.*

Thus

They yet attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army.

Thus the goodness of the General was abused; for these unreasonable men, when they saw they could not allure him to their ends by the temptation of power, attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army; wherein they prevailed so far, as that the Officers had had one Meeting, and had appointed another. In their first they were so heated, that a Declaration was immediately prepared, and brought by some of them to the General, to oblige him with his Army to declare for a *Commonwealth*, and ingage against all them that should attempt the setting up of a *Single Person*; and that he should send to the *Parliament* to joyn with them in this Declaration.

A Declaration brought by the Officers to the General to Sign.

Commissary *Clarges* and Mr. *Clark*, the General's Secretary, were with him when this was brought to him, and observing great trouble in his Countenance at the reading of it, moved, That he would defer the signing or giving any opinion of it till the next Morning, because then the Officers of the Army were to have a General Council. This was done, that the General might have time to provide himself of Arguments against it, and prepare some of his Friends to joyn with him: One of the chief Motives that induced him to make Mr. *Morrice* an Officer of the Army, was to have his aid in Consultations at such times as these: For there were frequent Meetings of Officers; and one of so good Judgment and Elocution, as he, could not but perswade much: So that he had been the fittest Person that could have been thought on, had not his being unused to such Assemblies made him not care to be present at them.

Okey's Speech at the Council of Officers.

The next Morning a great concourse of Officers met at S. *James's*, and Colonel *Okey* opened the Council, with a long Speech, *of the fears they were in of an Inundation of Evils breaking in upon them, to invade their Civil and Religious Liberties; and that if great care was not used to prevent it*, Charles Stuart *would be introduced*: *And that the best Expedient that could be thought of, was to send immediately to the* Parliament, *to oblige them to declare and ingage for a* Free-State *and* Commonwealth, *without a* King *or* House of Lords: *And if they refused to do it, to take such a Remedy as God should put into their hearts to save the Nation from destruction.*

Commissary *Clarges* his Answer.

Commissary *Clarges* answered, *That he saw no cause for those fears that were insinuated; and that if they sent to the* Parliament *in such a manner, they would find no pleasing return from them, for if these Men would have been terrified by the Army, there would not have been fourteen of them Impeached at one time of Treason, and two hundred secluded at another; and the first thing they would probably do, upon the receipt of such a Message, would be to dissolve themselves, and then there would be no Government; but instead of the* Single Person *they were so much afraid of, they must necessarily have recourse to* Richard Cromwel, *and expose themselves to his Revenge, for the Indignities they had lately with so much scorn put upon him and his Family.*

And as for the General (applying himself to him) *he said, He knew he would not assume the Government, having heard him profess, (on occasion of these Alterations) he would rather be drawn in pieces with wild horses, than be so treacherous to the Nation.*

The General concluded, and told them, 'The 'time of this *Parliaments* ending was so near, 'they could not do the ills some of them (he 'hoped) causlesly feared; And that from the 'next *Parliament* he doubted not they would 'receive better satisfaction than they had in 'this, since it was provided in the ACT for 'their Assembling, that none should be Elected 'that had been against the *Parliament* since 1641. Withal, *He confirmed what Commissary* 'Clarges *had said*, That if by this violent pro'ceeding they should make the *Parliament* ha'stily dissolve themselves, and leave the Nation 'in confusion, they must not expect he would 'take upon him the Government, which he had 'rather lose his life than accept.

The General's determination of the matter.

After this, there was little moved by any of the Officers; only one said, *That nothing could be hoped from Qualifications for a new* Parliament, *for they themselves being to be Judges of them, it might so happen, that the major part might be of such as were not themselves Qualified.*

The General knew this to be an unanswerable Argument, (and it was for this reason he pressed for a new *Parliament* on any terms) but was unwilling to hear more discourse of this kind, and therefore told them, *Nothing was more injurious to Discipline, than their meeting in Military Councils to interpose in Civil things.* And from that time he forbad them to assemble again; and within a few days after, that is to say, on the 17th of *March*, the Parliament by Act dissolved it self, having before summoned a *Parliament* to succeed them the 25th day of *April* following; and passed *two Votes* to keep the *Royal Party* out of both *House* and *Army*. The first concerning the *Militia*, where no person was to be admitted for a *Commissioned Officer*, without declaring in these words following. *I do acknowledge and declare, that the War undertaken by both Houses of Parliament in their defence, against the Forces raised in the name of the late King, was Just and Lawful; and that Magistracy, and Ministry, are the Ordinances of God.* Secondly, *Resolved, that all and every Person who have advised, or voluntarily aided, abetted or assisted in any War against the Parliament,* (*since the first day of* January 1641.) *his, or their Sons, unless he or they have since manifested their good affections to this Parliament, shall be uncapable to be elected to serve as Members of the next Parliament.* The *Royal Party*, who had suffered so much in the *Defence* and *Service* of the *Government*, and who had behaved themselves so Honourably in their endeavours of extinguishing all *Animosities*, upon this hopeful change of Affairs; little, I say, did they expect to see *themselves turn'd out of Doors* by such a preclusion from *Publick Office*, or *Imployment*, upon the very *Test* of their *Fidelity* to their *Soveraign*. But these Votes were little heeded by the *Electors*, the People having so great an esteem for the *Royal Party*, that almost generally wheresoever they stood, they carried it; and kept their places too in the House of Commons, notwithstanding a contrivance there also, to have ejected them after they were met.

Mounsieur

The Conference between *Monsieur de Bordeaux*, and Commissary *Clarges*.

Monsieur de Bordeaux the French Embassador then Resident in *London*, was very desirous to interesse Cardinal *Mazarini*, in this great Revolution of Government, and having had acquaintance with *Clarges*, expected by him to discover all the Generals Designs, and in order thereunto, sent his Secretary to him, *To desire him to move the General, to have Licence to give him a visit, and to confer about some overtures he had to make to him.*

Clarges, upon this intimation, went to the Embassador, who carried him into his Closet, and they two being alone, he told him, 'That it was 'visible to all, that the General had some great 'Design in projection, and that most wise men 'believed it was, either to advance himself to the 'Monarchy of these Nations, or introduce the 'King; and that in either of these, he had the advantage of being more serviceable to him then 'any other; for if he should use any *Englishman* 'in so important an Intrigue, if he should not 'have success, that would be brought in evidence 'against him to his destruction: Whereas he as 'a stranger, and a publick Minister could not 'be questioned. He further said, 'What he pro'pos'd, was not only in reference to himself, but 'to Cardinal *Mazarini*, who would be glad to 'have the honour of his friendship, assist him 'faithfully in all his purposes. He said moreover, 'That he could not undertake to determine, 'Whether it was not best for him to dignifie his 'Family with the Empire of these Kingdoms, or 'to restore the King to them; They were both 'actions of much glory; and if the latter were 'as easie, the honour of it would be as great: 'But that he might be confident of the Cardinal 'he did assure him, that *Oliver Cromwell* kept so 'strict a League with him, that he did not assume 'the government without his privity, and was 'directed step by step by him in the progress of 'that action: And therefore, if he resolved on 'that course, he should not only have the Car'dinals friendship and Counsel in the attempt, 'but a safe retreat and honourable support in '*France*, if he failed in it. Or if he would admit 'the King, and put the manner of it into the Car'dinals hands, whatever he would desire for him'self of Security, or honour from the Crown, 'he would undertake to obtain, and in such a 'manner, that it should rather seem by the Car'dinals advice, then his particular Inclination; 'and the King would gladly receive it, and *France*, should be the place to which (if he agreed) the 'King should presently retreat; where he should 'have a Train provided proportionable to his 'greatness, that his People here might, with 'greater Reverence, apply themselves to him; 'and by this way (he said) the General might not 'only oblige the King of *England*, but the King 'his Master also, by making him a Mediator 'and Instrument in his Restauration.

To this *Clarges* answered, 'That the matter 'was too deep for him to be involv'd in, in re'gard (as he himself had acknowledged) of the 'danger of having such a secret known to any 'second Person a Native of *England*.

'But nevertheless, to satisfie him, he assured 'him, That the General did not intend to take 'upon him the government, but submit all to the 'determination of the next Parliament.

He then Replyed, 'That a Parliament in *Eng*- 1659
'*land* was a kind of tumultuary Council, so va'rious in their Debates, that no certain measure 'could be taken from them, and therefore for 'not taking this course which he advis'd, he 'might be hurried by their froward proceed'ings, to some sudden Enterprise, neither safe 'for himself, nor good for the people; and that 'with him, in any misfortune, all his Relations 'would be ruin'd.

To this Conference, *Clarges* put an end, by telling him, 'He would take a fuddain occasion 'to sound the Generals Inclinations, and though 'he would not directly tell him what had pass'd 'betwixt them, he should nevertheless guess, 'whether it might be fit for him to impart it to 'him; the only difficulty that remain'd, was 'the Generals want of the *French*-Tongue; 'Which the Ambassador said, 'Was not neces'sary, for that he had *English* enough to be un'derstood, and to understand all that should be 'said to him; and thus they parted.

The General refuseth to treat with the Embassador, or the Cardinal.

Clarges told all that pass'd to Mr. *Morrice*, and to the General himself, who absolutely refus'd to have any Commerce with the Ambassador or the Cardinal; nevertheless, that he might not appear uncivil, he was contented to receive his Visit, but on Condition, *That he should not propose any thing to him in reference to the publick affairs of Government.*

This was signified to the Ambassador, and he came that Evening to complement the General, making great professions of his Services to him, on all occasions, without descending to particulars.

The manner of Sir *John Greenvill's* application to the General.

Much more successful was the Application made by Sir *John Greenvil*, who being an active Agent for the King, and a neer Kinsman to the General, was therefore by his Majesty thought a fit person to be imployed to him; but he knowing the wary temper of the General, was much troubled how to get access to him; till bethinking himself of Mr. *Morrice*, his Neighbour in the Countrey, a person often conversant with the General, he concluded by his mediation to do it, and thereupon requested him to let the General know he had something of great Importance to impart to him, and desired he would give him the opportunity to do it.

When Mr. *Morrice* inform'd the General of this, he receiv'd it with much strangeness; for although Sir *John* was his near Relation, yet by reason of his youth, and the Generals long absence from his Countrey, they had little acquaintance with each other, and therefore he told Mr. *Morrice*, *Except he would send him information by him, of the nature of his business, he could not admit of any intercourse with him.*

Mr. *Morrice* told him, *He had already desired to know that, but* Greenvill *refused it.* The General in his mind, liked well of this reservedness in Sir *John*, and bid Mr. *Morrice* acquaint him, *That if he came the next day at nine in the evening to St.* James's, *he would speak with him.* And accordingly *Greenvill* came to him, at the appointed time, which was the next evening, after the dissolution of the Parliament.

His Reception.

When he came, after he had requested Pardon for the importunity of his visit, he desired his permission to deliver a Message he had to him from

1659 from his Majesty. The General seem'd surpriz'd at this saying; but seeing that there was no body in the Room but Mr. *Morrice*, and he at a good distance from them, he bid him say what he pleas'd.

He delivers his Message. He then presented to him a Letter from the King, and told him, 'That his Majesty had great 'Confidence in his affections to him, and since he 'had complyed so far with the desires of all the 'sober part of the Kingdom, for the admission of 'the Secluded Members, in order to a free Parlia- 'ment; The consequences of that could not but 'give sufficient evidence of his Inclinations to 'his Majesties Service and Restitution, which 'would naturally flow from his Endeavours, in 'Conjunction with their Councels.

The General's Answer. The General replyed, 'That he had long la- 'mented the miserable distraction of his Native 'Country, and waited a fit occasion to contri- 'bute his assistance to the Redemption of it. And 'when *Lambert* and those with him had inter- 'rupted the *Parliament*; Considering that the 'Army had been newly in a great measure by 'that *Parliament* modell'd, he supposed by a De- 'claration for their Restitution he might gain a 'Power in his hands for better purposes, and, as 'the better to bring these his purposes about, he 'resolv'd if by his Arms the *Parliament* should 'be restored, together, with those few Members 'which sate at their interruption, to admit those 'also who had been secluded; intending to that 'end, by degrees, to put his Army into such hands 'as would favour his intentions: That it was well 'known to all, How he was disappointed in that 'design, and through what difficulties he arrived 'to the Station he was then in, nor was he even 'at that time secure from great danger of disap- 'pointment, if he should not manage his affairs 'with more than ordinary secresie.

'As to the Kings Majesty (he said) None 'wish'd him greater felicity than he, nor desired 'his Restauration with more passion; but if it 'were not cautiously attempted, it would be out 'of his Power to serve him in it, since in Coun- 'cels of so nice concernment, there would not be 'room for two Errors. The People he told him, 'had been long seduc'd by seditious insinuations, 'and the Army in the hands of such, as had al- 'ways been against his Royal Father, and many 'of them even against Monarchy it self; but ne- 'vertheless, he hoped, if they might find the same 'security under his Majesties Government, as 'they had under the Usurpers of it, he might not 'despair of their reduction to obedience. And to 'effect this, it was his humble advice, that his 'Majesty should prevent their fears, by decla- 'ring a free and general Pardon to all his Sub- 'jects, and engage himself to give it under the 'Great-Seal, to all that should submit to his Au- 'thority, except such as should be exempted by 'the *Parliament*.

'And that he would consent to any *Act* or 'Acts of *Parliament*, that should be presented to 'him for the settlement of publick Sales and 'Dispositions of Lands, to Officers, Souldiers, & 'others; and the payment of the Souldiers Ar- 'rears; As also for toleration of Liberty of Con- 'science to all his Subjects; And that none should 'be punished for differences in matters of Reli- 'gion who should not disturb the publick Peace.

Sir *John* asked him, 'What he would give 'him in Command for himself, and if he would 'write to his Majesty? Which he excused at that time, saying, 'If his Letter should be intercepted 'before he had compleated the Reforming the 'Armies, it would be impossible for him to keep 'them in temper, or hinder the subversion of all 'he had hitherto done; Adding, That he sought 'not his own advantage in his Endeavours for 'the publick benefit of his Country: and that ha- 'ving with much hazard, brought matters near 'to a fair issue, in pursuance of the general suf- 'rage of the Nations, he was unwilling, by indis- 'cretion, to venture a relapse, but would choose 'to involve himself in the same Condition with 'the generality of the People, in expectation of 'what the next *Parliament* should bring forth, to 'the happiness of his Majesty, & all his Kingdoms.

A farther discourse between them confirming the sincerity of the General's Intentions.

Sir *John Greenville* writ down the substance of this Discourse, and repeated it to the General, to be the better able to retain it in his Memory; but as soon as he had read it, he entreated him to tear it in pieces, and conjur'd him to acquaint no person whatsoever with their Conference, except the King himself, and to request him also to conceal it. But above all things, he intreated him, *To desire his Majesty from him, to go out of the King of* Spains *Dominions to* Breda, *or some other place under the Government of the States of the United Provinces; for that he had certain Intelligence, he would be detained by the King of* Spains *Ministers, if he stayed in his Dominions.*

And at Sir *John*'s Parting from him, he told him, *He was glad that this occasion of presenting his Duty to the King, was an effect of his diligence, whom he was glad to find so industrious and vigilant in his Masters Service: of which he had before some experience when his Brother* Nicholas *came from him into* Scotland.

Sir *John* takes his Journey towards *Brussels.* He promis'd to observe all the General's Instructions; and when he came to *Ostend* (where he arriv'd the 23th of *March*) he put all that had passed betwixt them into Writing, and digested it into form, to be presented to his Majesty. And in the Conduct of the whole affair, he was so secret, that the Lord *Mordant*, who went over with him to his Majesty, knew nothing of it.

He gives his Majesty an account of his Negotiation, and the effects thereof. At *Brussels* he retired to a private house, to which his Majesty (upon intimation) very secretly repaired, and with great satisfaction received the Intelligence he brought, but because he could not prosecute the Generals desire (as to his removal) without advice for the manner of executing it, he consulted the Marques of *Ormond*, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, being persons in whom, from just reason and experience, he had most intire confidence, by whose assistance the matter was so order'd, that in two or three days, he took his Journey to *Breda*; where we shall leave his Majesty in Consultation, to return to the Transactions in *England* of that busie time.

The King removes to *Breda.*

The Council of State took care to have the Act put in speedy execution throughout *England*, for the Election of Members to serve in *Parliament*, and for putting the Militia into sober hands: And because many seditious People were endeavouring to debauch the Army, they published a Proclamation to forbid all persons whatsoever, to correspond with any of the Officers & Souldiers

The Council of State set forth a Proclamation for the preventing of tumults and disturbances.

Souldiers of the Army in the way of agitating, or otherwise, whereby any dissatisfaction might be raised towards the present government, to endanger the peace of the Nation, giving power to all Officers, both Military and Civil, to seize upon any Persons offending as aforesaid: And for the better encouragement of all whom it should concern, they declared and promised to give to the discoverer of any such person, who should apprehend and secure such offenders, the summe of ten pounds. And this Proclamation was ordered to be published in the Head of every Regiment, Troop and Company of the Army, to the intent, the same should be the better taken notice of, and put in more effectual execution: And the General sent it to every Regiment to be proclaimed accordingly. But this did not sufficiently prevent the ill humours amongst the Souldiers, which made Commissary *Clarges* consult privately with the General, about some other more effectual course; he propos'd to frame an *Engagement* for all to subscribe, to acquiesce in whatsoever the next *Parliament* should do, and to displace all that should refuse: His Lordship liked very well of this Proposition, but thought it very hard to be executed; nevertheless, he encouraged him to go on, and that night alone he fram'd it, and immediately advis'd with Colonel *Howard*, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, Mr. *Ansley*, and Colonel *Knight* (who all of them with one consent approved it, being all Persons of great Credit with the General) about the putting it in execution. Colonel *Knight* undertook by the next day at noon, to get it Signed by all the Officers of his own Regiment, and the Generals Regiment of Horse, and the Life-guard; and Colonel *Howard* did the like for his Regiment which lay about *Croydon*, for he had so modell'd it, that he was sure of all his Officers; all which by the foresaid time being accordingly effected, they met together, at Sir *Anthony Ashley-Coopers* Lodging, and glad to see their business so well advanc'd by the subscription of these three Regiments, they in the next place, thought it expedient to have the Officers of all the Regiments in *London*, to be summon'd to meet that Evening at St. *James's*, which was accordingly done: and they being all met, It was mov'd to them by Colonel *Knight*,

Commissary *Clarges* draws up an Engagement to be subscrib'd for acquiescing in the determinations of the next Parliament.

The Officers of three Regiments subscribe it.

The substance of Col. *Knights* Speech to the Officers at St. *James's*. incouraging them to subscribe the Ingagement.

That at this time, when several Imputations lay upon the Army of Inconstancy, and that many Disaffected Persons were endeavouring to divide them, it was requisite they should give some publick Testimony of their Affections and Inclinations; and in order thereunto, some Officers having shew'd him an Address, which they had framed to be presented to the General, to testifie their Resolution of Obedience and Duty, to the Powers God had placed over them; He could not but approve so well of it, as readily by himself, and all his Officers, to give their Attestations to it, and some more had done the like, it being intended by those who had first advis'd it, to be tendered to every Regiment of the Army; of which, there being a great part here, they had by the Generals Permission invited them thither, to communicate what was done, and to desire their Concurrence with them in it.

Colonel *Knight* and *Clarges* had before prepared most of the Officers of the Regiments which came from *Scotland*, so that they made no difficulty of it, especially seeing a Subscription of other Regiments to induce them: Moreover, it was intimated, That their Meeting was by the privity and permission of the General, which Obligation they knew none would offer to oppose. The Address was immediately read, being in these words: 1659

The Form of the Armies Ingagement.

WEE *the Officers of the* Army *under your* Excellencies *Command, whose Names are hereunto written, being truly sensible of the merciful and wonderful Providence of* Almighty God, *in bringing Us, after so many* Revolutions *and* Changes, *into an hopeful way of Settlement; and perceiving, to our great grief, that there are too many, who seeking more their own private Interest, than the Publick Good, are endeavouring to reduce us again to our old* Necessities *and* Confusions; *and that they have proceeded so far, as to cause Jealousies in the* Council of State, *in whom the* Supream Power *and* Trust, *now, till the Meeting of the* Parliament, *is residing, Do hold it our Duties, for the preventing of all such Jealousies for the future, and for the strengthning of your* Excellencies *Hands, in the carrying on of this* Good Work, *in which it hath pleased* God *to make you so highly Instrumental, humbly to make this* Address *unto your* Excellency, *in the Name of our Selves, and all the Souldiers under our Command, and to Declare, That We shall, according to our Duties, carry and behave our selves, as Officers of an Army instructed by your Example and Discipline, to obey, and not to dispute the* Orders *of our* Superiours, *and shall freely and readily observe such Commands, as we shall receive from your* Excellency, *or the* Council of State, *or the* Parliament *when Assembled: And in particular, we shall, according to the late* Proclamation *of the* Council of State, *of the* 17th *of* March, *decline any Meeting or Meetings, for the contriving or carrying on of any* Declarations *or* Subscriptions, *concerning* Affairs of State, *or* Government, *thereby avoiding those Mischiefs, which made many lately in Arms, so justly distastful to the People, by making themselves a divided Interest from the rest of them. And we are the more willing to make this* Address *at this time, to evince to all the World the Integrity of our Obedience, because of the great Expectation of the next* Parliament, *from whom we hope for a happy Settlement to all the Nations; And that they may have no ill Apprehensions of Us, We are resolv'd, as it becomes Us in Duty, to submit to whatsoever the* Lord *shall bring forth from their* Consultations, *knowing that* Parliaments *only can secure Us in our* Religious *and* Civil Rights: *And forasmuch as many* Representations *heretofore made to* Persons *in Eminent Authority, have been too frequently contriv'd in the Name of the* Army, *which were done rather in Formality, (as we perceive by the Event) than otherwise; We do solemnly desire, that this may be Recorded as a Testimony and Witness against Us, if ever We shall be guilty of any such Back-slidings.*

The Address signed by all the Officers about *London*; and those of two other Regiments.

At that very time, this *Ingagement* was signed by Lieutenant Colonel *Morgan*, and all the Officers of the Generals Regiment of Foot; by Colonel *Hubblethorn*, and all the Officers of his Regiment; by Colonel *Cloberry*, Colonel *Lydcot*, Colonel *Read*, and the rest, with all their

1660

their Officers; which made up in all, with those that had sign'd before, Ten Regiments of Horse and Foot, besides the Life-guard, and all the General-Officers. Also, Collonel *Fairfax*, and Collonel *Bethel*, who upon the first Consultation of this Matter had been sent unto, in four days had return'd the Subscriptions of themselves, and all their Officers; after which it was agreed, That Collonel *Howard*, with fourty Officers, should present it to the General, which was done at St. *James*'s the 9th. Day of *April*, and was with much satisfaction and content received by him: It was also afterwards recommended to Major-General *Morgan* in *Scotland*; to have it subscribed by his Officers there, and likewise to all the Regiments in *England*, with an Accompt of what had bin done in *London*, and the Names of all those Regiments that had concurr'd in it.

Presented to the General by Col. *Howard*. Sent into *Scotland* to M. General *Morgan*.

And because he heard that some disaffected Persons were tampering to seduce the Souldiers in *Scotland*, he sent another Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot thither, who were of such as Major-General *Morgan* might confide in, to assist him, if need were, to model the rest. In conclusion, this Address was subscribed by all the Regiments, and the Subscriptions return'd to the General; only some Officers refus'd it, and were immediately displac'd, and the General took that opportunity, of giving to the Lord *Faulconbridge* Collonel *Rossiter*, and General *Mountague*, to each of them a Regiment of Horse and to Collonel *Sheffield* a Regiment of Foot. And whilest he was thus employ'd in ordering the Army, the Council of State was active in forming the *Militia*, in all the Cities and Counties of *England* and *Wales*, wherein such care was taken, to have the Arms in good Hands, that from all Parts the Lists of the Officers were sent to the *Council of State*, to be by the General and them approv'd.

Two more Regiments sent to *Scotland*.

All disaffected Officers displac'd, and others put in their rooms.

These Preparations engaged many Factious People to design against the Government, insomuch, that on the Evening of that Day, wherein Collonel *Howard* presented the above-mentioned Address to the General-Collonel *Lambert* having made an Escape out of the Tower, was conceal'd by some of that Party, that had been lately ingaged against General *Monk*, and some others of Fanatick Principles: These held a Council in *London*, but were not so private in their Consultations, but the General had from time to time intimation of much of their Proceedings. They sent some busie men to all the Regiments in *England*, and these Officers that refus'd the *Address*, had intic'd many of the Troopers to steal after them; but such was the vigilance of the rest of the Officers, that there got not above Seven or Eight Troops of Horse in a Body to joyn with *Lambert*, and but one Company of Foot.

Lambert escapes out of the Tower.

On *Wednesday* the 18th. of *April*, the General, upon Advice from Colonel *Streater*, of *Lambert's* hovering in the *North*-Parts, and of the want of Horse in his Quarters, sent for Colonel *Ingoldsby* to him, and told him, He must be at *Northampton* with his Regiments on the *Saturday* following; and that he should receive Orders to take any of Colonel *Rossiter's* Troops to his Assistance, which quartered in those Parts: He also told him, That Colonel *Streater*, a Person whom he could Trust, was with some of his Companies at *Northampton*, whom he would find ready to joyn with him. The Colonel told him, *That his Regiment was dispersed in* Norfolk *and* Suffolk, *but he would do his endeavours to get them together*. And he was so diligent herein, that by the *Friday* following he got his Regiment to *Cambridge*, and on *Saturday* in the Evening to *Northampton*.

The General takes great care for the suppressing of *Lambert*.

The General also sent Colonel *Howard* with his Regiment, and some other select Troops, towards *Worcestershire* and *Warwickshire*, to hinder any Defection of the Troops in those Parts, and to have an Eye towards *Coventry*, which *Lambert* had design'd to Garrison; and indeed he had done it, had not the Care of the General prevented it, by Ordering three Companies of Colonel *Streater*'s Regiment to Quarter in that City: The Colonel also sending one Company more to strengthen that Place, who in their March met with a Party of Horse, among whom was one who having been Major to that Regiment, shewed them *Lambert*'s Orders, to march back again: But the Lieutenant that was intrusted with the Command of that Company, observing the Colonel's Orders, marched intire with great speed, stood upon his defence, and opposed them twice in his march thither.

The Council of State by Proclamation, declar'd *Lambert* and his Adherents Traytors, and the General was careful the very next day after his getting out of Prison, to give Notice of it to all the Regiments and Troops, to prevent his Design of seducing them, and to command them to seize on him: By which Diligence, and the sending these Parties out, his Confederates were interrupted in their Endeavours. One *Merry*, a Disbanded discontented Officer of Col. *Swanson*'s Regiment, had inticed fourty of Captain *Peverel*'s Troop to revolt, with Design to seize on *York*, but by the care of other Troops they were dissipated; and one *Everard*, and Captain *Lockier*, two discontented Officers, that had been lately in Custody, and releas'd upon their Engagement, not to act any thing in Disturbance of the Publick Peace, did nevertheless march through *Nottingham*, with a Seditious Troop of their Companions.

Whereof Captain *Sherman* of Colonel *Sanders* his Regiment, having notice, drew out his own Troop, and that of Captain *Craddocks* of *Hackers* Regiment, to engage them; but immediately *Craddocks* Troop joyned with the Enemy, which made *Sherman* (finding himself too weak for them) to retreat to *Nottingham*, to secure that place, where the Mayor, Aldermen, and Gentry, gave him ready assistance. This News made the General give Orders, That the late *Address* signed by the Officers, should be tendred to all the private Souldiers also, which made so through a Reformation, that in many Regiments Thirty of a Troop disbanded, rather than they would consent to it, and many in the Foot Companies also left their Arms: But in all the General's Regiments in *London*, that marched with him from *Scotland*, there were but two Dissenters.

On *Easter-Eve*, Colonel *Ingoldsby* joyned with Colonel *Streater* at *Northampton* where he was at that time, and had been some days before; The Earl of *Exceter* who with several Loyal Gentlemen of that County, to the number of near

near one hundred Horſe, with much Reſolution offered to aſſiſt Colonel *Streater*: Likewiſe the Trained Bands of that Town were in Arms at the ſame time, in order to the ſecuring thereof, in caſe of a neceſſity of Colonel *Streaters* attending *Lamberts* Motion; The Colonel purpoſing that Night, if need had been, to have mounted 400 Foot of his Regiment with the Horſes that came into the Town that day (againſt the Fair on *Monday* following) and to have beaten up *Lamberts* Quarters.

Col. *Ingoldsby* and Col. *Streater* march againſt *Lambert.*

On *Eaſter* Day early Intelligence was brought to Colonel *Ingoldsby* and Colonel *Streater*, That *Lambert* was at *Daventry*; upon which they marched towards him: When they came to *Daventry*, they heard *Lambert* was marched two miles from thence, and therefore haſtened to meet him; which they did in a plain Feild, where a little Brook parted them. *Lambert* had with him beſides the Troops of Horſe before mentioned, theſe Perſons, *viz.* Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Axtel*, Colonel *Cobbet*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Toung*, Major *Creed*, Captain *Timothy Clare*, Captain *Gregory*, Captain *Spinage*, beſides divers private Souldiers, who were *Anabaptiſts*.

The two Parties fac'd one the other near four hours, during which time, Colonel *Ingoldsby*, and Colonel *Streater* ſpent their time, partly in their vigilant obſervation of the Intention of the Enemy, and partly in encouraging of the Horſe and Foot under their command, whereby they begot a more than ordinary reſolution in both Horſe and Foot: In the mean time, *Lambert* ſent out ſeveral Scouts towards them; but *Ingoldsby* would not permit any of his to leave their Ranks, only he himſelf riding up towards them, had many Diſcourſes with them: *Ingoldsby* was not known to the Scouts, but appearing to them as a private Souldier dealt ſo effectually with them, by laying open the danger of their Action, that 25 Troopers, with a Quarter-Maſter, came over to him. The Colonel diſmounted and diſarm'd them for the preſent, becauſe they were unwilling to engage in his party, but afterwards reſtored their Horſes and Arms to them.

Lamberts delay in Engaging being obſerved by Col. *Streater*, he adviſed that both Horſe and Foot ſhould immediately advance, and put the Buſineſs to an Iſſue, out of the Confidence he had of the Foot eſpecially: And withal deſired Col. *Ingoldsby*, *That if he ſhould be routed, he would rally with what ſpeed he could; For that he ſhould be confident to find the Foot to maintain their Ground.* Colonel *Streater*'s Foot being about Five Hundred; two compleat Companies, the reſt commanded Men out of ſeveral Companies, moſt Pikes, which in that Champion-ground would ſerve well to ſecure the Body againſt the Horſe.

Defeats his Party, and takes him Priſoner.

When the two Bodies came near, juſt as Col. *Ingoldsby* was going to charge, Colonel *Streater* commanded ſix Files of Muſqueteers to advance, one File gave fire and hurt one or two of *Lamberts* Horſe; his Drums beat, and in good Order he advanced, having given ſtrict command that his Muſqueteers ſhould not fire till they came as near as puſh of Pike. But *Lamberts* men held the Noſes of their Piſtols towards the ground, and *Nelthrops* Troop came off to *Ingoldsby*; *Haſterigs* Troop having deſerted him before; for Colonel *Ingoldsby* ſending Captain *Elſmore* before him with a party, as he march'd to find *Lambert*, met Captain *Haſterigg*, and took him priſoner, but releas'd him upon his Parole, to ſend his whole Troop over to joyn with *Ingoldsby*, which he faithfully perform'd, ſending it to them by his Quarter-maſter, but retir'd himſelf: Colonel *Ingoldsby* told *Lambert*, *He was his Priſoner*: Whereupon *Creed* and the reſt earneſtly intreated him, *to do what he pleaſed with them, but to permit* Lambert *to eſcape*; acquainting him, *That his Life could be of no advantage to him*; Which *Ingoldsby* abſolutely refuſed telling them, *He would not be treacherous to thoſe that had commanded him by ſuch an ungenerous Act*: *Lambert* then turned about his Horſe, and attempted to eſcape, but *Ingoldsby* purſued him ſo cloſe, that he came quickly up to him, and vow'd to piſtol him, if he did not immediately yield. *Lambert*, in great depreſſion of Spirit, twice pray'd him to let him eſcape, but when he ſaw he could not prevail, ſubmitted as all the reſt did, except *Okey*, *Axtel*, and *Cleer*, who eſcaped.

1660.

Gen. *Montague* acquaints the Council of State with the condition of the Fleet.

General *Montague*, who had been ſome time before by the Generals advice, made one of the Generals at Sea, (General *Monk* being himſelf the other) and ſent to take charge of the Fleet, ſent an accompt to the Council of State, of the condition of it, how that Vice-admiral *Lawſon*, and with him the whole Navy, had received him with great ſatisfaction, and were all fix'd in obedience to their Authority, with reſolutions to ſubmit to the Determination of the next Parliament.

The Appearance of the City *Militia* in *Hide-Park*.

The *Tueſday* after this deſeat of *Lambert*, all the *Militia* of the City of *London* drew into *Hide-Park*; there were ſix Tained-Band Regiments, the Red, the White, the Green, the Blew, the Yellow, and the Orange, beſides ſeveral Regiments of Auxiliaries: The Red was commanded by Colonel *Bateman* Alderman, the White by Col. *Wale* Alderman, the Green by Col. *John Robinſon* Alderman, the Blew by Col. *William Vincent*, the Yellow by Col. *William Broomfield*, and the Orange by Col. *Thomas Bloodworth*, all men of courage and good Affections to the Peace and Felicity of their Native Country. They made up in all twelve thouſand Men: The General, the Lord Major, Aldermen, and a great concourſe of Noble-men and Gentlemen, were preſent at the Appearance. And that Evening, Colonel *Lambert*, Colonel *Cobbet*, and Major *Creed*, were brought Priſoners to the Council of State, and committed to the Tower. And the next day the reſt of the Priſoners were brought by Captain *Parry* to the General, and by him committed to the Marſhal-General.

Col. *Lambert*, Col. *Cobbet*, and others, ſent Priſoners to the Tower.

Several Seditious Pamphlets publiſh'd and diſperſt.

The defeat of *Lambert* did not make the Phanatiques leave the purſuit of their Miſchiefs, ſeveral Seditious Phamphlets being publiſhed in Print, to deprave the Minds of the People, and Tickets were thrown into the Courts of Guard in the Night to debauch the Souldiers. But none of them appear'd to have been pen'd with more virulency and Malice, than that vile ſuppoſititious Paper which they ſcatter'd about, carrying in its Frontice-piece, *A Letter from Bruxels*, &c. with which ſome of his Majeſties moſt implacable Enemies attempted to poyſon, or palliate the now high Expectations, and Impreſſions

1660. of his good Subjects: and it was in truth so fatally tim'd, and so subtilly contriv'd, that it had like to have done a great deal of Mischief amongst some, who not acquainted with the innate, and unparellel'd inclination of his Majesty to Clemency, began to apprehend their forwardness for his Restauration, and to remit of their former zeal: But this *Hydra* was dextrously cut off by Mr. *Evelyn*, whom we formerly mention'd, in a Reply which was Printed, to the intire satisfaction of all that read it. I take pleasure to mention the Particular, because upon another occasion, long before, he publish'd, with no small hazard of his Life and Liberty, that his *Apology to the Royal Party*, in answer to that *Remonstrance*, Entituled, *the Plea of the Army*, (contriv'd and set forth by that Phanatick Power, immediately upon their Dethroning of *Richard*) as being it seems no longer able to support the common, but unjust Reproaches of his Majesties Cause, by Arguments deriv'd from their ill Conduct, and Fatal Success of divers of his suffering Party; and because I take it to be the boldest Piece (not excepting even the famous *Killing no Murther*; written, as we since learn, by Captain *Titus*) that ever durst see the light in that raging Period; and for that it was no less than thrice re-printed (an Honour which the Pamphlets of that Age did seldom arrive to) and observ'd to have won more *Proselytes* to the *King*, than any thing of that nature had done before it: which, was a Service the greatest that Conjuncture was capable of, and none of the least to his Majesties Advantage all along; as those who shall please to call to mind the Effects of those Paper-Weapons, must needs acknowledge, by warming and inspiriting the Hearts of an oppressed People, in danger of being poyson'd by the perpetual Venome of his Majesties Adversaries, whose *Pens* as well as *Swords*, were daily sharpned against him, but for such seasonable *Antidotes*, as upon all occasions encountred their *Libels*, and inidiary Discourses; amongst which there were also several *Letters* sent to the *General* from unknown Hands, to subvert his Allegiance likewise; and to *Clarges* it was written, *That notwithstanding his Practices, to introduce the King and his Family, all his Endeavours were blasted by* Morrice, *who had ascribed to himself alone the Reputation of that Service, and dispersed to all the Royal Party, that he had no Credit with the General, and therefore to him only Application should be made, as to one in whom the General reposed his greatest trust.* But these and all other Artifices were too poor to subvert the Loyalty of one, who valued not to whom the good of his Services was attributed, if the Effects he desired were produced by them: But nevertheless, these Practices, to divide the Generals Friends, made the Council of State, the General, and all his Officers more watchful for the Publick Peace, and more diligent in their Duties: The Officers began more and more to be convinced of their former Errours, by several publique and private Discourses of the Clemency and other Royal Endowments of his Majesty: That which they most apprehended, was from Rumours which had been dispersed amongst them, of the implacability of all those of his party, of whom it was said, If they had Power they would shew themselves full of Rancour and Revenge against all that were ingaged in the late War against them: and observing that most of the Members of Parliament were such, notwithstanding all the Qualifications for their Elections, many strange Doubts possessed them; and amongst other Effects of their Diseased Imaginations, they fancied, the Parliament (when met) would rather hinder, than promote his Majesties Goodness and Mercy towards them: But whilest they were in the midst of these various Inquietudes, the Royal Party, in all the Counties of *England*, published several excellent Declarations, which fully satisfied and appeased their Minds, wherein they Declared, *That they resolved to adhere to the largest Assurances of amicable Agreement with all Persons, and that they would never put any Difference betwixt such as should now unite with them, and those who first engaged in the same Perswasion with themselves.* Of all which, we shall only herein publish one, they being all to the same purpose: It was Intituled,

A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry, that adhered to the late King in and about the City of London; which was expressed in these words:

The Declaration of the Nobility & Gentry about *London.*

After the Miseries of a Civil War, and the many and fruitless Attempts towards Settlement, upon several Interests, and imaginary Forms of Government, It having pleased Almighty God, by unexpected and wonderful means, to give these Nations a probable hope of being restored to those Laws and Priviledges, which have been transmitted to them from their Ancestors; We do Declare, That we think our selves obliged, next to Divine Providence, to attribute this Gracious Work to his Excellency the Lord General Monck, *who, as he had the Courage to assert the Publick Liberty, and the Prudence to carry it on against so many Difficulties, has also had the Happiness, to lead Us thus far through the Wilderness of Confusion, without passing the Red-Sea of Blood: And because the Enemies of the Publique Peace, have endeavoured to represent those of the Kings Party, as men implacable, and such as would sacrifice the Common Good to their own private Passions; We do sincerely profess, That we do reflect upon our past-sufferings as from the Hands of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent Thoughts or Inclinations, against those who have been any way Instrumental in them; And if the Indiscretion of any hot spirited Persons, transports them to Expressions contrary to this our sense, we utterly disclaim them; and desire, that the Imputation may extend no further, than the Folly of the Offenders. And we further Declare, That we intend by our quiet and peaceable Behaviour, to testifie our submission to the present Power, as it now resides in the Council of State, in expectation of the future Parliament; upon whose Wisdom and Determinations, we trust God will give such a Blessing, as may produce a perfect Settlement, both in Church and State.*

And

'And as his Excellency hath not chosen the 'Sandy Foundations of Self-government, but 'the firm Rock of National Interest, whereon to 'frame a Settlement; It is our hope and prayer, 'That when the building comes to be raised, it 'may not like *Rome*, have the beginning in the 'blood of Brethren, nor like *Babel*, be inter- 'rupted by Confusion of Tongues: but that 'we may all speak one Language, and be of 'one Name; That all mention of Parties and 'Factions, and all Rancour and animosities may 'be thrown in, and buryed like Rubbish under 'the Foundation.

Subscribed by

The Marques of *Dorchester.*
The Earl of *Northampton.*
The Earl of *Devonshire.*
The Earl of *Berkshire.*
The Earl of *Dover.*
The Earl of *Peterborough.*
The Earl of *Norwich.*
The Earl of *Cork.*
The Earl of *Carbery.*
The Earl of *Desmond.*
The Viscount *Ogle.*
The Viscount *Grandison.*
The Viscount *Lumley.*
The Viscount *Brunker.*
The Lord *Belassis.*
The Lord *Loughborrough.*
The Lord *Lexington.*
The Lord *Brereton.*
The Lord *Lucas.*
The Bishop of *Kerry.*
Sir *William Compton.*
Sir *Francis Vane.*
Sir *Tho. Prestwich*, Baronet.
Sir *Orlando Bridgeman.*
Sir *Edward Pye.*
Sir *Lewis Kirke.*
Sir *Thomas Smith.*
Sir *Robert Stapleton.*
Sir *William Coney.*
Sir *Nicholas Crispe.*
Sir *Hugh Cartwright.*
Sir *Sutton Coney.*
Sir *Henry Chichley.*
Sir *William Morton.*
Sir *Edw. Savage.*
Sir *Toomas Armstrong.*
Sir *John Stephens.*
Sir *Humphrey Bennet.*
Sir *William Howard.*
Sir *Henry Wroth.*
Sir *William Dacres.*
Sir *Robert Malevery.*
Sir *Jervace Clifton*, Knight and Baronet.
Sir *William Thorald*, Baronet.
Sir *Thomas Corbet*, Baronet.
Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Baronet.
Sir *Arthur Gorge.*
Sir *Anthony Jackson.*
Sir *Robert Butler.*
George Morley, D. D.
Thomas Warmstry, D. D.
Philip King, D. D.
Jer. Taylor, D. D.
Thomas Howard Esquire.
John Russel.
Will. Ashburnham.
Edw. Villers.
Edw. Penruddock.
George Penruddock.
William Legge.
Thomas Lower.
Herbert Price.
Thomas Panton.
Robert Ruthen.
Col. *Freswell.*
John Jeffries.
Adrian Scroop.
William Burgh.
John Maynard.
Ed. Roscarake.

1660.

The Parliament assembles.

This and the other *Declarations* of the same nature, were wholesome Preparations to usher in the *Parliament*, which met at *Westminster*, on the 25th day of *April*. The Lords chose the Earl of *Manchester* to be their *Speaker*; and the House of Commons Sir *Herbottle Grimstone*; where after the appointment of the usual *Committees* for Priviledges, and other essential matters usual at their first Assembling, They gave all due acknowledgments to General *Monk*, for his Eminent Services & great Wisdom insubduing his Enemies without Blood, magnifying the Mercies of God, That made him so Instrumental to keep up the Nations from sinking, when no way appear'd whence Deliverance should arise.

Sir *Arthur Haslerigg* being suspected by the General, clears himself.

Sir *Arthur Haslerigg* was by the General suspected to have contributed towards the Insurrection of *Lambert*, but upon notice thereof, he came to him, and gave him evident proofs to the contrary, and promised to live peaceably at home; having before quietly submitted his Regiments of Horse and Foot to the Generals disposé, together with the Garrisons of *Berwick*, *New-Castle*, *Carlisle*, and *Tinmouth*.

Sir *John Greenvill* presents the General with a Commission from his Majesty, and a Letter for the *Council of State.*

On the 27th of *April*, Sir *John Greenvill* attended the General, and presented to him a Letter from his Majesty, to be communicated to the Officers of the *Army*, and the *Council of State*, with a Commission from his Majesty to Constitute him *Captain-General of all the Armies of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; informing him likewise, That he had Letters from his Majesty to both *Houses of Parliament*, the City, and the Navy.

His Excellency received the Commission with all Humility and Respect; but in regard the *Parliament* was Adjourn'd for three days, advis'd him the next day to deliver that Letter which was to be by him imparted to the *Council of State*, to the Council at their next Sitting; which he accordingly did, but they would not presume to open it without the *Parliaments* directions, and took caution of Sir *John Greenvill* to attend the *House* at their next Sitting. At which time, by the General's advice, he went, without acquainting them, to the *House of Lords*, to inform them he had a Letter from the King; who being acquainted that Sir *John Greenvill* attended at the door with a Letter from his Majesty, The Earl of *Manchester* went down to the Clerk and received it. The Letter had a *Declaration* inclosed in it; which were both read in the *House*; The Letter first, which was in these words: *(Viz.)*

CHAR-

1660

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Letter to the House of Lords.

RIght Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousins, and Right Trusty and Welbeloved Cousins, and Trusty and Right Welbeloved; We Greet you well. We cannot have a better reason to promise Our Self an end of Our Common Sufferings and Calamities, and that Our Own Just Power and Authority will with Gods Blessing be restored to Us, Than that We hear You are again acknowledged to have that Authority and Jurisdiction which hath always belonged to You by Your Birth, and the Fundamental Laws of the Land: And We have thought it very fit and safe for Us to call to you for your help in the Composing the Confounding Distempers and Distractions of the Kingdom, in which your Sufferings are next to those We have undergone Our Selves; And therefore you cannot but be the most proper Counsellors for removing those Mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a Trust We repose in you, for the procuring and establishing a blessed Peace and Security for the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our inclosed Declaration; *Which Trust, We are most confident you will discharge with what Justice and Wisdom that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that upon your experience, how one violation succeeds another, when the known Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed you will be as Jealous for the Rights of the Crown, and for the Honour of your King, as for your selves: And then you cannot but discharge your Trust with good success, and provide for, and establish the Peace, Happiness and Honour, of* King, Lords *and* Commons, *upon that Foundation which can only support it, and We shall be all happy in each other: And as the whole Kingdom will bless God for you all, so We shall hold Our Self obliged in an especial manner to Thank you in particular, according to the affection you shall express towards Us. We need the less inlarge to you upon this Subject, because We have likewise writ to the* House of Commons, *Which We suppose they will Communicate to you: And We pray God to bless your Joynt Endeavours for the good of Us all. And so We bid you very heartily farewel.*

Given at Our Court at *Breda*, this 14 day of *April*, 1660. In the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

The *Declaration* was next read, which was Intituled.

His Majestie's gracious Declaration *to all his Loving Subjects.*

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Declaration.

'CHARLES by the Grace of God, King 'of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ire-* 'land, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our 'Loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality 'soever, Greeting. If the general Distraction & 'Confusion which is spread over the whole 'Kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire 'and longing, that those Wounds which have so 'many Years together been kept bleeding, may 'be bound up, all We can say will be to no pur-'pose: However after this long silence, We 'have thought it Our Duty to declare how much 'We desire to contribute thereunto: And that 'as We can never give over the hope in good 'time to obtain the Possession of that Right 'which God and Nature hath made Our due; 'so we do make it Our daily Suit to the *Divine* 'Providence, that he will, in Compassion to Us 'and our Subjects, after so long Misery and 'Sufferings, remit, and put Us into a quiet and 'peaceable possession of that Our Right, with as 'little Blood and Damage to Our People as is 'possible: Nor do we desire more to enjoy what 'is Ours, then that all Our Subjects may enjoy 'what by Law is theirs, by a full and intire ad-'ministration of Justice thorowout the Land, and 'by extending Our Mercy where it is wanted 'and deserv'd.

'And to the end that the fear of Punishment 'may not engage any Conscious of themselves of 'what is past, to a perseverance in Guilt for the 'future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of 'their Country in the Restoration both of *King*, '*Peers*, and *People*, to their Just, Antient, and 'Fundamental Rights; We do by these Presents 'declare, That We do grant a *Free and General* '*Pardon*, which We are ready, upon demand, to 'passe under Our Great Seal of *England*, to all 'Our Subjects of what degree or quality soever, 'who within forty days after the publishing 'hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and 'Favour, and shall by any publique Act declare 'their doing so and that they return to the Loy-'alty and Obedience of good Subjects; Except-'ing only such persons as shall hereafter be ex-'cepted by *Parliament*: Those only excepted, Let 'all Our Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon 'the Word of a King, solemnly given by this 'present Declaration, That no Crime whatso-'ever committed against Us, or Our Royal Fa-'ther before the Publication of this, shall ever 'rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question, 'against any of them, to the least Endamagement 'of them either in their Lives, Liberties, or E-'states, or (as far forth as lies in our Power) so 'much as to the prejudice of their Reputations, 'by any reproach, or term of distinction from 'the rest of any of Our best Subjects; We desir-'ing and ordaining, That henceforth all Notes 'of Discord, Separation, and Difference of Par-'ties, be utterly abolished among all Our Sub-'jects, whom We invite and conjure to a perfect 'Union among themselves, under Our Protecti-'on, for the resettlement of Our Just Rights and 'Theirs, in a *Free Parliament*, by which upon the 'Word of a King We will be advised.

'And because the passion and uncharitableness 'of the times have produced several Opinions 'in Religion, by which men are ingaged in Par-'ties and Animosities against each other, which, 'when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of 'Conversation, will be composed, or better un-'derstood; We do declare a Liberty to tender 'Consciences, And that no man shall be disquiet-'ed or called in question for differences of Opi-'nion in matters of Religion, which do not di-'sturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and that We 'shall be ready to consent to such an *Act of Par-'liament*, as upon mature deliberation shall be of-'fered to Us, for the full granting that Indul-

gence. And

'And because in the continued distractions of 'so many Years, and so many and great Revo- 'lutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates 'have been made to and by many Officers, Soul- 'diers, and others, who are now possessed of 'the same, and who may be liable to Actions 'at Law, upon several Titles; We are likewise 'willing that all such differences and all things 'relating to the said Grants, Sales and Purcha- 'ses, shall be determined in *Parliament*, which can 'best provide for the Just satisfaction of all men 'who are concerned.

'And We do further declare, that We will be 'ready to consent to any *Act* or *Acts* of *Parlia- 'ment* to the purposes aforesaid, And for the full 'satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers 'and Souldiers of the Army, under the Com- 'mand of General *Monk*, and that they shall be 'received into our Service upon as good pay 'and Conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our Sign Manual and Privy Signet at our Court at Breda *this* 14 *day of April*, 1660. *in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.*

After the Reading of these, the Lords Order- ed Thanks to be given to Sir *John Greenvil*, for bringing that Gracious Declaration and Letter, and Resolv'd by Vote, *That they do own and de- clare, That according to the Ancient and Funda- mental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Com- mons.*

The Vote of the House of Lords upon the reading of the Kings Let- ter and De- claration.

Sir *John Greenvill* came then to the *House of Commons*, who were before his Coming ac- quainted with the Letter he delivered to the Council; upon Notice of his being at the Door, he was admitted, and presented a Letter to them from his Majesty. The Letter had in it a Dupli- cate of the same *Declaration* which was inclosed in the Letter to the *Lords*: The Letter and it were both read, and the Letter was Superscri- bed;

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved, the *Speaker* of the *House of Commons.*

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Letter to the House of Commons.

TRusty and Well-beloved, We Greet you well. 'In these great and insupportable 'afflictions and Calamities under which the poor 'Nation hath been so long exercised, & by which 'it is so near exhausted, We cannot think of a 'more natural and proper Remedy, than to re- 'sort to those for Counsel and Advice, who have 'seen and observed the first beginning of our Mi- 'series, the Progress from bad to worse, and the 'mistakes and mis-understandings which have 'produced and contributed to Inconveniences 'which were not intended, and after so many Re- 'volutions, and the observation of what hath 'attended them, are now trusted by Our good 'Subjects to repair the Breeches which are made, 'and to provide proper Remedies for these E- 'vils, and for the lasting Peace, Happiness and 'Security of the Kingdom.

'We do assure you upon Our Royal Word, 'That none of Our Predecessors have had a grea- 'ter Esteem of *Parliaments*, than We have in Our 'Judgment, as well as from Our Obligation; We 'do believe them to be so vital a part of the 'Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary 'for the Government of it, that We well know 'neither *Prince* nor *People* can be in any tolerable 'degree happy without them: And therefore you 'may be confident, That We shall always look 'upon their Counsels as the best We can receive, 'and shall be as tender of their Priviledges, and 'as Careful to preserve and protect them, as of 'that which is most neer to Our Self, and most 'necessary for Our Own Preservation.

1660

'And as this is Our Opinion of *Parliaments*, 'That their Authority is most necessary for the 'Government of the Kingdom: So We are most 'Confident, that You believe and find, that the 'preservation of the Kings Authority is as neces- 'sary for the preservation of *Parliaments*; and 'that it is not the Name but the right Constitu- 'tion of them, which can prepare and apply pro- 'per Remedies for those Evils which are grie- 'vous to the People, and which can thereby esta- 'blish their Peace and Security. And therefore 'We have not the least doubt, but that you will 'be as Tender in, and as Jealous of, any thing 'that may infringe Our Honour, or impair Our 'Authority, as of your own Liberty and Pro- 'perty; which is best preserv'd by preserving 'the other.

'How far We have trusted You in this great 'Affair, and how much it is in your Power to 'restore the Nation to all that it hath lost, and 'and to redeem it from any Infamy it hath under- 'gone, and to make *King* and *People* as happy as 'they ought to be, You will find by Our inclosed '*Declaration*, a Copy of which We have like- 'wise sent to the *House of Peers*; and you will 'easily believe that We would not voluntarily, 'and of Our Self have reposed so great a Trust in 'you, but upon an intire Confidence that you 'will not abuse it, and that you will proceed in 'such a manner, and with such due consideration 'of Us who have trusted you, that We shall not 'be ashamed of declining other Assistance (which 'We have assurance of) and repairing to you for 'more natural and proper Remedies for the Evils 'We would be freed from, nor sorry that We 'have bound up Our Own Interest so intirely 'with that of Our Subjects, as that We refer it 'to the same Persons to take care of Us, who are 'trusted to provide for them.

'We look upon You as wise and dispassionate 'Men, and good Patriots, who will raise up 'those Banks and Fences which have been cast 'down, and who will most reasonably hope, that 'the same Prosperity will again spring from those 'Roots from which it hath heretofore and al- 'ways grown; Nor can we apprehend that you 'will propose any thing to Us, or expect any 'thing from Us, but that We are as ready to 'give as you to receive.

'If you desire the advancement and Propaga- 'tion of the Protestant Religion, We have, by 'Our constant Profession and Practice of it, gi- 'ven sufficient Testimony to the World, that nei- 'ther the unkindness of those of the same Faith 'towards Us, nor the Civilities and Obligations 'from those of a contrary Profession, (of both 'which We have had abundant Evidence) could

itt

1660 'in the leaſt degree ſtartle Us, or make Us Swerve 'from our zeal and affection for it, to which 'We will not readily conſent. And we hope in 'due time Our ſelf to propoſe ſomething to you 'for the Propagation of it, that will ſatisfie the 'World, that We have always made it both 'Our Care and Our Study, and have enough 'Obſerved what is moſt like to bring diſadvan-'tage to it.

'If you deſire ſecurity for theſe, who in theſe 'Calamitous times either wilfully or weakly 'have tranſgreſſed thoſe bounds which were pre-'ſcribed, and have invaded each others Rights, 'We have left to you to provide for their Secu-'rity and Indempnity, and in ſuch a way as you 'ſhall think Juſt and Reaſonable; And by a 'Juſt Computation of what men have done, 'and ſuffered, as near as is poſſible, to take care 'that all men be ſatisfied, which is the ſureſt 'way to ſuppreſs and extirpate all ſuch uncha-'ritableneſs and animoſity, as might hereafter 'ſhake and threaten that Peace which for the 'preſent might ſeem Eſtabliſhed.

'If there be a crying Sin for which the Na-'tion may be involv'd in the infamy that attends 'it, We cannot doubt but that you will be as 'ſolicitous to Redeem and Vindicate the Nation 'from the Guilt and Infamy, as we can be.

'If you deſire that Reverence and Obedience 'may be paid to the fundamental Law of the 'Land, and that Juſtice may be equally and 'impartially adminiſtred to all men, it is that 'which We deſire to be ſworn to our Self, and 'that all Perſons in Power and Authority ſhould 'be ſo too.

'In a word, there is nothing which you can 'propoſe, that may make the Kingdom happy, 'which We will not contend with you to com-'paſs; and upon this Confidence and Aſſurance, 'We have thought fit to ſend you this Declara-'tion, that you may, as much as is poſſible, at 'this diſtance, ſee Our heart, which when God 'ſhall bring Us nearer together (as we hope he 'will do ſhortly) will appear to you very agree-'able to what We have profeſſed; and We hope 'that We have made that right Chriſtian Uſe 'of Our Affliction, and that the Obſervation 'and experience We have had in other Coun-'tries, hath been ſuch, as that We, and We hope 'all Our Subjects, ſhall be the better for what 'We have ſeen and ſuffered.

'We ſhall add no more, but our Prayers to '*Almighty God*, that He will ſo bleſs your Coun-'ſels, and direct your endeavours, that his Glory 'and Worſhip may be provided for, and the 'Peace, Honour and Happineſs of the Nation, 'may be eſtabliſhed upon thoſe foundations 'which can beſt ſupport it. And ſo we bid you 'farewell.

Given at Our Court at Breda, *this* 14 *day of* April, 1660. *In the twelfth Year of Our Reign.*

After the reading of this Letter and the Declaration, his Excellency the Lord General deſired the Letter that was directed to him, to be Communicated to the Council and the Army, might alſo be read, which was agreed. In that Letter there was alſo the former Declaration incloſed, and the Addreſs of the Letter was:

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved General Monk, *to be by him Communicated to the Preſident and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.*

CHARLES R.

His Majeſties Letter to the General, to be communicated to the Officers of the Army, and Council of State.

'TRuſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: It cannot be believ'd, but that We 'have been, are, and ever muſt be, as ſolicitous as 'We can, by all endeavours to improve the af-'fections of Our good Subjects at home, and to 'procure the aſſiſtance of Our Friends and Allies 'abroad, for the recovery of that Right, which 'by the Laws of God and Man is unqueſtionable, 'and of which We have been ſo long diſpoſſeſ-'ſed by ſuch force, and with thoſe Circumſtan-'ces, as We do not deſire to aggravate by any 'ſharp expreſſions, but rather wiſh, that the me-'mory of what is paſſed, may be buried to the 'World. That We have more endeavoured to 'prepare, and to improve the Affections of Our 'Subjects at home, for Our Reſtauration, than 'to procure Aſſiſtance from abroad, to invade 'either of Our Kingdoms, is as manifeſt to the 'World: And We cannot give a better Evi-'dence, that We are ſtill of the ſame mind, 'than in this Conjuncture when common reaſon 'muſt ſatisfie all men, that We cannot be with-'out Aſſiſtance from abroad, We choſe rather 'to ſend to you, who have it in your own power 'to prevent that ruine and deſolation which a 'War would bring upon the Nation, and to 'make the whole Kingdom owe the Peace, Hap-'pineſs, Security, and Glory it ſhall enjoy to 'your Vertue; and to acknowledg that your 'Armies have complied with their Obligations 'for which they were firſt raiſed, for the preſer-'vation of the *Proteſtant* Religion, the Honour 'and Dignity of the King, the Priviledges of '*Parliament*, the Liberty and Property of the 'Subject, and the fundamental Laws of the Land; 'and that you have vindicated that Truſt, which 'others moſt perfidiouſly abuſed and betrayed.

'How much We deſire and Reſolve to con-'tribute to thoſe good ends, will appear to you 'by Our encloſed Declaration, which We deſire 'you to cauſe to be publiſhed for the Informati-'on and Satisfaction of all good Subjects, who 'do not deſire a further effuſion of precious Chri-'ſtian Blood, but to have their Peace and Secu-'rity founded upon that which can only ſupport 'it; an Unity of Affections amongſt our ſelves; 'an equal adminiſtration of Juſtice to men, re-'ſtoring *Parliaments* to a full Capacity of pro-'viding for all that is amiſs, and the Laws of the 'Land to their due veneration.

'You have been your ſelves witneſſes of ſo 'many Revolutions, and have had ſo much ex-'perience, how far any Power and Authority 'that is only aſſum'd by Paſſion and Appetite, 'and not ſupported by Juſtice, is from providing 'for the happineſs and peace of the People, or 'from receiving any obedience from them, with-'out which no Government can provide for 'them; and that you may very reaſonably be-'lieve, that God hath not been ſo well pleaſed 'with the attempts that have been made, ſince he 'hath uſually increaſed the confuſion, by giving 'all the ſucceſs that hath been deſired, and brought

'brought that to pass without effect, which the 'designers have propos'd as the best means to 'settle and Compose the Nation: And therefore 'We cannot but hope and believe, that you will 'concur with us in the Remedy, We have ap- 'plyed, which to humane understanding, is only 'proper for the ills We all groan under; and that 'you will make your selves the Blessed Instru- 'ments to bring this Blessing of Peace and Re- 'conciliation upon *King* and *People*; it being the 'usual method in which Divine Providence de- 'lighteth it self, to use and sanctifie those very 'means which ill men design for the satisfaction 'of private and particular ends and ambition, 'and other wicked purposes, to wholsome and 'publick ends, and to establish that good which 'is most contrary to the designers: which is the 'greatest manifestation of *Gods* particular kind- 'ness to a Nation that can be given in this world. 'How far we resolve to preserve your Interests 'and reward your Services, We refer to Our 'Declaration, And we hope *God* will inspire you 'to perform your duty to Us, and to your Na- 'tive Countrey, whose happiness cannot be se- 'parated from each other.

'We have intrusted Our Well-beloved Servant 'Sir *John Greenvill*, one of the Gentlemen of Our 'Bed-Chamber, to deliver this unto you, and to 'give us an accompt of your reception of it, and 'to desire you, that it may be published. And so 'we bid you farewel.

Given at our Court at Breda *this* 14 *of* April, 1660. *in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.*

After the reading of these Letters, his Excellency desired their permission to answer it, and to Communicate that his Majesties Declaration to the Officers of the Army; which was readily consented to.

The Parliament present his Majesty and his two Brothers, with the summ of 65000 *l.*

And then they took into their Consideration, That his Majesty having been deprived of his Revenue, could not but be in want of Monies; and therefore Ordered, That the Summ of fifty Thousand pounds should be presently raised and presented to his Majesty from that House, and ten Thousand pounds to his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, and five Thousand pounds to the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

The Lords sent down a Message to the Commons, with the Vote of Recognition formerly mentioned, which was agreed to, and each of the Houses appointed Committees to draw up their several Answers to his Majesties Letters, and Resolv'd that the Superscription should be,

To the King's *most Excellent Majesty.*

And the Commons Ordered, That all the Journals should be search'd, and those Acts and Orders razed out, which were inconsistent with the Government of King, Lords and Commons; These were the chiefest Transactions in *Parliament* that day.

Col. *Lydcot's* Speech upon the reading of his Majesties Letter and Declaration.

In the Evening his Excellency summoned all his Officers that were in and near the City, and Communicated to them his Majesties Letter and Declaration; upon the reading whereof, Colonel *Lydcot* first spake; addressing himself to his Excellency then present; He said, *They were all bound to bless God for the happiness of that day, which made them Witnesses of his Majesties great goodness and clemency to all his Subjects expressed in that Declaration, and for his particular kindness to them manifested in his most gracious Letter.* 1660

He said, *It was most true that they had been Witnesses of many Revolutions (as it is therein expressed) and experienced to their sorrow the inconveniencies of them; That at the beginning of the Wars, the safety of the Kings Person, Protestant Religion, Privileges of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subjects, were Principles that many good men with them thought they might safely engage for, but by degrees after they came into Blood, some implacable Spirits improved their Successes to make the divisions irreparable, and many men were forc'd to continue their Arms, more for their own security than the Justice of them:* But that which was his comfort, and ought to be all theirs, was, *That they had now by the Prudence of their ever to be honoured General, the opportunity to comply with the Obligations for which they were first raised, and they were these whom his Majesty was pleas'd to own in their submission to his most Just and Lawful Authority, to be the Instruments to bring the blessing of Peace and Reconciliation upon the King and People.*

This Speech was approv'd by all them that heard it; but Colonel *Knight* desired they might give some written Testimony of their acknowledgments of his Majesties Authority over them, to be presented to his Excellency the Lord General; *That since his Majesties Letter was by him communicated to them, he might in his Answer to it, return their humble sense of it.*

This motion produc'd a Reference to a Committee of Officers, to draw up an Address to his Excellency, in Compliance with his Majesties Letter and Declaration, to be prepared against six of the clock the next morning, and to desire his Excellencies leave, that they might then meet to give their Consents, and subscribe their names to it; which his Excellency readily approved. And the next morning, the Address being prepared, was read to the Council of Officers, and Signed by them, and presented to his Excellency.

The Title was,

To his Excellency the Lord General *Monk*, Captain General of all the Armies and Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and one of the Generals at Sea.

The humble Address of the Officers of your Excellencies Army, in the Name of themselves and their Brethren.

The Officers Address to his Excellency, in Compliance with his Majesties Letter and Declaration.

'ALthough we cannot doubt of your Excel- 'lencies Confidence in our affections, and 'our Faithfulness to your Excellency, and that 'Discipline which by your good and prudent 'Conduct, hath been exercised over us, whereby 'we are instructed to an intire Obedience to your 'Excellency, and that Authority which the Lord 'shall place over Us, which we hope we have 'manifested in our last Actions under your Ex- 'cellency, against all persons whatsoever, in 'any ways disturbing the Peace and Settlement 'of the Nations; although some of them have

1660 'been our Brethren formerly engaged in the 'ſame Cauſe with Us. As alſo in our late Re- 'monſtrance and Addreſs to your Excellency, 'wherein, as it becomes Us in Duty, we have ſo- 'lemnly declared to acquieſce in what the Lord 'ſhall bring forth from the Conſultations of 'this preſent *Parliament*.

'Yet in regard your Excellency hath been 'pleaſed to communicate to Us, a Letter and 'Declaration from the *Kings Majeſty*, full of gra- 'cious Expreſſions, we cannot but acknowledg, 'that the matter of it gives a great meaſure of 'quiet to our minds, and more than ordinary 'expectations of the enjoyment of much tran- 'quility and happineſs under His Majeſties Go- 'vernment.

'The free and general Indempnity offered by 'his Majeſty, with a liberty to tender Conſci- 'ences, ſatisfaction of Arrears, his readineſs to 'conſent to a Confirmation of Sales, and other 'Grants and Purchaſes of Eſtates to all Perſons 'now in poſſeſſion of the ſame, is that of which 'we cannot doubt of the real performance, be- 'ing left by His Majeſty to the *Parliaments* de- 'termination; ſo we believe it is the moſt pro- 'bable way to bring the Nations to their deſired 'Settlement. And we hope to evince to his Maje- 'ſty, and all the world, That we are his *Majeſties* 'Loyal Subjects, and that your Excellency, and 'the Armies under your Command, have Com- 'plyed with the Obligations, for which they 'were firſt raiſed, for the preſervation of the 'true Proteſtant Religion, the Honour and Dig- 'nity of the *King*, the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, 'the *Liberty* and *Proſperity* of the *Subject*, and 'the *Fundamental Laws* of the *Land*.

It is read by the Commons, and approved.

In the morning, at the firſt ſitting of the Commons-Houſe, the General acquainted them, that he had communicated his Majeſties Letter, and the Declaration in it encloſed, to the Officers of the Army; and that thereupon they had preſented an Addreſs to him, which he deſired they would be pleaſed to read, which was ordered, and after the reading, it was well approved of.

Commiſſary Clarges appointed by the General to wait upon his Majeſty with this Addreſs.

His Excellency then told them, *He intended to prepare a Letter, to be ſent to his Majeſty, and did with their leave, purpoſe to ſend that Addreſs to him, that his Majeſty might thereby perceive, the Armies were at his devotion; and deſigning to ſend it by Commiſſary* Clarges, *who was as well a Member of their Houſe, as an Officer of the Army, he requeſted their permiſſion for him to go.*

The Houſe then Ordered, he ſhould have leave to go from his Excellency to the King; and they gave five hundred Pounds to Sir *John Greenville*, to buy him a Jewel, as a Teſtimony, of the Reſpects of the Houſe to him.

After this, Alderman *Robinſon* inform'd them, *That the ſaid Sir* John Greenville, *with the Lord* Mordant, *had preſented a Letter from his Majeſty, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and they Commanded him to ask their leave to return an Anſwer to it.* Which after the reading it in the Houſe was granted; In that Letter alſo his Majeſties Declaration was incloſed: The Letter it ſelf was directed,

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved, the Lord Major, Aldermen, and the Common-Council of Our City of *London*.

CHARLES R.

His Majeſties Letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*.

TRuſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: In theſe great Revolutions of late happned in that Our Kingdom, to the Wonder and Amazement of all the World, there is none that We have looked upon with more Comfort, than the ſo frequent and publick manifeſtations of their affections to Us in the City of London, *which hath exceedingly raiſed Our Spirits, and which no doubt hath proceeded from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary mercy to the Nation, which hath been encouraged by you, and your good Example, to aſſert that Government, under which it hath ſo many hundred years enjoyed as great felicity as any Nation in* Europe, *and to diſcountenance the Imaginations of thoſe, who would ſubject Our Subjects to a Government they have not yet deviſed; and to ſatisfie the Pride and Ambition of a few ill men, would introduce the moſt arbitrary and tyrannical Power that was ever yet heard of. How long we have all ſuffered under thoſe and the like devices, all the World takes notice, to the no ſmall reproach of the* Engliſh *Nation, which We hope is now providing for its own Security and Redemption, and will be no longer bewitch'd by thoſe Inventions: How deſirous We are to contribute to the obtaining the Peace and Happineſs of Our Subjects without effuſion of blood; and how far we are from deſiring to recover what belongs to Us by a War, if it can be otherwiſe done, will appear to you by the incloſed Declaration, which together with this Our Letter, We have intruſted Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Couſin, the Lord* Viſcount Mordant, *and Our Truſty and Well-beloved Servant, Sir* John Greenville *Knight, one of the Gentlemen of Our Bed-Chamber, to deliver to you; to the end, that you, and all the reſt of Our good Subjects of that Our City of* London (*to whom We deſire it ſhould be publiſhed*) *may know how far We are from the deſire of revenge, or that the Peace, Happineſs, and Security of the Kingdom, ſhould be raiſed upon any other Foundation than the affection and hearts of Our Subjects, and their own Conſents. We have not the leaſt doubt of your juſt ſenſe of theſe Our Condeſcenſions, or of your zeal to advance and promote the ſame good end, by diſpoſing all men to meet Us with the ſame affection and tenderneſs, in reſtoring the Fundamental Laws to that Reverence that is due to them, and upon the preſervation whereof all Our happineſs depends. And you will have no reaſon to doubt of enjoying your full ſhare in that happineſs, and of the improving it by Our particular Affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the good they can for their native Country, and to advance the Honour of it: And as We have that full affection for the Kingdom in general, ſo We would not be thought to be without ſome extraordinary Kindneſs for Our Native City in that particular, which We ſhall manifeſt on all occaſions, not only by renewing their Charter, and confirming all thoſe Priviledges, which they have received from Our Predeceſſours, but by adding and granting any new Favours, which may advance the*

Trade

Trade, Wealth and Honour of that Our Native City, for which We will be so solicitous, that We doubt not but that it will in due time receive some benefit and advantage in all those respects, even from Our own Observation and Experience abroad. And We are most confident, We shall never be disappointed in Our Expectation, of all possible Service from your Affections; and so We bid you farewel. Given at Our Court at *Breda*, the 14 day of *April*, 1660. In the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

We must not omit to commemorate the Cities joyful Resentment of this *Letter*, and the *Declaration* in it, expressed by the Grateful Duty of the Common-Council; who immediately upon the reading of them, ordered ten thousand pounds to be presented to his Majesty, a thousand pounds to the Duke of *York*, and a thousand pounds to the Duke of *Gloucester*; and that Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Reynaldson*, Alderman *Brown*, Alderman *Thompson*, Alderman *Frederick*, Alderman *Wale*, Alderman *Adams*, Alderman *Bateman*, Alderman *Robinson*, Mr. Recorder *Wild*, Sir *Nicholas Crisp*, Mr. *Vincent*, Mr. *Bidolph*, Mr. *Foord*, Mr. *Bloodworth*, Sir *James Bunce*, Mr. *Lewis*, and Mr. *William Bateman*, should from that City attend his Majesty, with a Presentment of their most Dutiful Acknowledgments for his Clemency and Goodness towards them. His Excellency took care, that the *Address* presented to him by the Officers, together with Copies of the Kings *Letter* and *Declaration*, should be sent to all the Regiments and Garrisons in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and *Dunkirk*; requiring all to return their Subscriptions to him, and the Names of Dissenters (if any were.) But it appeared by the Returns made, that the Army was so well purged by the *Remonstrance* that went before, that all readily and dutifully comply'd with this.

Divers Aldermen, and other Eminent Citizens, sent from the City to his Majesty.

The Lords House nominated the Earls of *Oxford*, *Warwick*, and *Middlesex*, and the Lord Viscount *Hereford*, the Lord *Brook*, and the Lord *Berkley*, to attend his Majesty from that House; and the Commons appointed the Lord *Fairfax*, Lord *Bruce*, Lord *Falkland*, Lord *Castleton*, Lord *Herbert* of *Worcester*, Lord *Mandeville*, Sir *Horatio Townesend*, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, and *Denzill Hollis* Esquire, to attend his Majesty from that House; who were ordered to make the quickest preparation they could for their Journey, to desire his Majesty to make a speedy return to his Parliament, to the Exercise of his Kingly Office.

Six of the House of Lords, and Twelve of the Commons, sent to attend upon his Majesty.

His Majesties *Letter* and *Declaration* to the Fleet, by the diligence of General *Mountague*, had the same success there, as that in the Army, being gratefully received by all the Commanders and Sea-men.

The *Letter* it self was in these words:

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Letter to the Officers of the Fleet.

TRusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: It is no small comfort to us, after so long and great Troubles and Miseries 'which the whole Nation hath groaned under; 'and after so great Revolutions, which have 'still increased those Miseries, to hear that the 'Fleet and Ships, which are the Walls of the 'Kingdom, are put under the Command of two 'Persons so well disposed to, and concerned in 'the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom, as 'we believe you to be; and that the Officers and 'Sea-men under your Command, are more in-'clined to return to their Duty to Us, and put 'a period to these Distempers and Distractions 'which have so impoverished and dishonoured 'the Nation, than to widen the Breach, and to 'raise their Fortunes by Rapine and Violence; 'which gives Us great incouragement and hope, 'that *God Almighty* will heal the Wounds by the 'same Plaister that made the Flesh Raw; that 'he will proceed in the same method, in pou-'ring his Blessings upon Us, which he was plea-'sed to use when he began to afflict Us; and 'that the Manifestation of the good Affection 'of the Fleet and Sea-men towards us, and the 'Peace of the Nation, may be the Prologue to 'that Peace which was first interrupted by the 'mistake and misunderstanding of their Prede-'cessors, which would be such a Blessing upon 'Us all, that We should not be less delighted 'with the manner, than the matter of it: In 'this Hope and Confidence, We have sent the 'inclosed *Declaration* to You, by which you may 'discern how much We are willing to contri-'bute towards the obtaining the General and 'Publique Peace: In which, as no man can be 'more, or so much concern'd; so no man can 'be more solicitous for it. And We do earnest-'ly desire you, that you will cause the said *De-'claration* to be published to all the Officers and 'Sea-men of the Fleet; to the end, that they 'may plainly discern, how much We have put 'it into their Power, to provide for the Peace 'and Happiness of the Nation, who have been 'always understood by them, to be the best and 'most proper Counsellors for those good Ends. 'And You are likewise further to declare to 'them, That We have the same Gracious Pur-'pose towards them, which We have expressed 'towards the Army at Land; and will be as 'ready to provide for the payment of all Ar-'rears due to them, and for rewarding them 'according to their several Merits, as We have 'expressed to the other; and We will always 'take so particular a care of them, and their 'condition, as shall manifest Our kindness to-'wards them. And so depending upon Gods 'Blessing, for infusing those good Resolutions 'into your and their Hearts, which are best 'for Us all, We bid you farewel. *Given at Our 'Court at* Breda, *this* 14 *day of* April, 1660. *in 'the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.*

1660.

Superscribed,

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General *Monck*, and General *Mountague*, Generals at Sea: To be communicated to the Fleet.

Clarges on the fifth day of *May* began his Journey to his Majesty; and at his parting from the General, he gave him no other Instructions, but *to give the King all manner of Assurance of his Fidelity to him, and his Resolution to improve all his Opportunities to his Service: desiring*

The Generals Instructions to *Clarges*, when he began his Journey.

1660.

him not to move any thing to his Majesty, either for himself, or him, or any other in his Company, That his Majesty might see that both he, and those so nearly concern'd with him in his Restauration, sought more the Publique Good of their Country, than their own private Honour or Profit: which he did faithfully observe at that time, and ever after. And three days after the Lords and Commons having agreed upon a *Proclamation* to that purpose, his Majesty was proclaimed with great Solemnity in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, the Lords and Commons, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* being present; the manner was as followeth:

The Solemn manner of proclaiming his Majesty in *London* and *Westminster*.

The Lords came out of their House into the *Painted-Chamber*, where they continued till they were placed in Order; the Earl of *Manchester* first, then the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Oxford*, &c. Thus they walked out along with the Heralds before them, through the Court of Requests, and *Westminster-Hall*, to the *Palace*, where they staid before the Hall-Gate, whilest Mr. *Bish*, one of the Heralds, and Mr. *Ryly* that officiated as King at Arms, with a loud Voice, proclaimed the King in these words.

'ALthough it can no way be doubted, but that His Majesties Right and Title to 'his Crown and Kingdoms, is, and was every 'way compleated by the Death of His most 'Royal Father of Glorious Memory, without 'the Ceremony or Solemnity of a *Proclama-'tion:* Yet since *Proclamations* in such cases have 'always been used, to the end that all good Sub-'jects might, upon this occasion, testifie their 'Duty and Respect; And since the Armed Vio-'lence, and other the Calamities of many years 'last past, have hitherto deprived Us of any 'such Opportunity, wherein we might express 'our *Loyalty* and *Allegiance* to his *Majesty*; We 'therefore, the *Lords* and *Commons* now Assem-'bled in *Parliament*, together with the *Lord 'Mayor, Aldermen*, and *Common-Council* of the 'City of *London*, and other *Free-men* of this 'Kingdom now present, do, according to Our 'Duty and *Allegiance*, heartily, joyfully, and 'unanimously acknowledge and proclaim, That 'upon the *Decease* of Our late *Sovereign Lord 'King Charles*, the *Emperial Crown* of the *Realm* 'of *England*, and of all the *Kingdoms*, *Dominions*, and *Rights* belonging to the same, did by 'Inherent Birth-right, and lawful and un-'doubted Succession, descend and come to his 'most *Excellent Majesty CHARLES* the 'Second; as being Lineally, Justly, and Law-'fully next *Heir* of the *Royal Blood* of this 'Realm; And that by the Goodness and Provi-'dence of Almighty *GOD*, He is of *Eng-'land*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, the most 'Potent, Mighty, and Undoubted King: And 'thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do 'submit, and oblige Our Selves, our Heirs and 'Posterities.

The *Proclamation* being ended, the Lords and Commons took their Coaches, and proceeded in this Order; First, the Head-Bayliff of *Westminster*, and his Servants, did ride along with white Staffs to prepare the way; Then followed a gallant Troop of the Officers of the Army, and other Gentlemen, with Trumpets before them; Then the Life-Guard, commanded by Captain *Philip Howard*, very well mounted, and richly cloath'd; after them a Class of Trumpets, and three Heralds; then a Herald between the Serjeant to the Commons, and the Mace of the Council; Next, *Ryly* King at Arms, in a rich Coat of the Kings Arms, betwixt Serjeant *Norfolk*, and Serjeant *Middleton*; after whom came the Usher of the Black-Rod, and Mr. *Bish*. These thus Ushering the way, the Earl of *Manchester* followed in his Coach and six Horses, the Speaker of the House of Commons in his, then his Excellency General *Monck* in his; after which followed both Houses of Parliament in Coaches, and after them a Troop of Horse: in this manner they came to *White-Hall*, where they proclaimed his Majesty a second time; and then proceeded to *Temple-Bar*, where the Gates being shut, the King at Arms, with Trumpets before him, knocked, and demanded entrance: The Lord Mayor appointed some to ask, *Who it was that knock'd?* The King at Arms reply'd, *That if they would open the Wicket, and let the Lord Mayor come thither, he would to him deliver his Message.* The Lord Mayor came then on Horse-back richly habited, in a Crimson-Velvet Gown, to the Gate, and then the Trumpets sounded; and after silence being made, Alderman *Bateman*, by order of the Lord Mayor, demanded of the Herald, *Who he was, and what was his Message?* To which he answer'd, with his Hat on, *We are the Heralds at Arms, appointed and commanded by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, to demand Entrance into the Famous City of* London, *to proclaim* Charles *the Second King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *and we expect your speedy Answer to this Demand.* To which, after a little consultation amongst themselves, Alderman *Bateman* answered, *Their Message was accepted, and the Gates should be immediately opened*; which was done accordingly.

The King at Arms entred first, Trumpets sounding before him, and was joyfully received by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and all the Officers of the City *Militia* gallantly accoutred, both sides of the streets were lin'd by the Trained-bands of *London*, from *Temple-Bar* to the *Old-Exchange*, who stood all with their Swords drawn: The City-Troop march'd next to the Life-guard, then the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; after whom the Heralds, and the rest, as before: When they came to *Chancery-lane* end, they proclaim'd his Majesty a third time: And from thence they march'd to *Cheap-side*, where he was proclaim'd a fourth time; and from thence to the *Old-Exchange*, where he was again proclaim'd. The shouts and acclamations of the people, at this gallant and orderly Procession, were very great, and their demonstrations of joy, at the several Stations, when the Ceremony of proclaiming was performing, not to be expressed; sometimes they lookt upwards, and then presently cast their eyes towards the General, as if they intended at one time to pay a Tribute of Thankfulness to Heaven, and his Excellency, who had done an action so glorious and transcendent, *that this present Age cannot but admire, and our Posterity will with difficulty believe:* And then again they cry'd out, *God save King* Charles *the Second*; as if they acknowledged that days joy, as a recompence

sufficient

1660.

sufficient for all their Pressures and Grievances; *so excellent a Tutor is the want of that, which long Fruition makes us imperfectly understand.*

The Guns from the Tower were all shot off, and all the Streets that Evening were fill'd with Bone-fires, and the Air with the sound of ringing of Bells; and all seem'd too little to celebrate the content and exultation of the people, at that days Solemnity.

Commissary *Clarges* his arrival at *Breda*, where he is graciously received by his Majesty.

Commissary *Clarges* made such speed in his journey to his Majesty, that on Tuesday the 8th of *May* in the morning, which was the day after the happy making of this *Proclamation*, he arrived at *Bergen-ap-Zome* in *Holland*, half a days journey from *Breda*: There the Governour gave him a very Honourable Reception, and accommodated him with his Coach and six Horses to *Breda*; and a League before he came to the Town, the Lord *Gerrard* met him with two Coaches and six Horses, and accompanied him to his Majesty, who received him with most Gracious Expressions of satisfaction, as well that he was the first Authorized Messenger, that came to him with the News of the intire Submission of his Kingdoms and Army to his Obedience; as for his Relation to that most Renowned General, from whose prudent Conduct and Courage principally, all that Happiness was derived to his Majesty, and his People.

He presented to his Majesty a *Letter* from the General, in Answer to his Majesties sent before to him; and in it was inclosed the *Address* of the Officers of the Army.

The Generals Letter to his Majesty.

May it please your Majesty,

THE Parliament being Sitting at my receipt of your Majesties gracious Letter 'to me, I thought my self obliged in duty to 'present it to the *House of Commons*, whose sense 'of it, and of that other your Majesty was pleased to send to them by Sir *John Greenvil*, I 'doubt not but your Majesty will receive an account of by some of their own Members: I 'have also communicated your Majesties Letter and Declaration to as many of the Chief 'Officers of the Army as were present in or about *London*, who resented your Majesties 'Clemency and Grace to them with very great 'Duty and Affection, as your Majesty may 'perceive in the inclosed Address, which within few hours after their Convention, they delivered to me.

'By all which circumstances, I hope I may assure your Majesty, That as the Army hath 'been very Instrumental in their Endeavours to 'further the Settlement, Peace and Prosperity 'of your Majesties Kingdoms and Dominions; 'so nothing will be dearer to them and me, 'than to be found in our Generations pursuing 'those good Ends, which may render us serviceable and acceptable to our Country, to 'give unto Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsars, *and* 'to God *the things which are Gods.*

May the 5th.

May it please your Majesty,
Your Majesties most humble, and Obedient Servant and Subject,

George Monck.

This Letter was dictated by his Excellency in the presence of many Officers of the Army; but he writ another short Letter with his own hand: Wherein he acquainted his Majesty, 'That he 'chose to send Mr. *Clarges* to him, because he 'was the only Person he trusted in the nearest 'Concernments and Consultations for his Restauration, as one to whom he desired his Majesty to give Credit to what he should say on 'that behalf.

Clarges Knighted by his Majesty, presents himself to the two Dukes, the Princess Royal, and others of the most Eminent of the Court.

After the reading of these Letters, and the Address inclosed in the former of them, his Majesty Knighted him, and by many kind expressions demonstrated his sense of his Merit and Service to him; and after he had been about an hour with his Majesty, he had his permission to attend his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Gloucester*, who received him with that affability which was inherent in them, the most accomplished and most generous Princes in the world. From them he waited on the Princess of *Orange*, who expressed great content at his Relation of the News he brought; and at his parting from her, she gave order he should with his whole Retinue be entertained at her Charge whilest he staid in *Breda*, and have a Coach and six Horses of her Highnesses, with Equipage suitable, to wait on him when he should give order for it. He went then to visit the Lord Chancellor, and from him the Marquess of *Ormond*, as those deservedly (next the *Royal Family*) in greatest Credit with his Majesty; both of them receiving him with that respect, as the import and relation of his Message and Person did deserve.

The *Two Houses of Parliament* having perfected the *Instructions* for their Commissioners, and the Letter to his Majesty, they were delivered to them, and they began their Journey towards the *Hague* (at which place his Majesty intended to meet them) on the 11th of *May*, the time prefix'd in the *Instructions* for their Journey.

Instructions for *Aubry* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles* Earl of *Warwick*, *Lionel* Earl of *Middlesex*, *Lycester* Viscount *Hereford*, *George* Lord *Berkley*, *Robert* Lord *Brook*; the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Mandivel*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Castlestowne*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Fairfax*, *Denzel Holles* Esquire, Sir *Horatio Townsend*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*.

The *Instructions* were thus; (*Viz.*)

The Parliaments Instructions to their Commissioners, who were sent to wait upon his Majesty.

YOu are to begin your Journey towards his Majesty on Friday next, and make a speedy repair to such place where his Majesty shall 'be, and humbly to present the Letters where-'with you are respectively intrusted by both 'Houses of Parliament.

'You are to acquaint his Majesty with what 'great Joy and Acclamation he was proclaimed 'in and about the Cities of *London* and *West-minster*, upon the eighth day of *May* instant, 'and present the Proclamation it self to his Majesty, and to acquaint him with the Orders of 'both Houses to have the same proclaimed 'throughout the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominion of *Wales*, and the 'Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*.

'And

1660.

'And that both *Houſes* have Ordered,

'That all and every the Miniſters throughout 'the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, be in- 'joyned in their *Publick Prayers* to pray for his '*Moſt Excellent Majeſty*, and for the moſt Illu- 'ſtrious Prince *James* Duke of *York*, and the 'reſt of the *Royal Progeny*. And alſo have or- 'dered, That the aſſumed Arms of the late pre- 'tended Commonwealth, where-ever they are 'ſtanding, be taken down; and that his Maje- 'ſties *Arms* be ſet up inſtead thereof: And you 'are to communicate to his Majeſty the Reſolu- 'tion of both *Houſes* relating to theſe *Inſtructi- 'ons*.

'You are to acquaint his Majeſty with the 'earneſt deſire of both *Houſes*, that his Majeſty 'will be pleaſed to make a ſpeedy return to his 'Parliament, and to the Exerciſe of his *Kingly* 'Office; and that in order thereunto, both *Hou- 'ſes* have given direction to General *Mountа- 'gue*, one of the Generals at Sea, and other Of- 'ficers of the *Fleet*, to obſerve ſuch Commands 'as his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to give him or them 'for diſpoſal of the *Fleet*, in order to his Ma- 'jeſties return: And you are to communicate 'to his Majeſty the reſolution of both *Houſes* 'relating to this Inſtruction.

John Brown, Cl. Parl.

The *Houſe of Commons* added one more *Inſtruction* to the Commiſſioners; which was, *To beſeech his Majeſty, that the Parliament may know where he purpoſeth to take Shipping, and to Land at his coming over, that preparation may be made for his Reception; and which of his Majeſties Houſes he intended to make uſe of at his firſt coming to* London; *And whether he will come all the way by Land after he comes on Shore, or whether he will pleaſe to come by Water from* Graves-End *to* London? *And that his Majeſty will declare in what manner he is pleaſed to be Received.*

The Parliament and City-Commiſſioners have their Audience from his Majeſty at the *Hague*.

All theſe Commiſſioners in three days after their departure from *London*, arrived at the *Hague*; And on *Wedneſday* the ſixteenth of *May*, our Stile, they had their ſeveral Audiences by his Majeſty, who received them all with a ſweet and ſerene Countenance, and a Heart full of content and good inclinations towards them; and all the City Commiſſioners were Knighted by him. He gave that Evening his Diſpatch to Sir *Thomas Clarges*, and Commanded him to acquaint the General, *He intended to take Shipping at the Bay of* Scheveling *on* Monday *after, and to Sayl to* Dover, *and Land there; from whence he would immediately go to* Canterbury, *and ſtay there ſome time to determine of the manner of his Entrance into* London. The Fleet was ſome days before in purſuance of the *Orders* of both *Houſes* in the ſaid Bay.

Sir *Thomas Clarges* returns with intimation of his Majeſties Reſolution.

On *Thurſday* early in the Morning, Sir *Thomas Clarges* attempted by Boat from *Scheveling*, to get on Board the Admiral, but the Weather was ſo ſtormy he could not do it, till towards the Evening; And then General *Mountague* ordered the *Norwich* Frigate for his Tranſportation: The Winds were ſo contrary, and the Weather ſo ſtormy, that the Pilot could not make any Land in *England* till *Monday* morning, at which time he Landed at *Aldbrough* in *Suffolk*, and immediately from thence ſent an Expreſs to the General, and the *Speaker* of the *Houſe of Commons*, with intimation of his Majeſties Reſolutions: Whereupon his Excellency with a great and gallant Company of the chiefeſt of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, ſet forward from *London* the 22th of *May*; and for the more conveniency of Quartering ſo numerous a Company, he adviſ'd them to divide themſelves into Troops according to the ſeveral Counties, and the intereſt of the Noble-men preſent.

At *Rocheſter* Sir *Thomas Clarges* met the General, and preſented unto him his Majeſties Letter, with Royal and moſt indear'd Aſſurances of Eſteem from the Beſt of Kings, to the Worthieſt and moſt deſerving of Subjects. The Letter was dated the 26th of *May*. Directed,

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved General *Monck*, to be communicated to the Officers of the Army.

CHARLES R.

His Majeſties Letter to the General.

TRuſty and Well-beloved, We Greet you well. You will eaſily believe that your 'Letter of the fifth of this Moneth, by Sir 'Thomas *Clarges*, was very welcom to us: And 'that as we muſt always acknowledge the infi- 'nite Mercy of God Almighty in diſpoſing the 'Hearts of the Army in ſuch an intire obedi- 'ence to you, for the promoting and carrying 'on Our Service, and the Peace of the King- 'dom; So We can never be without a Juſt E- 'ſteem of ſuch a great and well-diſciplin'd 'Army, upon which the Eyes of the World are 'ſo much fixed. We muſt deſire you to return 'Our very hearty Thanks to the Officers and 'Souldiers for their Affection and Obedience 'to Us; and to aſſure them from Us, that we 'ſhall always have an intire Confidence in 'them, and ever acknowledge them to be the 'great Inſtruments of reſtoring Us to Peace, 'and Happineſs, and ſecurity to Us all: And 'therefore they may not only with all imagi- 'nable confidence aſſure themſelves, that We 'will punctually perform whatever We have 'promiſed to them in Our *Declaration* or *Letter*, 'but that We will take them into Our particu- 'lar Care and Protection. And if the Licence 'and diſtemper of the Time ſhall ſo far tran- 'ſport any men, as to preſume upon memory of 'former Animoſities, and of what is paſt, to 'uſe any reproaches towards them, We will 'look upon ſuch Perſons as Diſturbers of the 'Peace and Security of the Kingdom, and ſhall 'cauſe them to be proſecuted accordingly. And 'towards this Settlement and Compoſure, and 'for the prevention of many inconveniencies 'which may fall out, We think nothing ſo ne- 'ceſſary as Our Preſence with you, by which (in 'a very ſhort time) every Member of the Ar- 'my, who ſhall faithfully adhere to you in ad- 'vancement of the Publick Peace, ſhall with the 'Bleſſing of God, find himſelf ſecured and pro- 'vided for, to his ſatisfaction. And longing for 'that bleſſed time, We bid you heartily farewel.

His Excellency being in his Journey, had no opportunity to communicate this Letter to any

any more of his Officers than those that were present with him.

But the Fame of his Majesties transcendent Vertues had prevented this written discovery of them, and made indelible impressions of duty and affection in the Army.

The King intended to have taken shipping on *Monday*, but the Crossness of the Winds forc'd him a little to defer it. His Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, went on *Monday* and *Tuesday* to the Fleet, to take Charge thereof as Lord High Admiral: And on *Wednesday* the 23 his Sacred Majesty, the Queen of *Bohemia*, the Princess Royal of *Orange*, the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, and the Prince of *Orange*, went on board the *Naseby*, (which his Majesty now named the *Royal Charles*) where after a Re-past, The Queen of *Bohemia*, the Princess Royal, and the Prince of *Orange* her Son, took leave of his Majesty, and then the Fleet set sail for *England*: His Royal Highness the Duke of *York* came in the *London*; and the Duke of *Glocester* in the *Swiftsure*, now called the *James*.

The King and the Dukes take Shipping for *England*.

His Majesties Entertainment from the States of *Holland*.

During the time his Majesty had remain'd at the *Hague*, and all the way thither from *Breda*, the States of *Holland* entertain'd him with great Magnificence; and at his departure they presented him with a rich Bed, of the Value of Seven Thousand pounds *Sterling*; and as much Linnen as was valued at a Thousand pounds.

On *Friday* about three of the Clock in the Morning, the Fleet was in sight of *Dover*, whereupon an Express was sent to the General (then newly come to *Canterbury*) to haste to *Dover*; which he presently did, and about ten of the Clock came thither.

His Excellency before he came from *Canterbury*, advising with the Earl of *Lindsey*, and some of the other Noble-men that accompanied him, about the conveniency of his Majesties stay at *Dover*, was informed that he could have no accommodation there for a fourth part of his Train, and those that came to wait on him, and therefore he resolv'd humbly to move him, at his Landing, to proceed on directly to *Canterbury*.

His Majesty Lands at *Dover*.

About One in the Afternoon, his Majesty Landed at the *Beech* near *Dover-Peer*, with the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Glocester*, and many Noble-men and Gentlemen. All that were present put themselves into Posture, to see the Meeting of the King and the General: The Admirers of Majesty, were Jealous on his Majesties Behalf, of too low Condescension; and the Lovers of Duty fearful on the other Side, of an Ostentation of Merit: But such an humble Prostration was made by the General, and so generous a Reception by his Majesty, kissing and imbracing him, that all Parties were satisfied, to admiration. And his Excellency from that time received so great an Impression of the marvellous Goodness of his Majesty, that he resolv'd what before he had perform'd out of bounden Duty to his Liege-Lord, should be for ever continued with the same observance, out of Loyal Affections to his Gracious Soveraign.

His Reception there.

His Majesty walked from the Water-side, towards the Town, with the General, a Canopy being carried over his Head, and a Chair of State by him; and upon his Excellencies Motion, for his going to *Canterbury*, for the Reasons before expressed, he hasted to his Coach; in his Passage to which, he was met by the Major and Aldermen of the Town, with Mr. *Reading* their Minister, who presented his Majesty with a large Bible, with Gold Claps: At one end of the Coach next the King, sate the Duke of *York*, and at the other the Duke of *Glocester*, and the General; and the Duke of *Buckingham* sate in the Boot. About two miles from *Dover*, his Majesty took Horse, his Royal Brothers rode on his right hand, and the General on his left; After whom the Duke of *Buckingham*, and several other Noble-men and Gentlemen follow'd in gallant Equipage. 1660

His Reception at *Canterbury*.

At his Majesties Entrance into *Canterbury*, he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen, and Mr. *Lovelace* the Recorder, who made an eloquent Speech to him; the Mayor also presented him with a Tankard of Massie Gold, and then conducted him to the Palace, where he remained till *Monday*.

His Majesty confers the Order of the Garter, upon the General, and the Honour of Knight-hood upon the Earl of *Winchelsea*, the Lord *Mordant* and divers others.

The next Day after his Arrival at *Canterbury*, his Majesty Dignified his Excellency with the Honour of the Garter; he was brought up to the King by the Earl of *Winchelsea*, and the Lord *Mordant*, who were both Knighted with him; and his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Glocester*, in great Testimony of Respect to him, assisted at the Ceremony, and put on the *Garter*, and the *George*; Mr. *Morrice* was also Knighted, and Declared Secretary of State; and that Evening his Majesty sent the General a Warrant to be Master of his Horse.

His Majesty likewise at *Canterbury*, conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on Major-General *Massey*, Alderman *Robinson*, Mr. *Daniel Harvey*, Mr. *Thomas Stewkley*, Colonel *Rossiter*, Captain *Philip Howard*, and Mr. *Robert Paston*. Moreover, his Excellency, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, were Sworn of the Privy-Council.

He is entertained at *Rochester* by Col. *Gibbons*.

On *Monday* following, his Majesty came into *Rochester*, where, after he had a little refreshed himself, he went to *Chatham*, to see the *Royal Soveraign*, and returned that Night to Colonel *Gibbons* his House, where he lay, and was by the Colonel presented with a most Dutiful and Loyal *Address* from him and his Regiment which was then Quartered in *Rochester*.

The Army being drawn up on *Black-Heath* welcomed his Majesty with great joy and acclamation.

From thence his Majesty marched to *Black-Heath*, where the Army was drawn up, and was much pleas'd with the sight of it; for indeed they seem'd all men of one age, and one mind, and were for their number, as gallant Troops as were to be seen in the World.

Colonel *Knight* there most humbly presented to his Majesty a Writing, which contained the most humble and obedient Declaration of the Armies joy, for the Honour of his Majesties presence amongst them; wherein after many dutiful expressions of exalted gladness for his Majesties Restauration, they besought, *That his Majesty would have now his great Council about him, who had already given proof of their Loyalty and Wisdom both to his Majesty and all his People.* They also declared, *That as they had not been altogether useless in the Restauration of his* Sacred Majesty, *to his Crown and Kingdom, and his People to their just Rights thereby; so they should for the future chearfully sacrifice their Lives,*

or

1660 *or whatsoever could be more dear unto them, in the service of his* Majesty, *against all opposers whatsoever, and by a ready Obedience to his* Majesties *Commands, express themselves better than in words.*

The manner of his Majesties Triumphal Cavalcade through the City of *London.*

When his Majesty came to St. *Georges*'s Fields, the Lord Major and Aldermen humbly on their knees Reverenc'd him, and the Lord Major presented his Sword, which his Majesty gave back to him; and after a little Collation in a Tent, provided by the Lord Major, his Majesty went towards *White-Hall* in this manner:

All the streets were richly adorn'd with Tapistry, from *London-Bridge* to *White-Hall*; and as far as *Temple-Bar*, were equally ranked in good order, the Trained-Band-Forces on the one side of the streets, and the several Companies in their Liveries on the other: From *Temple-Bar* to *White-Hall*, the Trained-Bands of *Westminster*, and the parts adjacent on one side, and some Companies of the Army on the other, to whom was joyn'd a gallant Company of the late Kings Officers, Commanded by Sir *John Stowell*.

The Procession was led by Major General *Brown*, who had a Troop of three hundred, all in Cloth of Silver Doublets; then followed twelve hundred in Velvet Coats, with Foot-men and Liveries attending them in Purple; Then another Troop led by Alderman *Robinson*, in Buff-Coats, with Cloth of Silver-sleeves, and very rich Green Scarfs; and after these a Troop of about a hundred and fifty with blew Liveries, laced with Silver Lace, with six Trumpeters, and seven Foot-men in Sea-green and Silver: Then a Troop of two hundred and twenty, with thirty Foot-men in Gray and Silver Liveries, and four Trumpeters richly Cloathed; Then another Troop of one hundred and five, with Gray Liveries, and six Trumpets: and another of seventy with five Trumpets: And then three Troops more, two of three hundred, and one of one hundred, all richly habited, and bravely mounted. After these came two Trumpets with his Majesties Arms; The Sheriffs men in red Cloaks richly Laced with Silver Lace, to the number of fourscore, with half Pikes in their hands: then followed six hundred of the several Companies of *London* on Horseback, in black Velvet Coats, with Gold Chains, each Company having Foot-men in Liveries attending.

After these came a Kettle-Drum, five Trumpets, and three Streamers, and many rich red Liveries with Silver Lace: After these twelve Ministers, and then another Kettle-Drum, and four Trumpets, and his *Majesties* Life-guard of Horse, Commanded by the Lord *Gerrard*; Then three Trumpets in rich Coats, and Satin Doublets, and the City Marshal, with eight Foot-men in French-Green, trim'd with Crimson and White: The City Waits, and all the City Officers in order: Then the two Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen of *London* in Scarlet Gowns, and rich Trappings, with Footmen in Liveries, Red Coats Laced with Silver, and Cloth of Gold and Silver. The Heralds and Maces in rich Coats. Then the Lord Major carrying the Sword bare, and next to him the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the General, and then the *Kings Majesty* betwixt the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*: Then followed a Troop of Horse with white colours, and after them, the Generals Life-guard, led by Sir *Philip Howard*: Then five Regiments of the Army-Horse, led by Colonel *Knight*: And after them, two Troops of Noblemen and Gentlemen.

Thus was his *Majesty* conducted to his Royal Palace at *White-Hall*, on the nine and twentieth day of *May*, His Birth-day; and with him, Peace and Happiness return'd to His Kingdoms and People, which all good men desire may be for ever continued to them, under the happy Government of Him and His Posterity.

His Majesties Reception by the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

When the Lord Major had taken leave of him, he went to the *Lords*, where he was entertained with a Grave but Eloquent Speech of the Earl of *Manchesters*, and from thence to the *Banquetting-House*, where the whole *House of Commons* attending him, the *Speaker* in their Names expressed *the Joyful Sence they all had, to behold his Majesty returned in safety, and thereby an end was put to that Tyranny and Slavery his good People had endured.*

He expresseth in brief his Gracious Intentions to them.

The King told them, *He was so disordered by his Journey, and with the noise still sounding in his Ears, (which nevertheless He confess'd was pleasing to him, because it expressed the Affections of his People) that he was thereby unfit to make such a Reply as he desired*; But added, *That he took no greater Satisfaction to himself in this his Change, than that he found his heart really set to endeavour by all means the restoring of these Nations to their Freedom and Happiness; which he hoped by the Advice of his* Parliament *to effect: And that, next to the Honour of God, from whom he chiefly owned the Restauration to his Crown, he would study the Welfare of his People, and not only be a true Defender of the Faith, but a Just Asserter of the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects.*

After the conclusion of these Ceremonies, he intended to go to *Westminster-Abby* to offer up a Thanksgiving to GOD for all his Deliverances and Mercies towards him; but by the Weariness he had contracted through the Toil, (however grateful) of that Days Action, he was diverted from his intention of going thither; yet would he not for any consideration be withheld from his Devotion, and his Oblations of Thanks to God, which at that time he made in his Presence-Chamber, because his Chappel was not yet prepared for his Reception.

The two Dukes and other Peers take their Seats in the House of Lords.

The next day the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester* took their Places in the *House of Peers*, as did a while after several other Peers who were made by his Majesty beyond the Seas, and Summoned by Writ; *viz. Henry Jermin* Earl of St. *Albanes*, and Baron of St. *Edmonds-Bury*; *John Mordant*, Viscount *Mordant* of *Aveland*: Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Baron *Langdale* of *Holm*; *Charles Crofts*, Baron *Crofts*; Sir *John Barkley*, Baron *Barkley*.

The chief Officers of State, and of the Kings Household.

In the first place after his Majesties Arrival, were appointed the chief Officers of *State*, and of his Majesties Houshold, His Highness the Duke of *York* was Invested with the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports. The Lord General *Monk* was continued Captain General of all the Forces of the Three Kingdoms, and made Master of the Horse to His *Majesty*: Sir *Edward Hide*

Hide (afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*) was constituted Lord High Chancellour of *England*: The Earl of *Southampton* Lord High Treasurer of *England*: Sir *Edward Nicholas*, and Sir *William Morrice*, Chief Secretaries of State. The Marquess of *Ormond* was appointed Lord Steward: and the Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Houshold: Sir *Frederick Cornwalis*, Treasurer of the Houshold; and Sir *Charles Berkley*, Comptroller: and Sir *George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain of the Houshold, and afterwards Treasurer of the Navy: Besides several others, who for their Eminent Loyalty and good Services, were advanced to Places of Highest Trust and Dignity in Court and Common-wealth. Moreover, his Majesties Privy Council consisted of these Persons following:

The Lords of his Majesties Privy Council.

The Duke of *York*.
Lord Chancellour.
Marquess of *Ormond*.
Marquess of *Dorchester*.
Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord high Chamberlain of *England*.
Earl of *Berkshire*.
Earl of *Southampton*.
Earl of *Norwich*.
Lord *Say* and *Seal*.
Lord *Wentworth*.
Lord *Seymour*.
Mr. *Denzell Holles*.
Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Treasurer of His Majesties Houshhold.
Sir *Edward Nicholas*.
Sir *George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain to His Majesty.
Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*.
Colonel *Charles Howard*.
The Duke of *Gloucester*.
Lord General *Monck*.
Marqueſt of *Hertford*.
Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Houshold.
Earl of *Northumberland*.
Earl of St. *Albans*.
Earl of *Leicester*.
Lord *Culpeper*.
Lord *Roberts*.
Mr. *Arthur Annesly*.
Sir *Charles Berkley* Comptroller of his Majesties Houshold.
Sir *William Morrice*.
General *Mountague*.

The Clerks of the Privy Council were Sir *Richard Brown* Knight and Baronet, (who having been 19 Years Resident in the Court of *France* for his Majesty and his Royal Father, managed that Imployment with extraordinary Prudence, Address and Integrity, and in whose Chappel at *Paris* the Liturgy of the Church of *England* had been solemnly kept up during its Eclipse at home) Sir *Edward Walker* Garter King of Arms. *John Nicholas* Esq; Eldest Son to the Secretary of State; And Sir *George Lane*, Secretary to the Marquess of *Ormond*.

Military Commands conferred upon several Lords and Gentlemen.

In the next place, special Care was taken for the committing of all Military Offices of highest Trust, as well as the Civil already mentioned, into the hands of such Persons as were judged most faithful to the Kings Service; so that the Governments of all the most Important Castles, Fortresses, and Islands, and the first Commands of the several Regiments of the Army, were by the Lord General conferred upon such Lords & other Persons of Honour, as the King was pleas'd to recommend unto him to that Effect, until such time as the Army could conveniently be disbanded. Likewise, for the farther setling of the *Militia* of the Nation, there were of the Chief Nobility of the Land Constituted Lord-Lieutenants of the several Counties, each having under them, as Deputy-Lieutenants, such Gentlemen of the same Counties as had most eminently shewn their affections to his Majesty. 1660

The Commons set upon the Act of General Pardon.

The *House of Commons* in the mean time, applied themselves to the perfecting of an *Act of General Pardon*, which was read Twice in the *House* the One and Thirtieth of this Moneth, thereby complying with that great Clemency and Indulgence of his Majesty to his People, expressed in his most gracious Letter from *Breda*. They had in the first Proposition of this Act, designed to except from Pardon several of the Judges of the late King, and others instrumental in the perpetration of that horrid Treason: of which they had in Custody Eight persons, (*viz.*) *Harrison*, *Carew*, *Clement*, and *Jones*, of the Judges; *Cook* who was the Prosecutor, *Hacker* Captain of the Halberdeers, and Colonel *Axtel*, also *Hugh Peters* the Minister, a virulent Incendiary in the action, who for a while had been sculking up and down in secret, was at length taken in *Southwark*. There were others that had been seduced into that Treason, (*viz.*) Colonel *Richard Ingoldsby*, *Francis Lassels*, and *John Hutchinson*; but so much was said in the House in their favours, that they were not made culpable with the rest. As for *Ingoldsby*, it was made to appear, that *Oliver Cromwell*, without his consent, set his hand and seal to the Warrant for Execution of the King: Besides that, by many Actions of his Loyalty since, and his Engagement in Sir *George Booth*'s business, and against *Lambert*, (as is before related) he had given eminent testimony of his abhorrency of so foul a Crime. *Lassels* had never been in the High Court of Justice, and but once at any meeting with them, and at that time he declared his dissent to their proceedings. And *Hutchinson* had been a very early Convert, and appeared much against that execrable Oath of Abjuration of the King's Person and Posterity, in that part of the *Parliament* which sate at the time of General *Monk*'s March into *London*.

The King comes to the Parliament, and gives his Royal Assent to several Bills.

This *Act of General Pardon* had so many particulars in it of different nature, that it took up very much time; but nevertheless, the *Parliament* omitted not to perfect some necessary Laws for the safety of the Government. On the second of *June*, the *Parliament* having the day before intimated to the King, that they had prepared Three Bills for him, His Majesty came to the *House of Lords*, and having sent to the *House of Commons* to attend him, there gave his Royal Assent to them; (*viz.*) *To an ACT for Confirmation of an Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons in his absence, of the raising of Seventy Thousand Pounds a Moneth for Three Moneths. An ACT for Confirmation of the present Parliament.*

1660 And, *An ACT for the Continuance of Proceſs in Judicial Proceedings.* Which laſt was for avoiding of Diſcontinuances in the Courts of *Weſtminſter*, becauſe the firſt four Returns of *Eaſter*-Term could not be conveniently kept, and to prevent the abatement of Writs that were not iſſued in the Kings Name before his Return to the exerciſe of Government.

His Majeſty alſo preſt them (as well by his particular Charge, as by the Lord Chancellor's Speech) to haſten their paſſing of the *Bill of Indempnity*, which (as well as all other Bills of Publick Concernment) he was ready to Sign; whereupon this Bill was from thenceforth the grand buſineſs of both *Houſes* until it was finiſhed: Nor could it be finiſhed till after ſome conſiderable time, and many large and ſerious Conſultations. In the mean time, the *Two Houſes* themſelves deſired to lay hold upon this *Amneſty* in the Name of the whole Nobility and Commonalty of the Nation: which being eaſily granted by the King, the Ceremony was performed in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, where they waited upon his Majeſty to that end.

About this time came forth a *Proclamation*, whereby it was declared, *That all ſuch of the late Kings Judges as did not render themſelves, ſhould be Excepted out of the General Pardon:* And thereupon *Adrian Scroop*, and Nineteen others of them concealed in ſeveral parts, preſented themſelves to the *Speaker* of the *Houſe of Commons*, and were committed to Cuſtody. The Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, and four and twenty more were dead, and *Thomas Scot*, and Nineteen others eſcaped beyond the Seas, but were attainted by Act of Parliament, as ſhall be hereafter expreſſed; And *Scot* was, ſhortly after his Eſcape, taken at *Bruxels* and by the diligence of the Kings Agent there ſent into *England*, and ſent to the *Tower*.

The Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance taken by both Houſes of Parliament. The Kings Servants and Officers of his Houſhold, &c.

On the 4th of *June*, the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance* to the King were tendered to all the Members of both *Houſes of Parliament*, with the Kings Servants and Officers of his Houſehold, by the Lord Steward, and the Lord Chamberlain: And by Order of *Parliament*, of the 4th of the ſame Month, the Lord General was deſired to take an effectual Care, that the ſame Oaths ſhould be adminiſtred to all the Officers and Souldiers of the Armies under his Command; And the Lord Chancellor to that end was alſo deſired to Iſſue forth Commiſſions under the Great Seal of *England*, to ſuch perſons as the Lord General ſhould nominate and appoint, for adminiſtring the ſaid Oaths to the Officers and Souldiers accordingly. This Order was with all imaginable Care executed both by the General and the Chancellor: And to ſettle the Army ſo as it might be moſt ſerviceable to his Majeſty, he removed ſeveral Colonels and other Officers, and placed divers of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry in their places.

His Majeſties Arrival Congratulated by the People from all parts of the Nation.

As the generality of the people had a little before, upon the concluſion of his Majeſties Admiſſion into his Dominions, and his preparation to come over, given great demonſtrations of their Affection and Loyalty to him, by their univerſal alacrity in proclaiming him throughout the Three Nations; So likewiſe, immediately after he was come, they were no leſs forward to manifeſt their Duty and Allegiance by Congratulatory Addreſſes from all parts of the Kingdom, (the like duty being perform'd by ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry both of *Scotland* and *Ireland*:) alſo thoſe Towns and Corporations that had bought out their ſeveral Fee-Farm-Rents belonging Formerly to the Crown, and by the late *Commonwealth* alienated from it, ſent their Deputies to his Majeſty, to make a voluntary Surrender of them back again unto him. Others preſented him with ſumms of Gold and other gifts according to their abilities: But the City of *London*, as being the firſt, the richeſt and moſt Honourable, and the Seat of Kings for many Ages, judg'd themſelves oblig'd in point of Duty and Reputation, to exceed all the reſt in the glory of their performances toward their Soveraign; and therefore to the ſplendour of their former preparations at his firſt Reception and Triumphal *Extrada*, they added the Coſt of a moſt Magnificent entertainment at *Guild-Hall*, (which was for that very purpoſe richly beautified and adorn'd) to which the King, the two Princes his Brothers, the Lords of the Privy Council, the Two Houſes of Parliament, and the Chief Officers of State being ſolemnly invited, were, on *Thurſday* the 5th of *July*, conducted thither in very great Pomp by the Lord Major and the Grandees of the City, where they were Treated in a Royal manner with the choiceſt of delicacies, with excellent Muſick, and whatever elſe could be thought on or delightful for ſo Illuſtrious an Aſſembly.

His Entertainment at *Guild-Hall*.

Nor was his Majeſty wanting on the other ſide to give ſuch publick Teſtimonies of his Vertue and Prudence, as might render him deſervedly glorious in the eſteem of all ſober and moderate perſons, and that by ſeveral wholſome Edicts, eſpecially by that ſeaſonable *Proclamation* which he publiſhed, one of the firſt things he did after his Arrival, for the diſcountenancing and puniſhing of Debauchery, Profaneneſs and all manner of Vice: Dated the 31 of *May* 1660.

He ſets forth a Proclamation againſt Debauchery and Prophaneneſs.

The King ſate very frequently in Council about the great Affairs of Government; and upon Information that many *Iriſh* Rebels had in unuſual numbers reſorted from beyond the Seas to *England* and *Ireland*, and were ſo inſolent as to diſpoſſeſs many Souldiers, and Adventurers in *Ireland*, who had poſſeſſion of their forfeited Eſtates; at the humble Requeſt of the Parliament, the King publiſhed a *Proclamation*, Commanding all *Iriſh* Rebels (ſuch only excepted as by Articles had the Liberty of reſiding in his Majeſties Dominions, and have not forfeited the ſame,) that ſtill ſtay in, or ſhall reſort to, *England* or *Ireland*, to be apprehended and proceeded againſt as Rebels and Traytors: And that the Adventurers and Souldiers ſhould not be diſturbed in their Poſſeſſions, until the King by Advice of Parliament ſhall take further Order, or they be Legally Evicted. And requiring all Officers both Civil and Military, to ſee the ſaid *Proclamation* put in Execution.

The Kings *Proclamation* concerning the *Iriſh* Rebels.

But notwithſtanding his Majeſties great Care and Zeal to Settle and Compoſe all publick Differences, many ill-affected people in Pamphlets aſperſed his Actions, maliciouſly endeavouring to inſinuate, that he intended nothing leſs than the performance of his Promiſes from *Breda*:

Breda; which made him send a Message to the *House of Commons* by Sir *William Morrice*, to quicken their Debates about the *Act of General Pardon and Indemnity*, as that which would best quiet the minds of his Subjects.

The Kings Message to the *House of Commons*, about the *Act of General Pardon.*

He told them, 'He had too ample a manifestation of their affections and duty towards him, '(the good Effects of which was notorious to 'the World) to make the least doubt of the continuance and improvement thereof, or in the 'least degree to dislike what they had done, or 'to complain of what they had left undone: 'And that he knew well the Weight of those 'Affairs which depended upon their Counsels, 'and the time that must unavoidably be spent, 'where there must be naturally difference of O'pinions and Judgments amongst those whose 'desires of the Publick Peace and Safety were 'the same. And that neither he nor they must be 'over-much troubled, if they found their good 'Intention, and unwearied pains, taken to re'duce those good Intentions into real Acts for 'the quiet and security of the Nation, mis-repre'sented, and mis-interpreted, by those who are 'in truth afflicted to see the Publick Distracti'ons, by Gods Blessing, so near an end; and by 'others, upon whose weakness, fears and jea'lousies, the activity and cunning of those ill 'men hath had too great an Influence.

'That how wonderful and miraculous soever 'the great harmony of affections between him 'and his Subjects is, (it being so visible to the 'World, that there scarce appears the view of 'any Cloud to over-shadow or disturb it) yet it 'is not to be thought that God Almighty had 'wrought the Miracle to that degree, that a Na'tion so miraculously divided for so many 'years, would be so soon and intirely united in 'their affections and endeavours as were to be 'wished; but that the Evil Consciences of ma'ny continued so awake for mischief, they 'would not be willing to take rest themselves, 'or suffer others to take it: And that they all 'had too sad Experience of the unhappy effects 'of fears and jealousies (how groundless and un'reasonable soever) not to think it very necessa'ry to apply all timely and proper Remedies to 'those Distempers, and to prevent the inconve'niences and mischiefs which so naturally flow 'from thence: That he well foresaw, that the 'great violation which the Laws of the Land 'had for so many years sustained, had filled the 'hearts of the people with a terrible apprehen'sion of insecurity to themselves, if all they had 'said and done should be liable to be examined 'and punished by those Laws which had been so 'violated; and that nothing could establish the 'security of King and People, but a full Provisi'on, that the returning to the reverence and o'bedience of the Law (which is good for all) 'should not turn to the ruine of any who were 'willing and fit to receive that Protection here'after from the Law, and to pay that subjection 'to it which were just and necessary; and there'fore, *he said*, he made a free Offer of a General 'Pardon in such a manner as was expressed in 'his *Declaration*; and how ready and desirous 'he was to make good the same, appeared by his '*Proclamation* issued out upon and according to 'their desire: However, it was evident, that all 'he had offered, or did offer, did not enough 'compose the minds of his people; nor in their 'Opinions could their security be provided for, 'till the *Act of Indempnity and Oblivion* were pas'sed. *He said*, He found great industry used (by 'those who did not wish that Peace to the King'dom they ought to do) to perswade his good 'Subjects that he had no mind to make good his 'Promises, which he desired to perform for his 'own sake, as well as theirs. And that therefore 'he did very earnestly recommend it to them, 'that all expedition might be used in the passing 'that most necessary Act, whereby his good Sub'jects generally would be satisfied, that their se'curity was in their own hands, and depended 'upon their future actions, and that they were 'free for all past; and so all the endeavours of ill 'men would be disappointed, who would per'swade them not to do well now, because they 'had done amiss heretofore. And that he was 'the more ingag'd to this his recommendation, 'because upon the reflection of their Eminent 'Zeal and Affection for his Service, and hearty 'Concurrence with him in all things desired 'from them, men were apt to perswade others '(though not believing it themselves) that the 'passing of this *Act* was therefore not desired, 'because he did not enough press the dispatch 'of it; which he did desire from his heart, and 'was confident they would the sooner do it, 'upon his earnest recommendation.

1660.

This *Message* did so much quicken their Debates, that they dispatch'd the Bill in a very short time, and sent it up to the Lords, and the Peoples minds were much composed thereby; and the more, for that his Majesty by a *Proclamation* after it, did declare a kind of impatience for the delay thereof.

General *Monck* created Duke of *Albemarle*,

About the beginning of *July*, General *Monck* was by Letters-Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, made Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Torrington*, Baron *Monk* of *Potheridge*, *Beauchampe*, and *Teyes*, and summoned by Writ to the House of Peers. The Titles of *Albemarle* and *Beauchampe* were conferred on him, because he was descended from *Margaret*, one of the Daughters and Co-heirs of *Richard Beauchampe*, Earl of *Albemarle* and *Warwick*, who was married to the Famous Warriour *John Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, well known in *France*, whose Son *John* had only one Daughter married to *Edward Grey* Viscount *Lisle*, whose Daughter and Heir *Elizabeth Grey* was married to *Arthur Plantagenet*, a Natural Son of King *Edward* the Fourth, who was in her right Viscount *Lisle*; and *Frances*, one of the Daughters and Co-heirs of the said Viscount *Lisle*, was married to Sir *Thomas Monck*, Great Grand-father to the present Duke of *Albemarle*.

General *Montague* made Earl of *Sandwich*.

And a few days after, Mr. *Edward Mountague*, one of the Generals at Sea, was made a Knight of the Order of the Garter, and by Letters-Patents dignified with the Honours of Earl of *Sandwich*, Viscount *Mountague* of *Hinchingbrook*, and Baron of S. *Needs*.

The Marquess of *Ormond* made Duke of *Ormond*.

And the Marquess of *Ormond* was made Earl of *Brecknock*, and Baron *Butler* of *Lanthony*; and these two in the same Order they were created, had Writs to summon them to the *House of Peers*. Which Marquess was afterwards created the Duke of *Ormond*.

1660.

The Lords in *Parliament* were in Conſultation to except all from Pardon that had been Judges in any High Court of Juſtice, which was no more than ſuch men deſerved, who could ſo maliciouſly contribute to the ſubverſion of the good Laws and Government of their Native Country: But the Kings Clemency extended to all who were not guilty of his Fathers Murder; and obſerving thoſe Debates to obſtruct much the ſpeedy perfecting that Bill he ſo earneſtly deſired to have finiſhed, on the 27th of *July* he went to the ſaid *Houſe*, and in a handſom and moſt gracious Speech, expreſſed his Zeal for it in the following words:

My Lords,

The Kings Speech to the Parliament to haſten the perfecting of the Act of Oblivion.

'WHen I came firſt hither to you, which was within two or three days after I came to *White-Hall*, I did with as much earneſtneſs as I could, both by my ſelf, and the *Chancellour*, recommend to you and the *Houſe of Commons*, the ſpeedy diſpatch of the *Act of Indemnity*, as a neceſſary Foundation of that Security We all pray for: I did ſince, by a particular *Meſſage* to the *Houſe of Commons*, again preſs them to haſten that important work; And did likewiſe by a *Proclamation* publiſh to all the Kingdom, That I did with impatience expect that that *Act* would be preſented to me for my Aſſent, as the moſt reaſonable and ſolid Foundation of that Peace, Happineſs, and Security I hope and pray for to my ſelf, and all my Dominions. I will not deny it to you, I thought the *Houſe of Commons* too long about that work; and therefore now it is come up to you, I would not have you guilty of the ſame delay. I thank God I have the ſame Intentions and Reſolutions, now I am here with you, which I had at *Breda*, and believe that I owe my being here, to Gods bleſſing upon the Intentions and Reſolutions I then expreſſed to have. I will read to you what I then ſaid:

'And to the end that the fear of Puniſhment may not ingage any, Conſcious to themſelves of what is paſſed, to a perſeverance in Guilt for the future, by expoſing the quiet and happineſs of their Country, in the Reſtauration both of King, Peers and People, to their Juſt, Ancient and Fundamental Rights; We do by theſe Preſents declare, That We do grant a Free and General Pardon, which We are ready upon demand, to paſs under Our Great Seal of *England*, to all Our Subjects of what Degree or Quality ſoever, who within forty days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and ſhall by any publick Act declare their doing ſo; And that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects (excepting only ſuch perſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by *Parliament*.)

'Thoſe only excepted, let all Our loving Subjects, how faulty ſoever, relye upon the Word of a King ſolemnly given by this preſent *Declaration*, That no Crime whatſoever committed againſt Us or Our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in Judgment, or be brought in Queſtion againſt any of them, to the leaſt endamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Eſtates, or (as far forth as lies in Our power) ſo much as to the prejudice of their Reputations, by any reproach or term of diſtinction from the reſt of Our beſt Subjects: We deſiring and ordaining, That henceforward all Notes of Diſcord, Separation and Difference of Parties be utterly aboliſht among all Our Subjects, whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themſelves under Our Protection, for the re-ſettlement of Our juſt Rights, and Theirs, in a *Free Parliament*; by which, upon the Word of a King, We will be adviſed.

'*My Lords*, If you do not joyn with Me in extinguiſhing this Fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake, and apprehenſive of ſafety and ſecurity, you keep me from performing my Promiſe; which if I had not made, I am perſwaded neither I nor you had been now here: I pray let us not deceive thoſe who brought, or permitted us to come together. I knew well there were ſome men who could neither forgive themſelves, nor be forgiven by Us; and I thank you for your Juſtice towards thoſe, the immediate Murtherers of my Father: And I will deal truly with you, I never thought of excepting any other. I pray think well upon what I have offered, and the benefit you and I have received from that offer; and incourage and oblige all other perſons, by not excluding them from the benefit of this Act. This Mercy and Indulgence is the beſt way to bring them to a true repentance, and to make them more ſevere to themſelves, when they find we are not ſo to them. It will make them good Subjects to me, and good Friends and Neighbours to you, and we have then all our ends, and you ſhall find this the ſecureſt Expedient to prevent future miſchief. Therefore I do earneſtly deſire and conjure you, to depart from all particular animoſities and revenge, or memory of paſt provocations, and that you will paſs this Act without other Exceptions, than of thoſe who were immediately guilty of that Murther of my Father.

'*My Lords*, I have told you my Opinion, and I hope you will be of the ſame. If any perſons appear of ſuch dangerous and obſtinate Principles, that the Peace of the Kingdom cannot be preſerved whileſt they have Liberty in it, ſome other courſe may be taken, that they ſhall not be able to do hurt; and I aſſure you, there is nothing can inable them to do ſo much harm, as the deferring the paſſing this Act.

'I hope I need ſay nothing of *Ireland*, and that they alone ſhall not be without the benefit of my Mercy: They have ſhewed much affection to me abroad, and you will have a care of my Honour, and of what I have promiſed to them. I do again conjure you, that you will uſe all expedition in the diſpatch of this *Bill*.

This Speech did not only expedite the paſſing of this Act in the *Houſe of Peers*, but give a general ſatisfaction to the people, who were exceedingly quieted in their minds with the Kings reſolute care on the behalf of all his Subjects; nor was his mind ſo intent on this neceſſary Affair, as to neglect the other Concerns of Government: But obſerving, that the late Differences of his People had created many Animoſities

1660.

sities amongst them, which occasioned frequent Duels, he thought fit to prevent the inconveniencies thereof by a *Proclamation*; whereby he manifested so great a dislike of Duels, as *strictly to command all his Subjects whatsoever, neither by themselves, nor any other by Message, Word or Writing, or other ways or means to Challenge, or cause to be Challenged, any person or persons to fight in Duel, nor to carry, accept, nor conceal any Challenge, nor actually to fight, or be second to any therein.*

His Majesties Proclamation against fighting of Duels.

And he further declared, *That every person offending against his Commands herein, should not only incur his Displeasure, but be incapable of holding any Office in his Service, and never after be permitted to come to Court, or preferr'd, besides the suffering such punishment as the Law should inflict on such Offenders; And all persons that should accept or know of such Challenges, and not reveal the same to one of the Privy Council, or the next Justice of Peace, should be liable to the same Penalties.* And further, he was so severe in this matter, as to forbid *any Intercession to be made for Offenders against this Proclamation.*

By this good Government, a general tranquillity appear'd in all the King's Dominions; and to lessen the Publick Charge, the *Parliament* were providing Money to disband the Armies, and pay off such of the Ships as were more than needful for the guard of the Seas. And in order hereunto, the General was so provident, as to give order to the Muster-Master-General to admit of no new Souldiers in any Troop or Companies, and the Officers likewise had Charge to entertain none upon any vacancies.

The *English* Commissioners in *Scotland* having been imployed as Judges for the Government of that Nation, and having had their Commissions continued in force for some time after the Kings coming in, they were at length by the Letters from the Duke of *Albemarl* acquainted with the Kings pleasure, That from the 22 of *August* they should cease to act any more in this their Judicatory Power, in regard that Kingdom was thenceforth to be reduc'd to its ancient form of Government; in order to which, *Proclamation* was made in the Kings Name, for the speedy Convening of the *Committee* of the *Three Estates* of *Scotland*; a *Parliament* also being to be called there within a few Months: And in the interim, the Chief Ministers of State were Constituted: The Earl of *Glencarn* was made Lord Chancellour; the Lord *Crauford-Lindsey* Lord Treasurer; the Earl of *Cassiles* Justice-General, the Earl of *Lauderdale* Chief Secretary of State, and General *Middleton* the Kings Commissioner, with several others.

A *Committee of Estates* Convened in *Scotland.*

The chief Ministers of State Constituted in *Scotland.*

The *Committee of Estates* being assembled, made it their first care to keep all things in peace and quiet, and obedience to the present Government; for notwithstanding the late unanimous concurrence of the people at *Edenborough* (as well as other places) in the publick Proclaiming of his Majesty, yet after a short while there began to discover it self a spirit of discontent among certain *Scotch* Ministers, who were of the principal Sticklers of the Kirk-party, as appear'd by their meeting together at a place appointed, for the drawing up of a *Remonstrance* concerning certain things wherein they thought themselves aggrieved; which the *Committee of Estates* having notice of, sent forthwith to apprehend them, and clapt them up in Prison; and for the prevention of the like disturbances for the future, set forth a *Proclamation* against all *Unlawful Meetings*, and *Seditious Papers.*

Certain *Scotch* Ministers imprisoned by Order of the *Committee of Estates.*

And the same thing that befel these Ministers, hapned also to their Countryman the Marquess of *Argyle*, who notwithstanding that he came to Court with others of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, upon pretence of tendring his service to his Majesty; yet he had not it seems carried himself so blamelessly, but that a sufficient cause was found for the laying of High Treason to his Charge, and committing him thereupon a Prisoner to the *Tower*; and together with him were committed the Marquess of *Antrim*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, besides several others that follow'd soon after.

The Marquess of *Argyle*, and others, sent to the *Tower* of *London.*

In *Ireland* the Convention that had assembled there upon the change of Government, as soon as they had taken order for the setling of things in that Nation, in conformity to the Kings Authority, (Colonel *Eyres*, who endeavour'd to raise a Party in opposition to it, being reduc'd by Sir *Charles Coot*) and had appointed from among them certain Commissioners to wait upon his Majesty with their Gratulations and desires, thought fit to dissolve themselves, in expectation of the Kings Pleasure for the calling of a full *Parliament*, and to make way for the Ancient Constitution of the Government by a Lord Ligutenant, as had been determin'd by the King and his Council.

The Convention in *Ireland* dissolve themselves.

The Act of Indempnity was sent from the *Lords* to the *Commons* with several alterations, to which the *Commons* were very unwilling to agree; for they had subjected twenty that were not the Kings Judges, to be liable to such pains and penalties, not extending to life, as should be inflicted by another Act to be passed in this *Parliament*: Whereas the Lords finding the Kings Inclination to tend towards the pardoning of all but such as were his Fathers Judges, or otherwise Actors in his Murder, they disagreed to that part of the *Act*, as to all those named by the Commons, except Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Colonel *John Lambert*, who were esteemed to be so maliciously active in opposition to his Majesties Government, as to be excepted from any conditions of Pardon. The *Commons* for some time adhered to their first Resolution; but after several Conferences, they agreed with the *Lords* in all things, except some little alterations to their frame of the *Act*; *Vane* and *Lambert* were excepted, but *Haslerig* remained liable to such pains, penalties, and forfeitures, as should be inflicted on him, not extending to life; and the rest of those put under the same Qualification by the *Commons* that were not of the Kings Judges, were made only with others incapable of Offices, as shall be hereafter shewn, when we come to write of the parts of that *Act.*

The Debate between the Lords and Commons concerning the Act of Indempnity.

That which put Sir *Arthur Haslerig* under so favourable a Qualification, was an Engagement made to him by the Duke of *Albemarl*; For *Haslerig* coming to him, when he perceiv'd the Revolution hasten towards the Restauration

Sir *Arthur Haslerig* pardoned, upon the Mediation of the Duke of *Albemarl.*

1660. ſtauration of the King and his Government, he expoſtulated with him about it, in reference to the ſecurity of his own Condition: The Duke was unwilling to make him deſperate, becauſe he had at that time a Regiment of Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot in the Garriſons of *Newcaſtle*, *Tinmouth*, *Berwick*, and *Carliſle*, under his Government; which (if he had oppoſed) could not have been reduced to obedience without the effuſion of Blood, which his Excellency much endeavoured to avoid in all the progreſs of his Actions; and therefore told him, *If he would quietly give up his Command, and retire to his houſe, he would endeavour to ſecure him in his Life and Eſtate, and doubted not to effect it.* This being made known at a Conference by the *Houſe of Commons*, was juſtified with great modeſty by the Duke in the *Houſe of Peers*, and his Life was thereupon pardoned in the *Act*; and a ſmall time after his Eſtate alſo was, at the mediation of the Duke, granted to his Heir, a man averſe to his Fathers diſloyal Principles: Sir *Arthur* himſelf, a while after his Impriſonment, dying of a Feaver in the *Tower*.

An Inſtance of his Majeſties Affection to his People.

At this laſt Conference of the *Lords* and *Commons*, the Lord Chancellor took occaſion to ſpeak of the Kings Affection to his people, by a very remarkable Inſtance, ſaying, *That he being imployed in an Embaſſy to* Spain, *had it ſtrictly given him in charge by his Majeſty to avow and declare, That the horrid Murther of his Royal Father, was not the Act of the Parliament, or People of* England, *but of a very wretched and little company of Miſcreants in the Kingdom.* Which was ſo pleaſing to the *Houſe of Commons*, that upon the report of it to them, they ordered ſuch of the Privy Council as were Members of that Houſe, to preſent to his Majeſty the humble and thankful Senſe they had of his Juſtice and Favour for that juſt Defence he had been graciouſly pleas'd to make in behalf of the *Parliament*, and People of *England*.

A few days after this, that is to ſay, the 29th of *Auguſt*, the King had notice that there were five *Acts* prepared for his Royal Aſſent, and he therefore repaired to the *Lords Houſe*, and ſent for the *Commons* to him, where he aſſented to them. The *Acts* were;

Several Acts Signed.

1. *An* Act *for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings.* 2. *An* Act *for a ſpeedy Proviſion of Money to pay off and diſband all the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land.* 3. *An* Act *for the reſtraining the taking of* Exceſſive Uſury. 4. *An* Act *of General Pardon, Indempnity, and Oblivion.* 5. *An* Act *for a Perpetual Anniverſary Thankſgiving on the Twenty Ninth day of* May, *the day of his Majeſties Nativity and Reſtauration.*

At the paſſing of which *ACTS*, he expreſs'd himſelf in theſe words;

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons;

The Kings Speech in *Parliament*, at the paſſing of thoſe Acts.

'I Have been here ſometimes before with you, but never with more willingneſs, than I am 'at this time. And there be few men in the 'Kingdom, who have longed more impatiently 'to have thoſe Bills paſſed, than I have done to 'paſs them; and I hope they will be the Foun-'dation of much ſecurity and happineſs to us 'all. I do very willingly pardon all that is par-'doned by this *Act of Indempnity*, to that time 'which is mentioned in the Bill; Nay, I will 'tell you, that from that time to this day, I will 'not uſe great Severity, except in ſuch Caſes 'where the Malice is notorious, and the Publick 'Peace exceedingly concern'd: But for the time 'to come, the ſame Diſcretion and Conſcience, 'which diſpoſed me to the Clemency I have ex-'preſſed, which is moſt agreeable to my Nature, 'will oblige me to all Rigour and Severity, how 'contrary ſoever it be to my Nature, towards 'thoſe who ſhall not now acquieſce, but conti-'nue to manifeſt their ſedition and diſlike of the 'Government, either in action or words.

'And I muſt conjure you all (my *Lords* and '*Gentlemen*) to concur with Me in this juſt and 'neceſſary ſeverity; and that you will in your 'ſeveral Stations be ſo jealous of the Publick 'Peace, and of my particular Honour, that you 'will cauſe exemplary Juſtice to be done upon 'thoſe who are guilty of Seditious Speeches or 'Writings, as well as thoſe who break out into 'Seditious Actions: And that you will believe 'thoſe who delight in reproaching and traduce-'ing my Perſon, not to be well affected to You, 'and the Publick Peace.

'Never King valued himſelf more upon the 'affections of his People than I do; nor do I 'know a better way to make my ſelf ſure of 'your affections, than by being juſt and kind to 'you all: And whileſt I am ſo, I pray let the 'world ſee that I am poſſeſſed of your affections.

'For your *Pole-Bill*, I do thank you as much as 'if the Money were to come into my own Coffers; and wiſh with all my heart, that it may a-'mount to as great a ſum as you reckon upon. If 'the Work be well and orderly done to which it 'is deſigned, I am ſure I ſhall be the richer by it 'in the end: and upon my Word, if I had 'wherewithal, I would my Self help you, ſo 'much I deſire the buſineſs done.

'I pray very earneſtly, as faſt as Money comes 'in, diſcharge that great burthen of the Navy, 'and diſband the Army as faſt as you can; and 'till you can diſband the reſt, make a proviſion 'for their ſupport. I do conjure you, as you love 'me, let me not hear the noiſe of Free-quarter, 'which will be imputed to my want of Care and 'Government, how Innocent ſoever I am; and 'therefore be ſure you prevent it.

'I am ſo confident of your affections, that I 'will not move you in any thing that immedi-'ately relates to my ſelf; and yet I muſt tell 'you, I am not richer, that is, I have not ſo 'much Money in my Purſe as when I came to 'you: The truth is, I have lived principally e-'ver ſince upon what I brought with me which 'was indeed your Money, for you ſent it to 'me, and I thank you for it. The Weekly ex-'pence of the Navy, eats up all you have gi-'ven me by the Bill of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. 'Nor have I been able to give my Brothers one 'Shilling ſince I came into *England*, nor to keep 'any Table in my Houſe, but what I eat my Self. 'And that which troubles me moſt is, to ſee ſo 'many of you come to me to *White-Hall*, and 'to think you muſt go ſome-where elſe to ſeek 'your Dinner.

'I do not mention this to you, as any thing 'that troubles me; do but take care of the Pub-

lick,

'lick and for what is neceſſary for the Peace and 'Quiet of the Kingdom, and take your own time 'for My Own particular, which I am ſure you 'will provide for with as much affection and 'frankneſs as I can deſire.

Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings.

The *ACT* for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings, was as neceſſary at this Juncture, as the *Act of General Pardon*, ſince without this, beſides many other Inconveniencies, ſo great a Confuſion would have been in moſt mens Eſtates as would have made them ſubject to perpetual Incertainties.

1. 'By this Law, All Proceedings in Law or 'Equity in all or any of the Courts at *Weſtmin-ſter*, or in *Wales*, or in the County Palatine, or 'Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, or *Berwick*, or other in-'feriour Courts, and all things done by the 'Judges and Officers in purſuance thereof, or of 'the Court of Admiralties, Delegates, Juſtices 'of Aſſize, *Niſi Prius*, Commiſſion of Sewers, 'Bankrupts, or Charitable Uſes, and all pro-'ceedings thereupon had in *England* ſince the 'firſt of *May*, 1642. were Confirm'd, notwith-'ſtanding any defect of Legal Power, or diffe-'rence in Style or Title.

2. 'All Fines Levied without paying the Kings 'Silver, or without entry of Mony given for the 'Concord, or before one Judg only, were made 'good and effectual; And all Fines, Recoveries, 'Judicial Proceedings in the *Common-Pleas*, ſince 'the death of the late King, of Lands in *Demeſne* 'were confirm'd.

3. 'Whereas ſince the Firſt of *May*, 1641. 'and before the 20th of *Auguſt*, 1660. divers 'who adhered to both *Houſes of Parliament* had 'been Indicted for Treaſon, and others alſo 'who adhered to his Majeſty or his Father, were 'Impeached in like manner: All ſuch Indictments 'and Proceedings thereupon, and Grants made 'of any Lands forfeited by reaſon thereof, and 'Title to the mean profits claimed in that re-'ſpect, were henceforth diſcharged, and reſti-'tution to be made to the reſpective perſons 'and their Heirs.

4. 'All Recognizances, Bonds, and Securities 'made to the late Keepers, or Protector, not par-'doned, or diſcharged, were to be proſecuted 'in the name and to the uſe of his Majeſty, his 'Heirs and Succeſſors.

To the Fourth Branch, ſuch Securities were excepted as had been given to the late Powers by any for their adherence to the King or his Father, or relating to the late Troubles, which was by this Act made void; as likewiſe were all *Obligations, Bonds, and Securities by Order of any Council of State, Committee of Safety, Major General, Decimators, or any other Military Power.*

5. 'After the 8th of *May* 1660. no Judges 'at *Weſtminſter*, Serjeants at Law, Commiſſions 'of Sewers, or of Bankrupts, or of Charitable 'Uſes, Conſtituted by any of the late Uſurped 'Powers, were to be continued.

6. 'No non-claim upon or after any Fine by 'this *Act* confirmed, ſhall extend to bar any 'Perſon or their Heirs (other than the Parties to 'the ſaid Fines, and their Heirs and Truſtees) 'for ſuch Rights as they had by colour of any 'Act or pretended Ordinance of Parliament, 'ſince the firſt of *May*, 1642. and before the '25th of *April*, 1660. as of Crown-Lands, or 'of Church-Lands, or as the Lands of any perſon 'for adhereing to the King, or his Father, or in 'relation to the late Troubles, ſo as ſuch perſons 'and their Heirs purſue their Claims by Actions 'or Entry within 5 years after the 29th of *May*, '1660. 1660

7. 'The Name and Styles of the Uſurped 'Power and Authorities were declared to be 'Rebellious.

8. 'All Proceedings of High-Treaſon for Le-'vying War againſt *Oliver Cromwell*, or any o-'ther late Uſurped Power, were made void; as 'likewiſe all Aſſurances, Recognizances, and 'Judgments for Debt, or Damages heretofore 'had or ſuffered by any perſon whoſe Convicti-'on, Outlawry, or Attainder, was by this *Act* 'diſcharged.

This *Act of Confirmation* was nevertheleſs not to extend to confirm any illegal proceedings of the late High Courts of Juſtice, nor to confirm any Sales or Eſtates made by any pretended Act of Parliament ſince the firſt of *May*, 1642. nor to debar any perſon grieved, from having a *Writ of Error*, or *Bill of Review*, in ſuch manner as formerly, Except ſuch Errours and defects as were not by this Act remedied.

The *Act for Proviſion of Money to pay off the Armies and Navy*, was by Poll, and was a very great Tax, becauſe many orders of Men were included in it, which were not mentioned in any former Act of the like kind.

The ACT for Pole-Money.

1. 'Every Duke of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ire-'land*, inhabiting and reſiding in this Kingdom, 'was to pay 100 *l.* Every Marqueſs, 80 *l.* Every 'Earl, 60 *l.* A Viſcount, 50 *l.* A Baronet, 40 *l.* 'The Eldeſt Son of a Duke of One and Twenty 'years of age, 60 *l.* of a Marqueſs, 50 *l.* of an 'Earl, 40 *l.* of a Viſcount, 35 *l.* of a Baron, 30 *l.* 'A Baronet of any of the three Kingdoms, or 'of *Nova Scotia*, 30 *l.* A Knight of the Bath, 30 *l.* 'A Knight Batchelor, 20 *l.* A Serjeant at Law, '20 *l.* An Eſquire 10 *l.* And every Widow, ac-'cording to her husbands degree, a third part 'what her husband was to pay.

2. 'Every Parſon or Vicar poſſeſſed of a Par-'ſonage or Vicarage, or other Eſtate of 100 *l.* '40 *s.* Every Doctor of the Civil or Common-'Law, 5 *l.* Every Advocate 5 *l.* A Judg or Com-'miſſioner in the Court of Admiralty, 20 *l.* A 'Pretor, 5 *l.* A Doctor of Phyſick, 10 *l.*

3. 'The Lord Major of *London*, 40 *l.* Every 'Sheriff, Alderman, or who hath Fined for Al-'derman, 20 *l.* Every Deputy-Alderman, 10 *l.* 'The Town-Clerk of *London*, 20 *l.* Every Com-'mon-Council-man, 5 *l.* Every Maſter of the 'Firſt Twelve Companies, 10 *l.* Every Warden 'thereof, 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Every Livery-man of 'thoſe Companies, 5 *l.* Every one who had 'been Maſter of any of the Companies of *Dyers*, '*Brewers*, *Letherſellers*, *Girdlers*, *Stationers*, '*Woodmongers*, *Upholdſterers*, *Apothecaries*, '*Pewterers*, *Tallow-Chandlers*, *Armourers*, or 'Sadlers, 6 *l.* Every Warden of any of thoſe 'Companies, 5 *l.* Every Livery-man of them, '3 *l.* Every of the Yeomanry, 1 *l.* Every 'Maſter of the Company of *Barber-Chyrurgi-'ons*, *White-Bakers*, *Wax-Chandlers*, *Cutlers*, *Butchers*,

1660 'Butchers, Carpenters, Painters, Cordwayners, Coopers, Scrivners, Brown-Bakers, Turners, or Inholders, 3 *l.* Every one who had been Warden of any of those Companies, 2 *l.* Every Livery-man thereof, 1 *l.* Every person who had been Master of the Company of *Founders*, *Cutlers*, *Masons*, *Bricklayers*, *Joyners*, *Plaisterers*, *Weavers*, *Fruiterers*, *Marblers*, *Embroiderers*, *Poulterers*, *Cooks*, or *Plummers*, 1 *l.* Every Warden of those Companies, 15 *s.* and every one of the Livery, 10 *s.* Every Person who hath been of the Livery of either Company of *Bowyers*, *Fletchers*, *Blacksmiths*, *Bottle-makers*, *Wool-packers*, *Farriers*, *Paviers*, *Loreiners*, *Glasiers*, *Clerks*, or *Watermen*, 5 *s.* Every Free-man of any Company within the City of *London*, 12 *d.* Every keeper of one or more Hackney-Coaches and two Horses, 10 *s.* Every Merchant Stranger if a Knight, 40 *l.* If below that degree, and Trading to Sea, 10 *l.* If Trading within the Land, 5 *l.* Every Alien using Trade within any City or Corporation, if a House-keeper, 10 *s.* Every *English* Merchant in or about *London*, not a Free-man, 10 *l.* *Every Factor in the City*, 2 *l.* Every person that hath been Alderman in any City within the Kingdom, under the degree of a Knight or Esquire, 5 *l.*

4. The Prothonotary of the *Kings-Bench*, 100 *l.* Clerk of the Crown of the same 20 *l.* *Custos Brevium* of the same, 40 *l.* Marshal of the same, 50 *s.* Master of the Rolls, 60 *l.* Clerk of the Crown in *Chancery*, 40 *l.* Clerk of the *Rules* and in the *Kings-Bench*, 10 *l.* Master of the *Subpœna* Office, 40 *l.* Warden of the *Fleet*, 50 *l.* Clerk of the Hannaper, 50 *l.* Clerks of the *Inrollment*, each 10 *l.* Each of the Six Clerks in *Chancery*, 40 *l.* Every Cursitor of the same 10 *l.* Usher of the same, 10 *l.* Every Clerk of the Pettybeg, 5 *l.* Every Examiner, 10 *l.* Chief Register of the same, 20 *l.* Every Under-Register, 10 *l.* Every Clerk in the Office of the *Six Clerks* in *Chancery*, 8 *l.* Each of the Clerks of the Chappel of the *Rolls*, 3 *l.* Every Prothonotary of the *Common-Pleas*, 50 *l.* *Custos Brevium* of the same, 80 *l.* Every Philizar of the same, 10 *l.* Clerk of the Outlaries, 20 *l.* Clerk of the Statutes, 20 *l.* The Clerk of the Treasury, 10 *l.* Exigenter of *London*, 40 *l.* Every other Exigenter, 5 *l.* The Kings Remembrancer of the *Exchequer*, 40 *l.* Every Teller of the same Court, 20 *l.* The Treasurers Remembrancer, 10 *l.* Every Attorney of the Office of the Kings Remembrancer, 10 *l.* Every Attorney of the Office of *Pleas*, 10 *l.* The Remembrancer of the First-Fruits, 20 *l.* Clerk of the *Estreats*, 20 *l.* Clerk of the *Pleas*, 30 *l.* The Auditor of the Receipts in the *Exchequer*, 40 *l.* Clerk of the *Pel* in the *Receipt*, 30 *l.* Usher of the Court of *Exchequer*, 20 *l.* Every Attorney of the Office of *Pleas* there, 10 *l.* Every Auditor of the same, 10 *l.* Every Clerk of the Court of the *Dutchy* of *Lancaster*, 10 *l.* Every Auditor of the same, 10 *l.* Every Clerk of the Privy-Seal, 10 *l.* Every Clerk of the Signet, 10 *l.* Every Attorney in any of the Courts at *Westminster*, or within the Courts of Law or Equity, or in the Counties *Palatine* of *Chester*, *Lancaster*, *Durham*, and the *Marches* of *Wales*, 3 *l.* Every person in any Office or Place under the King (except his Houshold Servants in Ordinary) 10 *l.* The Lieutenant of the *Tower* of *London*, 50 *l.* Every one that could spend in Land, Lease, Monies, or Stock, 100 *l. per annum*, 40 *s.* and so for a greater or lesser Estate; every single person above the age of 16 years, 12 *d.* Every person not rated nor receiving Alm, above 16 years of age, 6 *d.*

An Act for restraining excessive Usury.

The ACT for Restraining the taking of excessive Usury, *makes it penal to the loss of* treble the value of any Money, Ware or Merchandize, to any that should take above Six Pounds for the forbearance of One Hundred Pounds for a Year, in Money or Merchandize, and every Scrivner or Broaker that shall take above five Shillings for the Lone or forbearance of a hundred pounds for a Year, or above 12 *d.* for making or renewing a Bill or Bond, shall forfeit 20 *l.* one Moiety to the King, and the other to the Informer.

The Act of Indemnity.

The ACT of General Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion, *Pardons all the Kings Subjects of* England *and* Ireland, Wales, Guernsey, Jersey, *and* Berwick, of all Treasons, Misprisions of Treasons, Murthers, Felonies, Offences and Crimes whatsoever, from the First of *January* 1637. to the 24th. of *June*, 1660. (not therein excepted) Committed by virtue or colour of any Command or Authority from the King or his Father, or any of the late Powers, and from all Pains of Death, pains Corporal, and Pecuniary; and generally from all other things, Causes, Suits, and Executions, which may or can be by the King in any wise, or by any means Pardoned. And also all personal Actions, Suits and Persecutions whatsoever by reason of the late Troubles; And the *Act* may be pleaded for any thing therein pardoned, without any Fee to the Officers for entring Judgment or Cause concerning such Plea. And if any Officer or Clerk in any of the Kings Courts issue out any Writ or Process, or molest any in their Bodies or Estates, for any thing herein Pardoned, or if any Sheriff, or Escheator, or other Officer whatsoever, levy, receive, take, or with-hold any thing hereby pardoned, they shall pay to the party grieved treble Damages besides Costs, and pay to the King Twenty Pounds, and such Writs or Process shall be void.

1. Excepted out of this *Act* all Murthers not herein pardoned, Pyracies, Buggers, Rapes, and Ravishments of Women, and all Offence, made Felons by an *Act*, Intituled, *An Act to restrain Persons from Marriage, till their former Wives or Husbands be dead*: And all Witchcrafts and Conjuration, as also all Accompts of Treasurers, Receivers, Farmers or Collectors (other than Sub-Collectors of Parishes or Towns for their Receipts before the 24th of *June*, 1659) who had received any Customes, Prize-Goods, Assessments, or any other Publick Monies or Rents of the Crown-Lands, or Bishops and Dean and Chapter-Lands, which had been paid to them since

'*January* 1642. and of all Moneys grown due or 'contracted upon the Sale or diſpoſition of ſuch 'Lands, or the Lands of Popiſh Recuſants, Con-'vict or other Sequeſtred Lands.

1. 'The Heirs and Executors of any Accomp-'tants excepted, and deceaſed, not to be lyable, 'except for ſuch Moneys as are due upon Ac-'compts already ſtated.

2. Moneys received for Fees, and Salaries or 'Wages, or diſburſed for publick uſe, are not 'to be charged.

3. No Military Officer of the Armies, or 'Officers of the Navies, who before *March* 1659. 'received Moneys for his Pay, or the Pay of o-'thers, or for Contingencies of the Souldiers or 'Garriſons, to be called to accompt therefore.

4. 'Likewiſe none were to be called to Ac-'compt for any of the Matters of this *Exception*, 'after the 24th of *June*, 1662.

5. 'All Briberies and Perjuries are Excepted 'out of this *Act*, and all Subornation of Perju-'ry, or Witneſſes and Forgery, and alſo all Of-'fences in detaining or imbezelling any Goods, 'Moneys, Chattels, or Jewels of the late King, 'Queen, or Prince, or their Shipping and Am-'munition of War, and other ſuch Goods or 'Chattels, as have been ſold or diſpoſed to any 'Servants or Creditors of the late King for pay-'ment of their Debts or Wages; And all Ac-'compts of the Revenues of Churches in *Wales* 'and *Monmouthſhire*, and all Judgments of Diſ-'charge or *Quietus eſt* thereupon had.

This laſt Exception, as to the Churches in *Wales*, was inſerted by the *Parliament* in this *Act*, upon Information, that ſome Factious People had, in the time of the late Uſurpation, procured to themſelves an Authority to Sequeſter all thoſe Revenues, upon pretence to imploy them more equally to illiterate Preachers, for the better propagation of the Goſpel in thoſe parts, but kept the greateſt part to their own uſe, leaveing moſt of the Churches unſupplied.

3. All publick Duties levied by any Sheriff or 'other Officer for the uſe of the late King, or 'the late Powers, or the King in being, not ac-'compted for or diſcharged, are excepted.

4. 'As alſo all Offences done by any Jeſuit, Se-'minary or Popiſh Prieſt, contrary to the Statute 'of the 27th of *Elizabeth*. It is provided,

1. 'That a Writ of *Capias* may be made againſt 'perſons Outlawed, pardoned by this *Act*, to 'Compel the Defendant to anſwer to the Plain-'tiff, at whoſe Suit they were Outlawed, may 'have a *Scire facias* againſt the party before the 'Pardon ſhall be allowed.

2. 'This Pardon is not to extend to pardon 'Outlawries upon any *Writ* of *Capias ad Satis-'faciendum*, till the party Outlawed ſhall ſatisfie 'or agree with the party.

5. 'All Informations and Proceedings de-'pending about High-Ways and Bridges ſince '*January*, 1648. are excepted, and alſo all Re-'cognizances, Bonds and Securities given or en-'tred into ſince the 25th of *March*, 1640. by any 'Receiver, Bayliff, Collector or other Accomp-'tant in the *Exchequer*.

6. 'Any perſon within three years that ob-'jected againſt another, any words of reproach, 'tending to revive the memory of the late diffe- 1660
'rences, was to pay ten pounds, if a Gentleman, 'and forty ſhillings, if one of a more inferiour 'degree.

7. 'The Act gives no benefit to any who had 'any hand in Plotting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, 'nor to any that have ſtoln any Goods or Mo-'nies ſince the 24th of *March*, 1649.

8. 'Nor extends to diſcharge any from ma-'king reſtitution of thoſe Rents, Monies, Hor-'ſes, Cattle or other Goods, which ſince the '25th of *July*, 1659. have been by any perſon 'wrongfully received or taken away (which by 'a pretended *Act*, Intituled, *An Act of Repeal of 'two Acts of Parliament for Sequeſtration are to be 'repealed*:)

9. 'All publick Monies paid in to any pub-'lick Uſe, are pardon'd, and Parties concern'd, 'ſo far as their acquittances extend unto, are to 'be diſcharged for the ſame. Nevertheleſs, thoſe 'are not diſcharged that received any Money 'for the Tax of Decimation, or upon the Ac-'compt of any *Militia* ſince 1648. not paid 'over and diſcharged by any that had a Legal 'or pretended authority to diſcharge the Recei-'vers thereof.

10. 'The *Kings* menial Servants, or any that 'had directions from him, whom whilſt they 'pretended to act in his Service were treache-'rous thereunto, were exempted from the benefit 'of this *Act*, if they were Outlawed and Con-'victed within Two Years from the 25th of '*April*, 1660.

11. 'Exciſe for Goods whereof Entry had 'been made in the *Cuſtom-Houſe* ſince the 25th 'of *March*, 1658. not pardoned, nor Moneys 'due to the Farmors of Exciſe ſince the 25th of '*March*, 1650.

12. 'The *Act* gives no benefit to *Owen Rowe*, '*Auguſtine Garland*, *Edmund Harvey*, *Henry 'Smith*, *Henry Martin*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, *Ro-'bert Titchborne*, *George Fleetwood*, *James Tem-'ple*, *Thomas Wait*, *Simon Mein*, *William Have-'ningham*, *Iſaac Pennington*, *Peter Temple*, *Ro-'bert Lilburn*, *Gilbert Millington*, *Vincent Pot-'ter*, *Thomas Wogan*, *John Downs*, *Adrian Scroop*, '*John Liſle*, *William Say*, *Valentine Walton*, *Tho-'mas Harriſon*, *Edward Whally*, *John Barkſtead*, '*Edmund Ludlow*, Sir *Michael Livеſey*, *John Okey*, '*John Hewſon*, *William Goffe*, *Cornelius Holland*, '*Thomas Challoner*, *John Carew*, *John Jones*, '*Miles Corbet*, *Gregory Clement*, *Thomas Scott*, '*William Crawley*, *Nicholas Love*, *John Dixwell*, '*Daniel Blagrave*, *John Cook*, *Andrew Brough-'ton*, *Edward Dendy*, *William Hewlet*, *Hugh '*Peters*, *Francis Hacker*, *Daniel Axtell*, or any 'of them, nor to thoſe Two or either of them 'diſguiſed upon the Scaffold the Thirtieth of '*January*, 1648, erected before *White-Hall*. 'All which Perſons, for being Inſtrumental in 'the Murther of the late King, are wholly ex-'cluded.

But in regard the Nineteen firſt mentioned rendred themſeves, according to a *Declaration* of the 6th of *June*, 1660. and thereby pretended to ſome Favour, it is Enacted, *That if the ſaid* 'Owen Rowe, *and the reſt ſo firſt mentioned*

1660 *are Attainted, their Execution ſhould be ſuſpended, until the King and Parliament ſhould order the ſame.* (Only *Adrian Scroop*, though he was one of thoſe that rendrd themſelves according to the forementioned *Declaration*, yet in regard at the time of preſenting himſelf to the *Speaker* of the *Houſe of Commons* in purſuance thereunto, in a Diſcourſe with Sir *Richard Brown*, then Lord Major Elect of *London*, and a Member of that *Houſe*, he uttered ſome words tending to a Juſtification of the Murder of the King, wherewith *Brown* acquainted the *Parliament*, he was therefore put under the ſame Qualification as thoſe that had not ſo rendred themſelves, becauſe of his Impenitency.)

13. 'Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John 'Bradſhaw, and Thomas Pride, (though dead) 'were excepted, and the Lands and Goods, 'Rights and Truſts of them, and of One and 'Twenty others deceaſed, (viz.) Iſaac Ewer, Sir 'John Danvers, Sir Thomas Maleverer, William 'Purefoy, John Blackiſton, Sir William Conſtable, 'Richard Deaw, Francis Allen, Peregrine Pelham, 'John Moor, John Alred, Humphrey Edwards, 'Sir Gregory Norton, John Ven, Thomas Andrews, 'Anthony Stapeley, Thomas Horton, John Fry, 'Thomas Hammond, Philip Skippon, and Sir John 'Bourchier, were made ſubjects to ſuch Penalties 'and Forfeitures as by another *Act* to be paſſed 'ſhould be ordained.

14. 'Moreover, *William* Lord *Monſon*, Sir 'Henry Mildmay, Sir James Harrington, and 'Robert Wallop, were reſerved to ſuch Pains, 'Penalties and Forfeitures, as by the ſaid Act 'to be paſſed ſhould be inflicted on them, not 'extending to life.

Theſe were of the number of the Kings Judges but in regard they did not Sign the Warrant for Summoning the pretended Court, nor the Warrant for the Execution of his Majeſty, their Lives were ſpared.

Phelps, who was a Clark in that Court, was put into the ſame Condition, as alſo Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*; who though he was not one of the Actors in that Tragedy, was as malicious an Enemy to the King, as any of the reſt.

15. 'Hutchinſon and Laſſels, two others of 'the Judges, were made uncapable to execute 'any Place of Truſt, and Laſſels to pay to the 'King one Years value of his Eſtate. Which Favours were extended to them for reaſons before expreſſed.

16. 'Oliver S. John who had been Chief Ju- 'ſtice of the Common-Pleas to Oliver Cromwell, 'and Seventeen others named in the *Act*, active 'Inſtruments in the late Uſurpations, were to be 'excluded from any benefit by this *Act*, if they 'accepted or ſhould execute any Office Eccleſia- 'ſtical, Civil or Military, in *England*, *Wales*, or 'Berwick, from the Firſt of *September* in the 'Year 1660.

'And all that had given Sentence of Death in 'any of the late Illegal High-Courts of Juſtice, 'or Signed any Warrant for Execution of any perſon there condemned (except Colonel Ri- 'chard Ingoldsby, and Colonel Matthew Thom- 'linſon) were diſabled from being Members in 'any Parliament after the ſaid Firſt day of Sep- 'tember, or bear any Office in *England* or 'Wales.

17. 'All Truſtees in a pretended *Act* made in 'the Year 1649 concerning Tythes appropriate, 'Fee-Farm Rents, and Firſt-Fruits, &c. and 'their Heirs, were to be accomptable for ſuch 'of the ſame as had not been imployed accord- 'ing to the ſaid Act; Nevertheleſs, no Miniſter 'or School-Maſter, or other perſon for whoſe 'benefit the ſaid Act was made, were to be ac- 'comptable.

18. 'The *Act* Pardons not Bonds taken in his 'late Majeſties Name before 1642 for ſecuring 'any proper debt of any Servant, or Receiver of 'the Kings Revenues, if they had not been paid 'to, or by order of ſome lawful or pretended 'authority: Nor no perſon, his Heirs, Execu- 'tors, &c. who had not paid their proportion 'of a Summ of 150000*l.* (agreed to be paid as 'a Compoſition from the Farmers of ſeveral 'Cuſtoms illegally taken) or ought to have been 'contributary thereunto; but that the Eſtates of 'the dead as well as of the living, of ſuch perſons 'who ought to have been Contributary, in 'whoſe poſſeſſion ſoever (Purchaſers *Bona fide* 'upon valuable conſiderations only excepted,) 'ſhall be chargeable with their Proportions, as 'if the Act had never been made.

'Likewiſe all Arrears of Exciſe of Beer, Ale, 'or other Inland or Native Commodities, ſince 'the 24th of *June*, 1659. are unpardoned, and 'all Monies due from any Officers or Souldiers 'for Free-Quarter, ſince the 20th of *July* in the 'ſame Year, or Monies borrowed by Officers for 'preventing of Free-Quarter.

19. 'No Conveyance or Bargain or Sale, 'Eſtate, Intereſt, or Truſt, or Limitation of Uſe 'or Uſes of any manner of Lands, Tenements 'or Hereditaments not being Crown-Lands, or 'Church-Lands, nor Lands ſold or diſpoſed for 'pretended Delinquencies by pretence of any 'Act or *Ordinance* ſince the firſt of *January* '1641. nor any Statute, Judgment, or Recogni- 'zance had, made, acknowledged, or ſuffered to 'any perſon or perſons, Bodies Politick or 'Corporate, before the 29th of *September*, 1659. 'by any of the perſons in this *Act* by name ex- 'preſſed, or their Heirs, or by any claiming by, 'from, or under them, (other than the Wives, 'Children, or heirs of ſuch perſons) or any of 'them for Monies *Bona fide* to them or any of 'them paid or lent, nor any Conveyance or E- 'ſtate made before the 25th of *April*, 1660. by 'any perſons to any ſuch perſon excepted by 'name as aforeſaid, in Truſt or for the benefit of 'any Perſons, Bodies Politick or Corporate (not 'excepted by name as aforeſaid) ſhall be de- 'feated, impeached, or made void.

20. 'Laſtly, No perſons were to be indempni- 'fied who had entred into any Lands, Tene- 'ments and Hereditaments, called *Fabrick-Lands*, 'or poſſeſſed themſelves of any Rents or Reve- 'nues given for the repair of any Cathedral or 'other Church, or who ſacrilegiouſly enriched 'themſelves by the converting of the Plate, U- 'tenſils, and Materials of or belonging to ſuch 'Churches, to their private uſe, for, or in reſpect 'of the ſaid Crimes only.

The ACT for Obſervation of a perpetual Anniverſary.

The Act for a Perpetual Anniverſary does Enact; 'That in all ſucceeding Ages, the 29th of *May* be Celebrated in every Church and 'Chappel

for his Majesties Restauration.

'Chappel in *England*, and the Dominions thereof, by rendring Thanks to God for the *King*'s peaceable Restauration to the actual possession and exercise of his Legal Authority over his Subjects. And all Ministers are to read the *Act* at Morning-Prayer the Lords Day next before that Day, to give notice for the observation thereof.

A time prefixt by his Majesty for the Adjournment of the present Parliament.

The King after the passing these *Acts*, gave the *Parliament* notice, that on the 13th of *September*, he would have them to Adjourn to the sixth of *November* following; whereupon they were very diligent to compleat some Bills under consideration. That which was of most importance for the Peace of the Kingdom, was a Bill for the speedy disbanding the Army and Garrisons, which they were very earnest in. The King intended to have made it a *Session* by Prorogation; but upon application made to him, to shew the inconvenience thereof at that time, because of many Bills and other matters of great Concernment depending, which would thereby be vacated, he consented to an Adjournment.

The *Parliament* having taken notice of the Kings Wants, intimated in his last Speech at the passing of the forementioned *Acts*, provided for his Supply: In the next place they likewise took care that the Army should be supplied with Pay till they were disbanded; which was another of the particulars of that Speech.

Twenty two Acts more; 14 private, and 8 publick, Sign'd by his Majesty.

And now all things being ready for an Adjournment, the King on the 13th of *September*, which was the day appointed, came to the *House of Lords*, and there gave his Royal Assent to 14 private, and 8 publick *Acts* of *Parliament*.

The Private were.

1. *An* Act *for the restoring of the Marquess of* Hertford *to the Dukedom of* Somerset.

2. *An* Act *for the necessary Maintenance of the Work of Draining the great Level of the* Fens.

3. *An* Act *to restore the Earl of* Inchequin *all his Honours and Lands in* Ireland.

4. *An* Act *for to restore to* William *Marquess of* Newcastle, *all his Estate whereof he was in possession the 20th of* May, 1642. *or at any time since.*

5. *An* Act *for settling the Priory of* Watton, *and other Lands in* Yorkshire, *belonging to the Earl of* Winchelsea, *in the hands of Trustees, to pay his Debts.*

6. *An* Act *for the restoring of Sir* George Lane *to the Mannours of* Rachline *and* Lisdruff, *and other Lands in* Ireland.

7. *An* Act *to restore* Charles *Lord* Gerrard, *Baron of* Brandon, *to all his Estate whereof he was in possession the 20th of* May, 1642. *or at any time since.*

8. *An* Act *for the restoring to the Lord* Culpeper, *Baron of* Thorsway, *all the Estate whereof his Father was possessed on the 20th of* May, 1642. *or at any time after, which have not been since sold or alienated by his said Father by Acts and Assurances to which himself was party and consenting.*

9. *An* Act *to inable* Augustine *and* William Skinner *to sell Lands for payment of Debts.*

10. *An* Act *for the Incorporating the Master and Wardens of* Haberdashers, London, *to be Governours of the Free-School and Alms-House in* New-port *in* Shropshire, *of the Foundation of* William Adams, *and for setling Lands on them for the Maintenance thereof, and other Charitable Uses.* 1660.

11. *An* Act *for inabling Sir* George Booth, *Baronet, to make Leases and Sales of part of his Estate.*

12. *An* Act *for Regulating of the Trade of* Bay-*making in the* Dutch Bay-Hall *in* Colchester.

13. The other two private Bills, were one of them to Naturalize *Dorothea Helena* Countess of *Derby*, *Emelia* Countess of *Ossery*, *Margaret* Lady *Culpeper*, and a Son and a Daughter of *Katherine Stanhop* Countess of *Chesterfield*, by *John Kirkhoven* Lord of *Hensflet* in *Holland*.

14. And the other for Naturalizing *Peter de la Pierre* alias *Peters*, and *John de la Pierre* alias *Peters*.

Of these *Acts*, we think it unnecessary to name more than the Titles, as being not of publick Concernment: and every of the Titles are not here exactly inserted, it being sufficient for publick use, to describe so much of them as may inform Posterity of their tendency, and that such Acts were then passed; whereby those that are concerned, may be directed to a more curious search.

The Publick *ACTS* were:

1. *An* Act *for the speedy Disbanding of the Army and Garrisons.*

The Title of this Act does so much express the use of it, that we shall omit to mention more of it here; and the rather, because it was in a few Months fully executed.

2. *An* Act *for the supplying and explaining certain defects in an* Act *for the speedy provision of Money for Disbanding and Paying off the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land.*

We have already given you an abbreviation of that Act, whereof this last is Explanatory, (which was the *Poll-Bill* lately described) and to which this being only relating, in reference to the supply of some of its defects, we shall not need to inlarge thereon.

3. *An* Act *for raising sevenscore thousand pounds for the compleat Disbanding of the Army.*

The *Parliament* finding the Poll-Bill to rise much short of expectation, from the failure of a due and exact execution of it, they passed this Act, which ordained the Money to be raised in two Months from the first of *November*, 1660. (*viz.*) 70000 l. *per Mensem.*

4. *An* Act *for the speedy raising of* 70000 l. *for the present supply of his Majesty.*

This Money was to be paid in one Month from the 29th of *September* following.

5. *An* Act *to prevent Frauds and Concealments of his Majesties Customs and Subsidies.*

This Act was but to continue in force till the end of the first Session of the next *Parliament.*

6. *An* Act *for the Confirming and Restoring of Ministers.*

This Act stopt the Clamours of many Ecclesiastical persons that had defective Titles to their Cures; and the goodness of the King was very much celebrated by his Consent to it. Where-

1660.

fore it will not be amiss to give a brief touch of the Heads thereof.

An Act for Confirming and Restoring of Ministers.

It Enacts, 'That every Ecclesiastical person 'or Minister Ordained by any Ecclesiastical per-'sons before *December* the 25th last past, being '24 years of age, having not renounced his Or-'dination, who hath been since *January* the first, '1642. placed in, and in actual possession of any 'Ecclesiastical Benefice, with the Cure of Souls, 'in *England*, *Wales*, or *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, 'which hath been void by death, or any other 'avoidance, since that time, and before the 25th 'of *December* last past, and was then in posses-'on, and received the Profits being in the Kings 'gift, or of his Father, or of any Arch-Bishop, 'Bishop, Dean and Chapter, Prebend, Arch-'Deacon, Body Politique or Corporate, or o-'ther person, other than such hereby restored, 'is declared lawful Incumbent.

'Every voluntary Resignation of a Benefit to 'the Patron, or any pretended Power since the 'said first day of *January*, to be good, as if 'made to the Competent Ordinary.

'No Presentation is to be construed to be an 'Usurpation in Law, to the prejudice of any 'that shall have right to Present.

'Every Ecclesiastical person formerly Seque-'stred or Ejected after lawful Presentation and 'perception of the profits, that hath not subscri-'bed any Petition to bring the late King to Try-'al, or by any Act endeavoured or justified the 'Murther of the said King, or declared his 'Judgment against Infant-Baptism, by Preach-'ing, Writing, Printing, or constant refusal to 'Baptize, shall be restored to the possession 'thereof, at or before the 25th day of *December* 'next ensuing; and every Ecclesiastical person to 'be removed, may enjoy the Profits to that day.

There be many other Clauses and Provisions in this Bill, too long to be here inserted; and so much the less important, in regard by some subsequent Laws, the greatest part of the whole was in a manner repeal'd.

The substance of the Act for incouraging of *Navigation*.

7. 'An *Act* for incouraging *Shipping* and *Na-'vigation*: Wherein it is Enacted, That from 'the first of *December*, 1660. no Commodities 'shall be Imported or Exported out of any 'Lands, Islands, Plantations or Territories, be-'longing unto, or which may belong to his Ma-'jesty, his Heirs and Successors, in *Asia*, *Africa*, 'or *America*, in any other Vessel but such as be-'long unto the people of *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, 'or *Berwick*, or are of them built, or do belong 'to them as the right Owners, and whereof the 'Master and three fourths of the Mariners are '*English*, under penalty of the loss of all the 'Goods Imported or Exported in other Vessels, 'as also of the Vessels, with all its Guns, Furni-'ture, Tackle, Ammunition and Apparel, one 'third to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors; 'one third to the Governour of such Lands, I-'slands, Plantations or Territories, in case the 'Ship or Goods be there seized; and the other 'third part unto him that shall seize, inform, or 'sue for the same in any Court of Record, by 'Bill, Information, Plaint or Action, wherein 'no Essoin, Protection, or Wager of Law shall 'be allowed. And all Captains, and Comman-'ders at Sea, by Commission from the King or 'his Successors, are required to bring in all 'Ships and Vessels so offending, and deliver them 'into the Court of Admiralty, to be proceed-'ed against; and in case of Condemnation, one 'Moiety is to be divided to the use of the Ad-'miral and Commander, and their Companies, 'according to the Rules in case of Prize, and the 'other to the King and his Successors. With ma-ny other Clauses and Provisoes tending much to the advancement of the *English* Manufacture.

8. The Eighth Publick *Act* was, *An Act for inabling Souldiers of the Army to exercise Trades*. A very grateful Law to many of the Inferiour Officers and Souldiers, and a good preparatory to their Disbanding; for many of them had been Apprentices, and without some such Provision, might have been left without any way of subsistence, when Arms were out of their hands.

The King made a short Speech to both *Houses of Parliament* at the passing of these Bills, full of Sweetness, according to the affable temper of his Nature.

The Kings Speech to the *House* at the Passing of the said Bills.

He thanked them for their general Care of the Publick, and other particular respects to him, in that for his Satisfaction they had made provision to pay off the Army whilest they were Disbanding, thereby to prevent Free-Quarter: Adding, *That though he kindly accepted their Present of Money, he would not imploy any of it for the supply of his own occasions, till he should be assured the Publick had no need of it. He likewise took notice of the Bill concerning the Duke of* Somerset, *who, he said, had merited as much of the King his Father, and himself, as a Subject could do; and that he was none of those who think that Subjects by performing their Duties in any extraordinary manner, do not oblige their Princes to reward them in an extraordinary manner: Nevertheless, he said, it seemed to be of an extraordinary nature*; and indeed we do not remember any President in Story of the like: But the King was pleased to add, *That he hoped no man would envy this Duke, because he had done what a good Master should do to such a Servant.*

After which, his Majesty referr'd to the Chancellour to speak of many other things which he had to recommend to them: For in this time of their Recess, the Army was to be Disbanding, whereof many discourses had been spread abroad by disaffected persons. Some said the King would keep them up; and others, that they would not suffer themselves to be disbanded. And though he had passed an ACT to confirm Ministers, yet farther order was to be taken in reference to Church-Government; and particularly in respect to tender Consciences: as likewise about purchases and sales of Publick Lands, which had without any issue much taken up the time of both *Houses*; and therefore since the *Parliament* Adjourned before any thing in these Affairs was effected, it was expedient to satisfie the People with the Kings Intentions therein: Of which, and many other matters of great Concernment to the good and quiet of the Kingdom, the Chancellor in a most Excellent Speech expressed himself as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

My Lord Chancellors Speech to the Two *Houses*.

THE *King* tells you, He hath Commanded me to say many Particulars to You: and 'the truth is, he hath charg'd me with to many, that

'that I have great reason to fear, that I shall 'stand in much need of his Mercy, for omitting 'many things he hath given me in Command, 'at least, for delivering them in more disorder 'and confusion, than matters of such moment 'and importance ought to be to such an Assem-'bly, for which the King himself hath even a 'kind of Reverence, as well as an extraordina-'ry Kindness.

'I am to mention some things he hath done 'already, and many things he intends to do du-'ring this Recess, that you may see how well 'content soever he is, that you should have 'Ease, and Pleasure, and Refreshment, he hath 'designed Work enough for himself.

'The King hath thanked you for the provision 'you have made, that there may be no Free-'quarter during the time the Army shall be dis-'banding; and hath told you what he will do 'with that Money you have given him, if there 'should want wherewith to disband it. And now 'I hope you will all believe that his Majesty will 'content to the disbanding. He will do so; and 'yet he doth not take it unkindly at their hands, 'who have thought that his Majesty would not 'disband this Army. It was a sober and rational 'jealousie; no other Prince in *Europe* would be 'willing to disband such an Army; an Army to 'which Victory is intailed, and which, human-'ly speaking, could hardly fail of Conquest 'wheresoever he should lead it: And if God 'had not restored his Majesty to that rare felici-'ty, as to be without apprehension of danger at 'home, or from abroad, and without an ambiti-'on of taking from his Neighbors what they are 'possessed of, Himself would never disband this 'Army: An Army, whose order and discipline, 'whose sobriety and manners, whose courage 'and success, hath made it famous and terrible 'over the whole World: An Army of which 'the *King* and his Two Royal *Brothers* may say, 'as the Noble *Grecian* said of *Æneas*,

——*Stetimus tela aspera contra*
Contulimusque manus; experto credite, quantus
In Clypeum assurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam.

'They have all three, in several Counties, found 'themselves ingaged in the midst of these 'Troops, in the heat and rage of Battle; and if 'any common Souldier (as no doubt many may) 'will demand the old *Romans* Priviledge for ha-'ving encountred Princes single, upon my Con-'science he will find both Favour and Preser-'ment. They have all three observ'd the disci-'pline, and felt, and admired, and loved the cou-'rage of this Army, when they were the worse 'for it: And I have seen them in a season when 'there was little else of comfort in their view, 'refresh themselves with joy that the *English* had 'done the great Work, the *English* had got the 'day; and then please themselves with the Ima-'gination what Wonders they should perform 'in the Head of such an Army.

'And therefore when his Majesty is so entirely 'possessed of the affection and obedience of this 'Army, and when it hath merited so much from 'him, can it be believ'd or imagined, that he can 'without some regret part with them? No, *My 'Lords and Gentlemen*, he will never part with 'them, and the only way never to part with 'them, is to disband them: Should it be other-'wise, they must be exposed to the daily impor-'tunity of his great Neighbours and Allies; and 'how could he refuse to lend them his Troops, 'of which he hath no need himself? His Majesty 'knows they are too good *Englishmen*, to wish 'that a standing Army should be kept up in the 'Bowels of their own Country, that they who 'did but in *Bello Pacis gerere Negotium*, and who, 'whilst an Army liv'd like good Husband-men 'in the Country, and good Citizens in the City, 'will now become really such, and take delight 'in the benefit of that Peace they have so honest-'ly and so wonderfully brought to pass. The 'King will part with them as the most indul-'gent Parents part with their Children for their 'Education, and for their Preferment; he will 'prefer them to disbanding, and prefer them by 'disbanding; and will always retain such a 'kindness for them, and such a memory of the 'service they have done him, that both Officers 'and Souldiers, after they are disbanded, shall 'always find such countenance, favour, and re-'ward from his Majesty, that he doubts not but 'if he should have occasion to use their service, 'they will again resort to him with the same a-'lacrity, as if they had never been disbanded: 'And if there be any so ill amongst them (as 'there can be but very few, if any) who will 'forfeit the Favour and Protection they may 'have from him, by any withstanding his Maje-'sties Commands, and the full and declared 'Sense of the Kingdom, his Majesty is confident 'they will be as odious to their Companions, as 'they can be to any other honest men. 1660.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am in the next 'place by the Kings Command, to put you in 'mind of the *Act of Indemnity*, not of any 'Grants or Concessions, or Releases he made 'to you in that *Act*; (I have nothing of that in 'Charge: No Prince hath so excellent a Me-'mory to forget the Favours he doth;) but of 'what he hath done against you in that *Act*, 'how you may be undone by that *Act*, if you 'are not very careful to perform the Obligati-'ons he hath laid upon you in it: The Clause I 'am to put you in mind of is this; *And to the 'intent and purpose that all Names and Tearms of 'distinction may likewise be put into utter Obli-'vion; Be it further Enacted by the Authority 'aforesaid, That if any person or persons within 'the space of three years next ensuing, shall pre-'sume maliciously to call, or alledge, or object, against 'any other persons, any Name or Names, or other 'words of reproach, any way leading to revive the 'memory of the late differences, or the occasion 'thereof, that then every such person so, as afore-'said offending, shall forfeit, &c.* It is no mat-'ter for the Penalty, it is too cheap a one, the 'King wishes it had been greater, and therefore 'hath by his Just Prerogative (and 'tis well for 'us he hath such a Prerogative) added another 'Penalty more insupportable, even his high dis-'pleasure against all who shall swerve from this 'Clause in the Act: Give me leave to tell you, 'That as any name or names, or other words of 'reproach, are expresly against the Letter, and 'punishable accordingly; so evil and envious 'looks, murmuring and discontented hearts, 'are as directly against the Equity of this Sta-'tute, a direct breach of the *Act of Indempnity*, and

1660. 'and ought to be punished *too*, and I believe they 'may be so. You know *Kings* are in some sense 'called *Gods*, and so they may in some degree 'be able to look into mens hearts; and God hath 'given us a King, who can look as far into mens 'hearts as any Prince alive; and he hath great 'skill in Physiognomy too; you would wonder 'what Calculations he hath made from thence: 'and no doubt if he be provoked by evil looks to 'make a further inquiry into mens hearts, and 'finds those corrupted with the passions of envy 'and uncharitableness, he will never chuse those 'hearts to trust and rely upon. He hath given us 'a Noble and Princely example, by opening and 'stretching his Arms to all who are worthy to 'be his Subjects, worthy to be thought *English-* 'men, by extending his Heart with a Pious and 'grateful joy to find all his Subjects at once in 'his Arms, and himself in theirs, and shall we 'fold our Arms towards one another, and con- 'tract our hearts with envy and malice to each 'other, by any sharp memory of what hath been 'unneighbourly or unkindly done heretofore? 'What is this but to Rebel against the Person 'of the King, against the excellent Example and 'Virtue of the King, against the known Law of 'the Land, this blessed *Act of Oblivion?*

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, The King is a 'Suitor to you, makes his Suit very heartily, 'that you will joyn with him in restoring the 'whole Nation to its Primitive temper and In- 'tegrity, to its old good Manners, its old good 'Humor, and its old good Nature; Good Na- 'ture, a Virtue so peculiar to you, so appro- 'priated by God Almighty to this Nation, that 'it can be translated into no other Language, 'hardly practis'd by any other People; and that 'you will by your Example, by the Candor of 'your Conversation, by your Precepts, and by 'your Practice, and by all your Interest, teach 'your Neighbours and your Friends, how to 'pay a full obedience to this Clause of the Sta- 'tute, how to learn this Excellent Art of For- 'getfulness.

'Let them remember, and let us all remember 'how ungracious, how indecent, how ugly the 'insolence and fierceness, the bruitishness of 'their Enemies appeared to them, and we may 'piously and reasonably believe, that Gods In- 'dignation against them, for their want of Bow- 'els, for their not being *English-men*, (for they 'had the hearts of *Pagans* and *Infidels*) sent a 'Whirl-wind in a moment to blow them out of 'the World; that is, out of a capacity to do 'more mischief in the World; except we pra- 'ctice their Vices, and do that our selves, which 'we pretend to detest them for.

'Let us not be too much ashamed, as if what 'hath been done amiss, proceeded from the Hu- 'mour, and the Temper, and the Nature of our 'Nation. The *Astrologers* have made us a fair 'Excuse, and truly I hope a true one, *All the* '*Motions of these last twenty years have been unna-* '*tural, and have proceeded from the evil influence* '*of a Malignant Star*; And let us not too much 'despise the influence of the Stars. And the same '*Astrologers* assure us, that the Malignity of the 'Star is expired, the good *Genius* of this King- 'dom is become Superiour, and hath mastered 'that Malignity; and our own good old Stars 'govern us again; and their influence is so 'strong, that with our help they will repair in a 'year, what hath been decaying in twenty: And 'they only shall have no excuse from the Star, 'who continue this Malignity, and own all the 'ill that is past to be their own, by continuing 'it, and improving it for time to come.

'If any body here, or any-where else, be too 'much exalted with what he hath done, or what 'he hath suffered, and from thence thinks him- 'self warranted to reproach others, let him re- 'member the Story of *Nicephorus*; it is an ex- 'cellent Story, and very applicable to such di- 'stempers; He was a Pious and Religious man, 'and for his Piety and Religion was Condem- 'ned to the Fire: When he was led to Executi- 'on, and when an old Friend who had done him 'injury enough, fell at his feet, and asked his 'pardon, the Poor man was so Elated with the 'Triumph he was going unto, with the Glory 'of Martyrdom, that he refused to be reconci- 'led unto him; upon which he was disappoint- 'ed of his end; and for his uncharitableness, 'the Spirit of God immediately forsook him, 'and he Apostatized from the Faith,

'Let all those who are too proud of having 'been, as they think, less faulty than other men, 'and so are unwilling to be reconciled to those 'who have offended them, take heed of the A- 'postacy of *Nicephorus*, and that those fumes of 'Envy, and Uncharitableness, and Murmuring, 'do not so far transport and intoxicate them, 'that they fall into those very Crimes, they va- 'lue themselves for having hitherto declined.

'But, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, whilest we con- 'spire together to execute faithfully this part of 'the Bill, to put all old Names and Tearms of 'distinction into utter Oblivion, let us not find 'new Names and Tearms to keep up the same, 'or a worse distinction: If the old reproaches 'of *Cavalier*, and *Roundhead*, and *Malignant*, be 'committed to the Grave, let us not find more 'significant and better words, to signifie worse 'things; let not Piety and Godliness grow into 'tearms of reproach, and distinguish between 'the Court, and the City, and the Country; and 'let not Piety and Godliness be measured by a 'morosity in manners.

'An affection of Gesture, a new mode and 'tone of speaking, at least, let not our Constitu- 'tions and Complexions make us be thought of 'a contrary party, and because we have not an 'affected austerity in our looks, that we have no 'Piety in our hearts; very merry men have been 'very godly men, and if a good Conscience be 'a continual Feast, there is no reason but men 'may be merry at it.

'You Mr. *Speaker* have this day made a Noble 'Present to the *King*; do you think, that if you 'and your worthy Companions had brought it 'up with folded Arms, down-cast looks, with 'sighs, and other instances of desperation, it 'would not have been a very Melancholick Pre- 'sent? Have not your frank and dutiful expres- 'sions, that chearfulness and vivacity in your 'looks, render'd it much more acceptable, much 'more valuable?

'No Prince in Christendom loves a chearful 'giver so well as God Almighty does, and he 'of all gifts a Chearful heart; and therefore I pray

'pray let not a cloudy or discontented face be 'the only or the best sign of Piety and Devotion 'in the heart.

'I must ask you pardon for misplacing much of 'this Discourse, which I should have mentioned 'when I came to speak of the Ministers *Bill*; 'They, I hope, will endeavour to remove those 'new marks of Distinction and Reproaches, and 'keep their Auditors from being imposed upon 'by such Characters and Descriptions. The *King* 'hath passed this *Act* very willingly, and done 'much to the end of this *Act* before, yet hath 'willingly admitted you to be sharers and Part- 'ners with him in the Obligation: I may say 'confidently, his Majesty hath never denied his 'Confirmation to any man in possession who 'hath asked it; and they have all had the effect 'of it, except such who, upon examination and 'inquiry, appeared not worthy of it, and such 'who, though they are Pardoned, cannot yet 'think themselves worthy to be preferr'd. His 'Majesty well knows that by this *Act* he 'hath gratified and obliged many worthy and 'Pious men, who have contributed much to his 'Restauration, and who shall always receive 'fresh evidences of his Majesties Favour and 'Kindness; but he is not sure that he may like- 'wise have gratified some who did neither con- 'tribute to his coming in, nor are yet glad he is 'in; how comes it else to pass, that he receives 'such frequent Information of Seditious Ser- 'mons in the City and in the Country, in which 'all Industry is used to alienate the affections of 'the People, and to infuse Jealousies into them 'of the King and his Government; they talk of 'introducing Popery, of Evil Counsellours, and 'such other old Calumnies as are pardoned by 'this *Act of Indempnity*.

'His Majesty told you, when he was last 'here, That Rigour and Severity he will here- 'after use, how contrary soever it is to his Na- 'ture in these cases, and conjured you, *My 'Lords and Gentlemen*, to concur with him in 'this Just and Necessary Severity; which I am 'sure you will do with your utmost Vigilance; 'and that you will believe that too much ill 'cannot befal those who do the best they can to 'corrupt his Majesties Nature, and to extinguish 'his Mercy.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I told you I was to 'acquaint you with some things his Majesty in- 'tends to do during this Recess, that you may see 'he will give no intermission to his own Thoughts 'for the Publick good, though for a time he 'dispenses with your assistance.

'He doth consider the infinite importance the 'improvement of Trade must be to this King- 'dom, and therefore his Majesty intends to esta- 'lish a *Council* of *Trade*, consisting of some Prin- 'cipal Merchants of the several Companies, to 'which he will add some Gentlemen of Quality 'and Experience: And for their greater Honour 'and Encouragement, some of my Lords of his 'own *Privy Council*.

'In the next place, his Majesty hopes, that by 'a well-settled Peace and Gods great Blessing 'upon him and You, this Nation will in a short 'time flourish to that degree that the Land of 'Canaan did, when *Esau* found it necessary to 'part from his Brother; For their Riches were 'more than that they might dwell together, and 1660
'the Land wherein they were could not bear 'them, because of their Cattel. We have been our 'selves very near this Pinacle of Happiness; 'and the hope and contemplation that we may 'be so again, dispose the King to be very sol- 'licitous for the Improvement and Prosperity 'of his *Plantations* abroad, where there is such 'large room for the Industry and Reception of 'such who shall desire to go thither. And there- 'fore his Majesty intends likewise to Erect and 'Establish a *Council* for those *Plantations*, in which 'persons well-qualified, shall be wholly intent 'upon the good and advancement of those Plan- 'tations.

'There are two other Particulars which I am 'commanded to mention, which were both men- 'tioned and recommended to You by his Maje- 'sty in his *Declaration* from *Breda*: The one, for 'the confirmation of Sales, or other recompence 'for Purchasers: The other for the Composing 'those differences and distempers in Religion 'which have too much disturbed the Peace of the 'Kingdom. Two very weighty Particulars, in 'which his Majesty knows you have spent much 'time, and concerning which he should have 'heard from you before this time, if you had 'not met with great difficulties in the disquisiti- 'on of either.

'For the First, his Majesty hath not been 'without much thought upon the Argument, and 'hath done much towards the accommodation 'of many particular persons; and you shall not 'be at your Journeys end, before his Majesty 'will put that business concerning Sales into such 'a way of dispatch, that he doubts not, you will 'find a good progress made in it before your 'coming together again; and I believe the per- 'sons concerned will be very much to blame if 'they receive not good satisfaction: and some of 'you, who stay in Town, shall be advised and 'consulted with, in that Settlement.

'The other of Religion, is a sad Argument 'indeed, it is a consideration that must make eve- 'ry Religious heart to bleed, to see Religion, 'which should be the strongest Obligation & Ce- 'ment of Affection, and Brotherly Kindness and 'Compassion, made now, by the perverse wrang- 'lings of passionate & froward men, the ground 'of all Animosity, Hatred, Malice and Revenge. 'And this unruly and unmanly passion (which no 'Question the Divine Nature exceedingly abhors) 'sometimes, and I fear too frequently, transports 'those who are in the right, as well as those who 'are in the wrong, and leaves the latter more ex- 'cusable than the former, when men, who find 'their Manners and dispositions very conform- 'able in all the necessary obligations of humane 'Nature, avoid one anothers conversation, and 'grow first unsociable, and then uncharitable to 'each other, because one cannot think as the o- 'ther doth; And from this separation We entitle 'God to the Patronage of, and concernment in, 'our fancies and distinction, and purely for his 'sake hate one another heartily.

'It was not so of old, when one of the most 'Ancient Fathers of the Church tells Us, That 'Love and Charity was so signal and eminent 'in the Primitive Christians, that it even drew 'admiration and envy from their adversaries.

Vide

1660 'Vide (inquiunt) ut invicem se diligunt! Their 'Adverſaries, in that in which they moſt agreed 'in, their very proſecution of them, had their paſ-'ſions and animoſities amongſt themſelves; they 'were only Chriſtians that Loved, and Cheriſh-'ed, and Comforted, and were ready to die for 'one another. *Quid nunc illi dicerent Chriſtiani, 'ſi noſtra viderent tempora?* ſays the incomparable '*Grotius*; How would they look upon our 'ſharp and virulent Contentions in the Debates 'of Chriſtian Religion, and the bloody Wars that 'have proceeded from thoſe Contentions, whil'ſt 'every one pretended to all the marks which 'are to attend upon the true Church except only 'that which is inſeparable from it, *Charity to one 'another.*

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, this Diſquiſition 'hath coſt the *King* many a Sigh, many a ſad 'hour, when he hath conſidered the almoſt irre-'parable reproach the Proteſtant Religion hath 'undergone from the Diviſions and Diſtractions 'which have been ſo notorious within this King-'dom; What pains he hath taken to compoſe 'them, after ſeveral Diſcourſes with Learned and 'Pious men of different perſwaſions, you will 'ſhortly ſee by a *Declaration* he will publiſh upon 'that occaſion; by which you will ſee his great 'indulgence, to thoſe who can have any Pro-'tection from Conſcience to differ with their 'Brethren. And I hope God will ſo bleſs the Can-'dor of his *Majeſty* in the Condeſcenſions he 'makes, that the *Church* as well as the *State* will 'return to that Unity and Unanimity, which will 'make both *King* and *People* as happy as they can 'hope to be in this World.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I ſhall conclude 'with the *King*'s hearty Thanks to you, not only 'for what you have done towards him, which 'hath been very Signal; but for what you have 'done towards each other; for the Excellent 'Correſpondence you have maintain'd, for the 'very ſeaſonable deference and condeſcenſion 'you have had for each other, which will reſtore '*Parliaments* to the veneration they ought to 'have. And ſince his Majeſty knows that you all 'deſire to pleaſe him, you have given him ample 'evidence that you do ſo; He hath appointed me 'to give you a ſure receipt to attain that good 'end; it is a Receipt of his own preſcribing, and 'therefore it is not like to fail.

'Be but pleaſed your ſelves, and perſwade 'others to be ſo, contrive all the ways imagina-'ble for your own Happineſs, and you will 'make Him the beſt pleaſed and the moſt hap-'py *Prince* in the World.

After this Speech the King retired, and both *Houſes* of *Parliament* Adjourned themſelves to the ſixth of *November*.

In the *ACT* for the ſpeedy Disbanding of the Army and Garriſons, That Affair was committed to Twelve Commiſſioners, (Six whereof were *Lords*, and Six *Commons*) or to any Three of them, whereof one of the Commiſſioners named by the *Lords*, and one named by the *Commons*, were to be Two: And that they might not go far about for the Money, The Treaſurers at War, and Treaſurer named in the *Act* for the ſpeedy Proviſion of Money for Disbanding the Army, were to Iſſue Moneys upon their Warrant.

All the Regiments and Garriſons were Diſbanded by Lot, except four Companies in *Hull*, four in *Berwick*, and four in *Carliſle*, which were reſerved to be laſt reduced: And the Regiments belonging to the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, and the Lord General, were not to be Disbanded till after all the other Regiments and Garriſons, except the Three before-mentioned. There were Disbanded in *England* and *Wales*, Eighteen Regiments of Foot, conſiſting of a Thouſand Souldiers in each Regiment, beſides Officers and thirteen Regiments of Horſe, having ſix hundred Souldiers in each Regiment beſides Officers, together with the General's Life-Guard of Horſe, conſiſting of Two Hundred, and about Fifty Garriſons which had not in them leſs than 5000 Souldiers, beſides Officers. And in *Scotland* Three Regiments and Two Companies of Foot, and Two Regiments, except one Troop of Horſe, and about Thirteen Garriſons; but moſt of theſe Garriſons were not under particular Eſtabliſhment, as thoſe in *England*, but were mann'd by Companies out of the reſpective Regiments. The King, out of his own Bounty, gave a Weeks Pay over and above their full Arrears to all the Troops and Companies Disbanded; Which was very Thankfully accepted by them.

Moreover, he was ſo well ſatisfied with the Services of many of his Subjects in *Ireland*, who Joyned with the Duke of *Albemarle*, for his Reſtauration, that he Conferred Rewards and Honour upon many of them according to the report of their merit; amongſt theſe, Sir *Charles Coot* was made Earl of *Montrath*; *Roger* Lord *Broughhill* advanced to the Dignity of Earl of *Orrery*; Colonel *Richard Coot*, a Brother to the Earl of *Montrath*, was created Baron of *Collowney*: and Sir *John King*, Baron of *Kingſton*; and ſhortly after, Sir *John Clotworthy* was made Viſcount *Maſſarine*.

The KING complemented by the Embaſſadours and Agents of Forain Princes.

Beſides the many Addreſſes that were made to the King by his own Subjects generally from all parts of his Dominions, there alſo came over Forrain Agents and Embaſſadours from ſeveral of the greateſt Princes and States of *Europe*, to Complement his Majeſty in the Name of their Maſters, touching his happy Reſtauration to his Royal Dignity and Government: From the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* came the Baron of *Pelnitz*, Maſter of the Horſe to his Highneſs. From *Frederick* Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, Cozen-German to his Majeſty of *England*, came *Chriſtopher Cloſs* of *Keiembergh*, Captain of his Guards. From the King of *Denmark* came the Lord *Frederick Van Alefeld*, Deputy-Governour of the Dukedoms of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein*. But never did any Embaſſadour arrive in *England* in a more Splendid and gallant Equipage than the Prince of *Ligne*, who being ſent Embaſſadour to our King from the King of *Spain*, ſeems to have come only upon a Gratulatory and Complemental *Addreſs*, in regard there needed no Negotiation about any Peace between *England* and *Spain*, foraſmuch as upon the coming in of his preſent Majeſty, there follow'd by conſequence a reviving of that Peaceful & Friendly Correſpondence which had formerly been between theſe Two Crowns

Peace renewed with *Spain.*

Crowns in the time of the late King. And to this purpose his Majesty set forth a *Proclamation*, Requiring, that (whereas the King of *Spain* had Commanded throughout his Dominions a Cessation from all Hostility towards this Crown, and had proposed, that the Publication thereof might be on both sides agreed on by a fixt day) all Acts of Hostility should likewise cease on our parts, towards the Subjects of that Crown; which Cessation was to be reckoned as taking beginning from the day of his Majesties Arrival in *England*, being the 25th of *May*, and that all Goods and Merchandizes which had been taken from that time should be restored.

As the occasion of the Prince *de Ligne*'s coming over was only Gratulatory & Complemental, so his stay here was but short; and after his Departure, there remained here as the King of *Spains* Lieger or Embassador in Ordinary, the Baron of *Batteville*. In the same manner, on the part of the *French* was the Count of *Soissons*, succeeded by Monsieur *d' Estrade*, who had not been long here, ere an Occasion hapned, which manifested, that the late concluded Peace between these two Kings had not any whit lessened the Jealousie of Honour between them and their old pretensions in point of Precedence: Many troublesome Contests there have formerly been between the Embassadors of these Two Crowns in the Courts of Forrain *Princes* and *States*, when they have chanced to be Resident together at the same place; but none more remarkable than that upon *Tower-Hill*, at the Landing of an Embassadour from *Swedeu*, on the 30th of *September*: Which since it was so prepared & premeditated a Business on both sides, that his Majesty foreseeing it would come to a Quarrel, and out of his accustomed Civility willing to carry himself with an equal and impartial Indifference toward them both, and so far to gratifie their Intentions, as to permit them to put their Retinue into such a posture as they should think fittest, and most becoming their respective pretences: Yet in the mean time taking order for strict Guards to be kept upon the place, for the preventing, as much as might be, of all disturbances; and severely prohibiting any of his own Subjects to intermeddle in the difference, or to take part with either side; was pleased to Command, That the formerly mentioned Mr. *Evelyn* should, after diligent Enquiry, made concerning the Carriage and Success of that whole Affair, render him a particular Accompt thereof, by drawing up a full *Narrative* of every Circumstance of that Rencounter: Which being a matter of so rare a kind, and great Importance, We have here thought meet to insert from that *Gentlemans* more sedulous and ample Collection, as it was by him presented to his *Majesty* in this following relation:

The manner of the Encounter between the *French* and *Spanish* Embassadors, at the Landing of the *Swedish* Embassador.

Upon *Monday* last, being the 30th of *September*, about ten in the Morning, the *Spanish* Embassadours Coach (in which were his Chaplain, with some of his Gentlemen attended by about Fourty more of his own Servants in Liveries) was sent down to the *Tower-Wharf*, and there placed it self near about the Point, where the Ranks or Ordinance determine towards the Gate leading into the Bulwark. Next after him came the *Dutch*, and (Twelve a Clock past) the *Swedish* Coach of Honour, disposing of themselves according to their places. About two hours after this (in company with his Majesties Coach Royal) appeared that of the *French* Ambassadors, wherein were *Le* Marquess *de Strade*, Son to the *French* Ambassador, with several more of his Gentlemen, and, as might be computed, near an Hundred and fifty in Train, whereof above Fourty were Horsemen well appointed with Pistols, and (some of them) with Carabines, Musquetoons or Fuzies: In this Posture and Equipage stood they expecting upon the Wharf, and as near as might be, approaching to his Majesties Coach, which was opposite to the Stairs. About three in the Afternoon, the *Swedish* Ambassador being Landed, and received into his Majesties Coach, (which moved leisurely before the rest, and was followed by that of the *Swedes*) The *French* Ambassadors Coach endeavoured to go the next, driving as close as possibly they could, and advancing their Party with their Swords drawn, to force the *Spaniards* from the Guard of their own Coach, which were also putting in for Precedency next the Kings. His *Majesties* Coach now past, the *Spaniards* (who held as yet their Rapiers undrawn in their hands) stepping nimbly on either side of the hind-most Wheels of their Masters Coach, drew their Weapons, and shouted, which caused the *French* Coach-horses to make a Pause: But, when they observed the advantage, which by this the *Spanish* Ambassadors Coach had gained, being now in file after the *Swedes*, they came up very near to the *Spaniards*, and at once, pouring in their shot upon them, together with their Foot (then got before their Coach) fell to it with their Swords; both which the *Spaniards* received, without removing one jot from their Stations. 1660.

During this *Demesle* (in which the *French* received some repulse, and were put to a second stand) a bold and dextrous Fellow, and (as most affirm) with a particular Instrument, as well as address, stooping under the bellies of the *French* Ambassadors Coach-Horses, cut the Ham-strings of two of them, and wounded a third; which immediately falling, the Coach for the present was disabled from advancing farther, the Coachman forced out of his Box, and the Postilion mortally wounded, who falling into the arms of an *English* Gentleman that stepped in to his succour, was by a *Spaniard* pierced through his Thigh. This disorder (wherein several were wounded, and some slain) caused those in the *French* to alight, and so enraged their Party, that it occasioned a second brisk Assault both of Horse and Foot; which being received with extraordinary Gallantry, many of their Horse retreated, and wheel'd off to St. *Katherines*.

It was in this Skirmish that some Brick-bats were thrown from the edg of the Wharf, which (by a mistake) are said to have been provided by the *Spanish* Ambassadors Order the day before. But that they were not cast by any of the *English*, is attested by the general consent of all the Spectators.

In this Interim then (which was near half an hour) the *Spanish* Coach went forward after his *Majesties*, with about Twenty of its Retinue following, who still kept their Countenances towards the *French*, as long as they abode on the

1660. Wharf, and that narrow paſſage of the Bullwark, (where the Conteſt was very fierce) without diſorder: So as the firſt which appear'd on *Tower-Hill* (where now they were entring) was his Majeſties Coach, followed by the *Swedes* Ambaſſadours; and next, by that of *Spain*, with about twenty four or thirty of his Liveries, ſtill diſputing it with a leſs number of *French*, who came after them in the Rear.

And here, (beſides what were ſlain with Bullets on the Wharf, and near the Bulwark, whereof one was a *Valet de Chambre* of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadours, and ſix more, amongſt which a poor *Engliſh* Plaiſterer, and near forty wounded) fell one of the *French*, who was kill'd juſt before his Highneſſes Life-guard, no one perſon of the numerous Spectators intermedling, or ſo much as making the leaſt noiſe, or tumult, People or Souldiers, whereof there were three Companies of Foot which ſtood oppoſite on the Hill to the Guards of Horſe, 'twixt whom the Antagoniſts lightly skirmiſhed, ſome freſh Parties of *French* coming out of ſeveral places, and protected by the *Engliſh*, amongſt whom they found ſhelter, till the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadours Coach having gained and paſſed the Chain which leads into *Crochet-Friers*, they deſiſted, and gave them over.

What-ever diſadvantage the *French* came off with in this Rencounter, wherein, except one man that fought among the *Spaniards* with a Half-Pike, not any of the *Engliſh* were ſeen to act any thing that might contribute to the ſucceſs of one ſide more than another, till a few of the multitude which ſtood on that ſide of the Wharf, being inraged by the Wounds which they received from the ſhot that came in amongſt them, and whereof, 'tis ſaid, ſome of them afterwards died, were forced to defend themſelves with what they found at hand: For ſo careful was Sir *Charles Berkley*, Captain of his Royal Highneſſes Life-guard, to put in execution what he had in ſtrict Charge from his Majeſty, that not a man of the Spectators was ſuffered with impunity ſo much as with a Switch in his hand. The *French* King, from this occaſion, gained an advantage to the Prerogative he ſtood upon, greater than if this conteſt had not hapned; for whereas this buſineſs of Precedence had been hitherto in Controverſie between him and *Spain*, in ſo much that to prevent all inconveniencies, an Accord had been lately made here between the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour and the Count of *Soiſſons*, that they ſhould aſſiſt at no Publick Ceremonies, but upon all ſuch caſual Encounters, paſs on their way as they fortuned to meet: The King of *France* countermanding this Agreement, and ſending poſitive charge to *de Strade*, not to abate any thing of thoſe Pretenſions formerly ſtood upon; and hearing what enſued upon his Ambaſſadours executing of his Injunctions, was ſo incenſed thereat, that the quarrel had proceeded to an abſolute breach of the late concluded Peace between the two Kingdoms, had not the King of *Spain* condeſcended to agree, that thence-forward Precedence ſhould be yielded to the *French* upon all ſuch like occaſions, without any diſpute.

The Princeſs-Royal comes over into *England*.

On the 23 of this Month, the Princeſs-Royal of *Great Britain* having recommended the Intereſts of her Son the Prince of *Aurange* to the care of the *Lords States* of the *Netherlands*, (who now at length had agreed among themſelves to admit this young Prince to the ſame Dignity and Truſt which his Anceſtors formerly held in that *Commonwealth*, of which they had ſo highly merited) came over into *England*, invited by his Majeſty, and willing once again to ſee her Native Country from which ſhe had ſo many years been abſent: But her joy to ſee the King her Brother peaceably Inthroned, was very much allayed by her ſorrow for the loſs of her Third Brother, *Henry* of *Oatlands* Duke of *Glouceſter*, who in the 21 year of his age (to the great grief of the King his Brother, and all thoſe that knowing and admiring the Princely Vertues of his Youth, had promiſed Wonders to the World from the hopes of his Elder Age) departed this Life on the 13th of *September*, being the ſame day the *Parliament* adjourned, which was near the ſpace of four Months after his Arrival in *England*; ſo that he ſurvived little longer than juſt to attend upon his Brother to his Throne. He was a Prince excellently accompliſh'd, Religious, Learned, Valiant, Wiſe above his Years, a dutiful & affectionate Brother, a wiſe Councellor, a good Maſter, and a true Friend. And as if Fate had ſo provided, that being himſelf of *the moſt Noble*, he ſhould alſo in death be accompanied by the moſt Noble; there died much about the ſame time, two of the ſame *Order* with himſelf, and next him in Quality, *Eſme* Duke of *Lenox*, and *Richmond*, and *William* Marqueſs of *Hertford*, who was alſo not long before his death reſtored by his now Majeſty to the Ancient Dignity of his Anceſtours, being created Duke of *Somerſet*, and alſo to the Honour he had merited in the time of his late Majeſty of being Lord Chancellour of the Univerſity of *Oxford*: In which laſt Dignity he is ſucceeded by Sir *Edw. Hide*, Lord High-Chancellour of *England*.

The Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

Of the Dukes of *Lenox* and *Somerſet*.

Commiſſioners having been appointed by the *Parliament* to pay off and disband the *Army* and *Navy*, a ſpeedy and effectual courſe having been by them taken, as hath been already mentioned, for the paying off and disbanding the ſeveral Regiments and Ships as faſt as Money came in by the *Act of Poll-money*, and the other *Acts of Aſſeſſments* made to that end by the *Parliament* before their Adjournment: In lieu of theſe diſbanded Forces, all the ſeveral Counties of the Nation under the Conduct of certain Noblemen, who were conſtituted the Kings Lieutenants over them, according to the Ancient Cuſtom, were armed with their own *Militia* or *Trained-Bands*; not ſo much in any apprehenſion of diſquiet from the Souldiers, for they had ſo good Officers placed over them by the Lord General, that there was no fear of diſorder from them; but leſt any ſeditious perſons might think themſelves capable of making diſturbance, if no armed force ſhould be ready to prevent their miſchiefs.

Commiſſioners appointed to disband the Army and Navy.

The *Militia* ſettled in the ſeveral Counties.

And by this means, the Country was both ſettled into ſuch a Poſture of Military Defence; as to be able at a ſhort warning to appear in Arms, and alſo freed from the continual charge of maintaining a ſtanding Army, whereof there would be no appearance, except in caſe of Emergent Danger.

As matters of Civil, ſo likewiſe thoſe of Eccleſiaſtical concernment were had in ſerious regard

regard by his Majesty, who judging the Form of Church-Government which had been establish'd in *England* from the time of the *Reformation*, till the late *Troubles*, to be the most Ancient and decent way of Worship and Discipline, and most tending to Uniformity in Religion, made it one of his first businesses to restore the late extruded *Episcopacy* to the Dignity and Authority they formerly exercised in the Church of *England*: To which end, he speedily proceeded to the nomination of such Persons as were approved to be of the most Eminent for Learning and Piety, for the supplying of those Bishops See's, which were become vacant since the first time of the Abrogation of their Power.

Episcopacy revived in *England*.

In the Month of *October*, *Owen Row*, *Augustine Garland*, and 27 more of the Regicides, Murderers of the late King, excepted out of the *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion*, were Arraigned at the *Old-Baily* upon a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, directed to *Thomas Allen*, Knight and Baronet, Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *Edward Hide*, Lord Chancellour of *England*.

The Earl of *Southampton*, the Duke of *Somerset*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, the Lord *High Steward*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, Earl of *Manchester*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Bark-shire*, Earl of *Sandwich*, Lord *Roberts*, the Lord *Finch*, *Denzel Hollis* Esquire, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Knight and Baronet, Sir *Charles Berkley* Knight, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, *Arthur Annesly* Esquire, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Justice *Foster*, Mr. Justice *Mallet*, Mr. Justice *Hide*, Mr. Baron *Atkins*, Mr. Justice *Twisden*, Mr. Justice *Terrell*, Mr. Baron *Turner*, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Knight and Baronet, Sir *William Wild*, Knight and Baronet, Recorder of *London*, Mr. Serjeant *Brown*, Mr. Serjeant *Hale*, *John Howell* Esquire.

The Prosecutors on behalf of his Majesty, were Sir *Jeffery Palmer*, his Majesties Attorney-General, Sir *Heneage Finch*, his Majesties Solicitor-General, Sir *Edward Turner*, Attorney to his Highness the Duke of *York*, and *Wadham Windham* Esquire, *Edward Shelton* Esquire, attended the Clerk of the Crown.

The Prisoners being called, they all pleaded *Not Guilty*, except Sir *Hardress Waller*, and Mr. *George Fleetwood*, who pleaded *Guilty*: But the Crimes were so odious, and the Proofs so clear, that the Jurors scarce ever went from the Bar to deliberate, but found them all *Guilty*; and ten of them were Executed, *viz. Harrison*, *Carew*, *Scot*, *Clement*, *Jones*, *Scroop*, *Cook*, and *Peters*, at *Chairing-Cross*; and *Hacker* and *Axtell* at *Tyburn*: *William Hulet* (who was also found Guilty, being accused to be one of those that in a Frock and Vizard assisted in the horrid Execution of the King, and therefore excepted from Pardon, though not by name) in regard that the Evidence seemed not so clear to the Court, upon their report to the King he had his Reprieve; and all the rest were respited, till the King and *Parliament* should order their Execution according to the direction in the *Act of Indemnity* in that behalf.

The King summons a Parliament in *Scotland*.

The King thought it high time to settle the Peace of *Scotland*, as well as that of his other Dominions; and in order thereunto, he summon'd a *Parliament* to meet at *Edenburgh* the 12th day of *December*; and by his *Proclamation* in that Kingdom, signified to all, that he relied so much on the Loyalty, Prudence, and Care of his *Parliament*, as absolutely to commit to them the Trying and Judging of the Carriage of his Subjects during the late Troubles, concerning which he would receive Addresses and Informations only from his *Parliament*, or *Committee of Estate*: To whom in the mean time he recommended the ordering and preparing of that affair, and to whom alone any of his People that were interested, might freely and should only make their Applications, assuring them, that his own Honour once vindicated, and the Ancient Prerogatives of the Crown asserted, he would grant such a full and free Pardon, an *Act of Indemnity*, as might witness, that he desired nothing more than that his People should be settled with abundance of Happiness, Peace, and Plenty, under his Government. 1660.

New Officers Constituted in *Ireland*.

For the Government of *Ireland*, he made Sir *Maurice Eustace* Knight, Lord Chancellour of *Ireland*, *Roger* Earl of *Orrerey* Lord President of *Munster*, and *Charles* Earl of *Montraith*, Lord President of *Connought*, to be Justices; who governed Affairs there with great Candour and Moderation.

The King sets forth a Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical affairs.

The Sitting again of the *Parliament* of *England* drew very near; in the Interim whereof, the King, to manifest his vigilance for the good of his Subjects, according to his Promise at their Adjournment the latter end of *October*, published his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical affairs, filled with many gracious Concessions to allay the distempers in Religion of that time; which because it was but temporary, till the *Parliament* should offer something further to him in reference to those matters, we forbear to mention the particulars thereof. He likewise a few days after emitted a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, to several Persons of great Honour and Integrity, to Treat with all Purchasers of Crown and Church-Lands, that none of his People might want any satisfaction which in reason could be allowed them.

The Parliament meets again.

The *Two Houses of Parliament* met the sixth of *November*, and applied themselves to the making of several Laws for the augmentation of the Kings Revenue, and other matters of great Consideration, in which they were the more diligent and speedy, for that they received intimation from the King, that he intended to dissolve them on the 29th of *December*. In the mean time, they ordered, that the several Bodies of *Oliver Cromwel*, *John Bradshaw*, *Henry Ireton*, and *Thomas Pride*, should be taken out of their Graves, and drawn on an Hurdle to *Tyburn*, to be buried under the Gallows: And on *Christmas-Eve*, the King went to the *House of Lords*, and there gave his Royal Assent to two *Acts of Parliament*; *viz.* To an *Act* for a Grant of certain Impositions upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for the increase of his *Majesties* Revenue, and an *Act* for the taking away the Court of Wards, and Liveries, and Tenures *in Capite*, and by Knights Service, and Purveyance, and for setling a Revenue upon his *Majesty* in Lieu thereof.

The Bodies of *Cromwell*, *Bradshaw*, *Ireton*, and *Pride*, ordered to be buried under the Gallows.

The King passes the *Act* for setling of Excise, and taking away the Court of Wards.

The *Act* for a Grant of certain *Impositions*, &c. is by several Rates, as Excise upon *Beer*, *Ale*, *Sider*,

1660. *Sider, Perry, Metheglin, Strong-Water,* or *Aqua-Vitæ, Coffee, Chocolate, Sherbet,* and *Tea*; (*Viz.*) for *Beer, Ale,* and such of these as are not Forreign Liquors, they are to be paid by the *Brewer,* or other person that shall sell the same; And all Forreign Liquors, by the Merchant, or Importer, in ready Money upon Entry, made before the Landing thereof; and these Impositions are to continue by this Law during the Kings Life: But by another *Statute* made in the same Session, for taking away the *Court of Wards* and *Liveries,* and *Tenures in Capite,* and by *Knights Service,* and *Purveyance,* and for setling a Revenue upon his Majesty in lieu thereof; the said Impositions and Rates are in recompence thereof to be paid to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors for ever.

The Reasons alledged in this Statute, for taking away the *Court of Wards,* in the Preamble thereof were, because Tenures by Knights Service, either of the King or others, or by Knights Service *in Capite,* or by *Soccage in Capite* of the King, and the Consequents upon the same had been much more burthensome, grievous, and prejudicial to the Kingdom, than beneficial to the King: And since the intermission of the said Court from the 24th of *February,* 1645. many persons had by Will and otherwise made disposal of their Lands held by Knights Service, whereupon divers Questions might arise, unless some seasonable Remedy should be taken to prevent the same, by taking away from the said 24th of *February,* 1645. the Court of Wards and Liveries, and all Wardships, Liveries, *Primer Seisins,* and all *Ouster le mains,* Values, and Forfeitures of Marriages, by reason of any Tenure of the King, or of any other by Knight Service, and all mean Rates and Gifts, Grants or Charges, &c.

The Death of the Princess of *Aurange.*

Whilst the King was passing these two *Acts,* his Sister the Princess *Mary,* Princess of *Aurange,* died at *White-Hall,* a Lady of admirable Virtues, and all Princely Endowments; and five days after (*viz.*) on the 29th day of *December* in the Evening which was the day of the dissolution of the *Parliament*) was buried in King *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel at *Westminster.*

The Parliament dissolved, and 32 Acts more passed by the King.

Upon which day in the Morning, the King came to the *House of Peers,* and gave the Royal Assent to twenty private, and twelve publick *Acts* of *Parliament.* The private were these following:

1 'An *Act* for the restoring of *Henry* Lord 'Arundel of *Wardour,* to the possession of his E-'state.

2 'An *Act* for Restitution of *Thomas* Earl 'of *Arundel, Surrey,* and *Norfolk,* to the Title 'of *Duke of Norfolk.*

3 'An *Act* to restore to *Wentworth,* Earl of 'Roscomon in *Ireland,* all the Honours, Castles, 'Lordships, Lands and Tenements, whereof 'James Earl of *Roscomon* his Great Grandfather, 'or *James* Earl of *Roscomon* his Father, were 'possessed.

4 'An *Act* for the restoring of Sir *George* 'Hamilton to his Lands and Estate in *Ireland.*

5 'An *Act* for Maintenance of the Vicar, for 'the time being, of the Vicaridge of *Royston.*

6 'An *Act* for inabling Sir *William Wray* to sell 'Lands for payment of his Debts, and raising 'of Portions for his younger Children.

7 'An *Act* for Naturalizing of *Gerrard Van-* 'benthuzen, *Daniel Demetrius,* and others.

8 'An *Act* for the inabling of *John Newton* 'the Younger, and *William Oakley,* to mfackale 'of Lands for payment of Debts, and raising of 'Portions.

9 'An *Act* for impowering the Master of the 'Rolls to make Leases for years, in order to new 'building the old buildings belonging to the 'Rolls.

10 'An *Act* for the Naturalization of *John* 'Borcel, Esq; Eldest Son of Sir *William Borcel,* 'Knight and Baronet.

11 'An *Act* for the Naturalization of *Abra-* 'ham Wachter.

12 'An *Act* for the restoring Sir *Thomas* 'Grimes, Baronet, to his Estate.

13 'An *Act* for inabling *George Fawnt* of 'Foston, in the County of *Leicester,* Esq, to sell 'and convey part of his Lands, for payment of 'several Debts and Legacies charged upon his 'Estate by Sir *William Fawnt* Knight, deceased; 'and for the raising of Portions for his younger 'Children, and making his Wifes Joynture.

14 'An *Act* for Naturalizing *Francis Hide,* 'and others.

15 'An *Act* to inable *Joseph Mikelthwait* an 'Infant, and his Trustees, to sell his Lands for 'payment of his Fathers Debts.

16 'An *Act* for raising Portions, and making 'provision for maintenance of the younger 'Children of Sir *Edward Gostwick.*

17 'An *Act* for confirming the sale of the 'Mannour of *Hitcham,* sold to *Charles Doe* by 'Sir *John Clark,* Knight and Baronet, and for 'setling and disposing other the Lands of the 'said Sir *John Clark,* and Dame *Philadelphia* his 'Wife.

18 'An *Act* for the settling of some of the 'Mannours and Lands of the Earl of *Cleveland* 'in Trustees, to be sold for the satisfying of the 'Debts of the said Earl, and of *Thomas* Lord 'Wentworth his Son.

19 'An *Act* for the disappropriating of the 'Rectory appropriate of *Preston,* and uniting and 'consolidating of the said Rectory, and of the 'Vicaridge of the Church of *Preston,* and for the 'assuring of the Advowson and Right of Patro-'nage of the same unto the Master, Fellows, and 'Scholars of *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge.*

20 'An *Act* for making the Precinct of *Co-* 'vent-Garden Parochial.

The Publick *ACTS* were;

1 'An *Act* for the Attainder of several Per-'sons guilty of the horrid Murther of his late 'Sacred Majesty King *Charles* the First.

2 'An *Act* for the Levying of certain Moneys 'due upon the Collection for the *Protestants* of 'Piedmont.

3 'An *Act* for Confirmation of Grants and 'Leases from Colledges and Hospitals.

4 'An *Act* for the Levying of the Arrears of 'the 12 Months Assessments, commencing the '24th of *June,* 1659. and the 6 Months Assess-'ment, commencing the 25th of *Decemb.* 1659.

5 'An *Act* for granting to the Kings Majesty '420000 l. by Assessment of 70000 l. by the 'Month for six Months, for disbanding of the 'Army, and paying off the Navy.

6 'An *Act* for the raising of 70000 l. for the 'further supply of his Majesty.

7 'An

7 'An *Act* for Confirmation of Marriages.

8 'An *Act* for raising and eſtabliſhing a *Poſt-Office.*

9 'An *Act* for the further ſupplying and explaining certain defects in an *Act* for the ſpeedy proviſion of Money for disbanding and paying off the Forces of this Kingdom, both by Land and Sea.

10 'An *Act* for the better ordering of the ſelling of Wine by Retail, and for preventing abuſes in the mingling, corrupting and vitiating of Wines; and for ſettling and limiting the Prizes of the ſame.

11 'An *Act* for prohibiting the planting, ſetting, or ſowing of *Tobacco* in *England* and *Ireland.*

12 'An *Act* for prohibiting the Exportation of *Wooll, Wooll-fells, Fullers-Earth,* or any kind of *Scouring Earth.*

The ſubſtance of the *Act* of *Attainder.*

'By the *Act* of *Attainder,* which was made to 'Attaint the Judges and other Actors in the 'Murther of the late King, *Oliver Cromwell* deceaſed, *Henry Ireton* deceaſed, *John Bradſhaw* deceaſed, and *Thomas Pride* deceaſed, are Adjudged to be Convicted and Attainted of High 'Treaſon, to all intents and purpoſes, as if they 'and every of them reſpectively had been Attainted in their Life-time.

2 'And all the Perſons fled for Treaſon, at 'is to ſay, *John Liſle, William Say, Valentine Wanton, Edward Whalley, John Barkſtead, Edmond 'Ludlow,* Sir *Michael Laveſey, John Okey, John 'Hewſon, William Goffe, Cornelius Holland, Thomas Challoner, William Cawley, Miles Corbet, Nicholas Love, John Diſwell, Daniel Blagrave, Andrew Broughton, Edward Dendy,* and every of 'them, ſtand, and be Adjudged, Convicted, and 'Attainted of High-Treaſon.

3 'All the Mannours, Meſſuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, Remainders, Poſſeſſions, Rights, Conditions, Intereſts, Offices, 'Fees, Annuities, and all other Hereditaments, 'Leaſes for years, Chattels Real, and all other 'things of that nature whatſoever they be, of 'them the ſaid *Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, 'John Bradſhaw, Thomas Pride,* and of other perſons particularly named in the ſaid *Act*, amounting in all to the number of two and fifty 'perſons, which they or any of them, or any 'other perſon or perſons to their or any of their 'uſes, or in truſt for them or any of them, the '25th day of *March*, 1646. or at any time ſince, 'ſhall ſtand and be forfeited to the King, his 'Heirs and Succeſſors, and ſhall be veſted and 'adjudged to be in the actual and real poſſeſſion 'of the King, without any Office or Inquiſition 'thereof hereafter to be taken or found.

4 'No Conveyance, Aſſurance, Grant, Bargain, Sale, Charge, Leaſe, Aſſignment, Surrender by Copy, Eſtate, Intereſt, Truſt, Limitation of Uſes, or out of any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, (not being the 'Lands of the late King, Queen, Prince, or any of the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans and 'Chapters,) nor any Statute, Judgment or Recognizance had, made, acknowledged or ſuffered to any perſon or perſons which before 'the 24th day of *September*, 1659. by any of the 'Offenders in the *Act* mentioned, or their 'Heirs, or any other perſons claiming by, from, 'or under them, other than the Wife or Wives, 'Child or Children, Heir or Heirs, of ſuch perſon or perſons to any of them for Money *bona fide*, to them or any of them paid or Lent, nor 'any Conveyance, Grant, or Eſtate, made before the 25th day of *April*, 1660. by any perſon or perſons aforeſaid, in truſt and for the 'benefit of any other perſon or perſons not being of the Offenders aforeſaid, ſhall be impeached, defeated, made void or fruſtrated 'hereby, or by the Convictions or Attainders 'aforeſaid, but ſhall be injoyned by the Purchaſers, Grantees, Leſſees, their Heirs, Executors, 'Adminiſtrators and Aſſigns reſpectively, as if 'this Act had not been made; ſo as the ſaid Conveyances, Grants, Aſſurances, which are and 'ought to be held and enjoyed, as aforeſaid, before the firſt of *January*, 1662. be enter'd and 'enrolled of Record in the *Exchequer*, and not 'otherwiſe. 1660.

5 'All and ſingular the Mannours, Lands and 'Hereditaments, which heretofore were the 'Lands, &c. of *Henry* late Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, *Edward* now Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, and 'Henry Lord *Herbert*, Son to the ſaid *Edward* 'Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, whereof the ſaid *Oliver* 'Cromwell, or any other perſon in truſt for him, 'or to his uſe, or any other the perſons attainted by this Act, or otherwiſe, or any other perſon in truſt for them, or any of them, had at any time before or ſince the deceaſe of the ſaid 'Oliver Cromwell, are veſted and ſeiſed in, and 'ſhall be held and enjoyed by the ſaid Marqueſs 'of *Worceſter*, and *Henry* Lord *Herbert*, in ſuch 'manner, and for ſuch Eſtates, or ſuch Powers 'and Priviledges, as they formerly had in the 'ſame, ſaving the Eſtates, Rights, Titles and Intereſts of Strangers, not derived by and from 'any of the ſaid Offenders ſince the 25th day of 'March, 1646.

1 It is provided nevertheleſs, 'That thoſe 'who have received any of the Rents or Mean 'Profits of, in, or out of any the Lands, Chattels 'Real, or poſſeſſions of any of the Offenders in 'this Act mentioned before the 11th of *Februa'ry*, 1659. and have paid or accompted for the 'ſame before that day unto the ſaid Offender 'or Offenders, or their Aſſigns, or any other 'perſon claiming from or under them, ſhall be 'for ever acquitted and diſcharged of and from 'the ſame, againſt the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors.

2. And alſo, 'That *Richard Ingoldsby* may 'keep, ſell or diſpoſe of all the Goods and Chattels formerly belonging to Sir *Hardreſs Waller* 'in *Ireland*, until 2000 *l.* (for which the ſaid 'Ingoldsby in the year 1658. ſtood joyntly bound with the ſaid Sir *Hardreſs Waller* unto 'James Brooks of the City of *York* Alderman, 'and was then Counter-ſecured by a Judgment 'upon his Lands, and ſince by a Deed of Bargain and Sale of the ſaid Goods and Chattels 'in *Ireland*,) be fully paid, together with the Intereſt thereof; the ſaid *Ingoldsby* paying the 'Over-plus to the King.

The Kings Favour to this Gentleman, grounded upon ſo notable a Foundation of Merit, as is before related, did oblige the *Parliament* in this and many other occaſions, to ſhew their reſpect to him.

The

1660. The *Act* for raising and eſtabliſhing a *Poſt-Office*, brought a Revenue of one and twenty thouſand pounds a year to the Crown; which was an Improvement firſt made in the time of *Cromwell's*, Uſurpation.

The *Act* for the better ordering of the ſelling of Wines by Retail, was to prohibit any from ſelling of Wines, but ſuch as ſhould be licens'd by the Kings Agents; and from retailing mingled, corrupted, or abuſed Wines: as alſo for limiting and bringing down the prices thereof.

The *Act* for the prohibiting the planting, ſetting or ſowing of Tobacco in *England* and *Ireland*, did under ſtrict penalties forbid the ſetting or planting any Tobacco in ſeed, plant, or otherwiſe, in *England*, *Wales*, the Iſland of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, and the Town of *Berwick*, except it be in any Phyſick-Garden of either of the Univerſities, or other private Garden for Phyſick or Surgery, ſo as the quantity ſo planted, exceed not one half of a Pole in any place or Garden.

The *Act* for prohibiting the Exportation of Wooll, Wooll-fells, Fullers-Earth, or any kind of ſcouring Earth, was made to preſerve the Manufacture of Woollen-cloth in *England*, which was one of the Staple-commodities of this Kingdom, and that which brought moſt Trade and advantage of any to it, till of late years that the *Hollander*, *French*, and others of our Neighbours, by Exportation of our Materials, had almoſt gain'd all the Trade thereof from us: And although theſe materials, as Wooll, Wooll-fells, and Fullers-Earth, had been by former Laws prohibited to be Exported to any Forreign parts, on pain of forfeiture, or other pecuniary Mulcts, thoſe Laws could not prevent the offences, for they were frequently by ſtealth or *connivance* exported. Wherefore this Statute was thought fit to be made, for the re-inforcing of thoſe *former* Laws, and preventing the like abuſes for the future.

The Effect of his Majeſties and the Lord Chancellours Speech, at the Diſſolving of his *Parliament*.

After the King had given the Royal Aſſent to the before-mentioned *Acts*, he made a Speech to both *Houſes*, full of gracious and pleaſing Expreſſions: and amongſt others, he ſaid, *This Parliament ſhould be called to all Poſterity*, The Healing and the Bleſſed Parliament. *And that it ſhould be a Rule to his Actions and Councels to conſider, What is a Parliament like to think of this Action, or this Council?* Adding, *That he would Religiouſly himſelf obſerve the Act of Indempnity, and would exact the Obſervation of it from all others.*

And after he had ended, the Lord Chancellour (according to the Cuſtom, for none ever in his Place had greater Eloquence) excellently ſet forth *the Happineſs of the King and his People, which only ſtrove which ſhould expreſs more affection to each others, to the joy of all his good Subjects, and the terrour of Evil Doers.* And with this Speech he concluded the *Parliament*; for then it was diſſolved. And we may truly ſay, never did *King* and *Parliament* in this Kingdom better agree; never was there any *Parliament* Aſſembled with greater Expectation, and ended with greater Satisfaction to all the People; of which we may not improperly infert in this place a *Stanza*, out of that Excellent Ode upon the Kings Reſtauration and Return, made by the moſt Celebrated of our *Engliſh* Poets, Mr. *Abraham Cowly*, now living, a little before its Diſſolution; in the 18th Page whereof is ſung this paſſage,

And ill ſhould We deſerve this Happy Day,
If no acknowledgment we pay
To You Great Patriots *of the* Two
Moſt truly other Houſes now;
Who have redeem'd from Hatred *and from* Shame,
A Parliament's *once* Venerable Name;
And now the Title of a Houſe *reſtore*
To that which was but Slaughter-Houſe *before:*
If my advice, Ye Worthies, *might be tane,*
Within thoſe Reverend Places
Which now your Living Preſence *graces,*
Your Worthy Statues *always ſhould remain,*
To keep alive your uſeful Memory,
And to your Succeſſors *th' Example be*
Of Truth, Religion, Reaſon, Loyalty.
For though a firmly ſettled Peace,
May ſhortly make your Publick Labours ceaſe,
The grateful Nation *will with joy conſent,*
That in this Sence, *you ſhould be ſaid*
(*Though yet the* Name *ſounds with ſome dread*)
To be the Long, the Endleſs Parliament.

The Inſurrection of *Venner*, and his *Fifth-Monarchy-men*.

Of all the manifold Sects and Separations that ſprung up from the licence of the late War, and the *Anarchy* that reign'd from that time, till the time of his Majeſties Reſtauration, there were ſcarce any that dreaded not the Name of *Monarchy*, as apprehending the conſequence thereof to be a tendency to Uniformity in *Church* and *State*; and therefore no marvel if they who heretofore were profeſs'd Enemies to the King and his Right of Government, were after his coming in agitated with a reſtleſs ſpirit of impatience and diſſatisfaction, which forbore not ſeveral times to manifeſt it ſelf in ſuch Attempts, as had not a timely ſtop been put unto them, by the prudent foreſight and vigilant care of his Majeſty and his Council, might very much have endanger'd the imbroiling of the Nation in a new Civil War. The firſt Alarm that was given, was by the *Fifth-Monarchy-men*, (they at leaſt were the only hardy men that openly appear'd) a Generation of people however ſo call'd, the moſt inveterate Enemies to the Ancient ſettled *Monarchy* of the Nation, of all the whole *Hydra*; of theſe about 50 or 60 mad perſons, reſolving to venture Neck or nothing, broke forth into open Hoſtility and Rebellion, under the Conduct of one *Thomas Venner*, a Cooper, that had lived for ſome time in *New-England*, and was of the principal of the *Fifth-Monarchy*, and a Preacher to a Conventicle of thoſe of that Opinion, who uſually met in *Coleman-ſtreet*. That which firſt gave him and his Partakers a pretence to their Treaſon, was the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, (which all good Subjects are oblig'd by the Law to take) exclaiming not only againſt them in particular, but againſt all Oaths in general: And when ſome amongſt them, more Ingenious than the reſt, adviſed their Companions not to diſpute what was commanded by their Superiours, ſince ſubjection was naturally due to thoſe Powers from whence they expected Protection; they were anſwered by the Seditious, *That they had no Protection in the exerciſe of their Religion, but were for the practice thereof expoſed to all manner of Contempts and Miſeries.* As if a Juſt Reſtraint from Extravagancies in Divine Worſhip, were to be eſteem'd Oppreſſion.

The

The madneſs of theſe Men extended ſo far, as to believe they and the reſt of their Judgment were called by GOD to Reform the World, and make all the Earthly Powers (which they called *Babylon*) ſubſervient to the Kingdom of King *Jeſus*; and in order thereunto, never to ſheath their Sword till the Carnal Powers of the World became a hiſſing and a Curſe: And by a miſguided Zeal, they were ſo confident in their undertaking, that they were taught and believ'd one ſhould ſubdue a Thouſand, making account when they had led captive Captivity in *England*, to go into *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and other parts of the World, there to proſecute their holy deſign.

The place where they conſulted and continued their Conſpiracy, was the Meeting-place for their Devotion, and thither they had at ſeveral times conveyed Arms. On *Sunday* the Sixth of *January*, which was the day before their Excurſion, (his Majeſty at that time being gone to accompany his Royal Mother the Queen-Dowager of *Great-Britain*, and his Siſter the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, part of their Journey toward *France*,) they were very late at their Aſſembly, which made one *Martin*, the Landlord of the Houſe, but not of their Party, ſomewhat inquiſitive after their doings; and as he was going into the Chamber to them, he met *Venner*, who ſeeing him troubled, told him, *He perceiv'd he thought their ſtay too long, and that in half an hours ſpace after they had ſought God in their Prayers, they would diſperſe*; *Martin*'s jealouſie of their actions, made him Conſult with a Friend about their unuſual manner of Aſſembling, and he was adviſed to Liſten at their Door, or peep through ſome Chink to hear or ſee what they were about, which he did, and found them Arming themſelves with Back, Breaſt and Head-Piece; and thereupon he immediately gave Notice thereof to ſome of the next Officers: But within half an hour of this, they came down, and being met by the Miſtreſs of the Houſe great with Child, who in amazement would have ſhut the Door upon them, they offer'd to ſhoot her with a Muſquet; upon which in great terror ſhe left them. The Rebels firſt march'd to St. *Thomas Apoſtles*, to call ſome of their party, and from thence to *Biſhopſ-Gate*, and after to *White-Croſs-ſtreet*. Sir *Richard Brown*, the Lord Major, having notice of their being abroad, got together ſome Files of the Trained Bands, but not ſufficient, as was ſuppoſed, to make any impreſſion upon them, they being imagin'd more numerous than they were, by which means they had opportunity to eſcape to *St. Johns Wood*, and from thence to *Cane-Wood*, betwixt *High-Gate* and *Hampſtead*.

By this time the Alarum being come to *White-Hall*, and the General's Regiment drawn up, the Duke of *York* and he, with the Earl of *Oxford*, and ſome others, and ſome of the Guards, march'd into *London*, where they were informed all the Rebels were diſperſed, except a party of them that were ſeen to go towards *Cane-wood*, whither Sir *Thomas Sandys* was ſent with ſome of the Guards, and a Company of Foot: But by the darkneſs of the Night they got away, and on *Wedneſday* morning came again into *London*, and divided themſelves into two Parties, one whereof about 5 and 6 in the morning appear'd about *Leaden-Hall*, and from thence march'd to *Little-Eaſtcheap*, where they fought obſtinately enough, but were diſperſed by the Train'd-Bands. *Venner* and another Party came to my Lord Major's Houſe, thinking to have taken him Priſoner; but miſſing him, they march'd into *Wood-ſtreet*, where they were met by Colonel *Corbet*, and about twenty Horſe. *Corbet* and nine of his party charged through the Rebels, and broke them, whereby the Train'd Band Foot that ſeconded them, had little more to do, than to purſue them. They fought with courage to admiration: and if they had not been hindred by the care of the Lord Major from increaſing their numbers, a Thouſand men ſo reſolv'd, might have cauſed ſuch a diſturbance in the City, as might have had an influence much further. *Venner* himſelf was very much wounded before he was taken, and about five or ſix kill'd that refuſed quarter, of which ſome of them were ſo obſcure, that their Names were not known. And about eight or ten days after, *Venner* with about ſixteen or ſeventeen of the moſt notorious, were arraigned at *Juſtice-Hall* in the *Old-Baily*, found guilty, and executed in ſeveral parts of *London*. 1660

Thus ended this deſperate Enterpriſe of a formidable Army of threeſcore men, who were inſenſated to that heighth of Enthuſiaſtick Valour, that they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to encounter the whole Armed force of one of the Greateſt and moſt Populous Cities in the World; The Princes Guards, the General's Troops, the City Train'd-Bands, were all ſwallow'd up in Conceit, by theſe men of Mickle Might, and Little Wit; and I have heard ſay, they were ſo Infatuated with their golden Dreams, and ſo Cock-ſure of ſucceſs, that they had promis'd to themſelves the Partage of the whole Empire of the World among them; Thirty being deſign'd for the ſubduing of the *Eaſtern* Parts; and thirty of the *Weſtern*: But we have ſeen what diſaſter they met with by the Way.

With the Suppreſſing of this Inſurrection, and the bringing the Authors thereof to exemplary puniſhment, together with the deceaſe of Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* in the *Tower*, who is thought to have died with very Anguiſh of Mind, to ſee all his great deſigns in an Inſtant brought to nothing, and himſelf at the Mercy of a Power o're which he had ſo long Triumph'd; We ſhall conclude this Year, as with the Solemn Coronation of his Majeſty; our preſent Hiſtory not thinking it enough to have ſeen him reſtor'd to his Throne and rightful Inheritance, without ſeeing him alſo inveſted with thoſe Enſigns, and Formalities of Regal Dignity, by which all his Predeceſſors were confirm'd and eſtabliſh'd Kings of *England*.

The Pomps and Proceedings whereof, in regard they may very well be conceiv'd to have exceeded the Magnificences of all former Coronations, as being perform'd for a PRINCE ſo miraculouſly reſtor'd to his People, We judg not impertinent to be here Inſerted; following herein the *Obſervations* and *Collection* (according to the Original unmutilated Copy ſet forth by himſelf, and with his own Name prefix'd to the Title) of *Elias Aſhmole* Eſq; *Windſor* Herald at Arms; a moſt Judicious and Curious Inquirer into all *Antiquities* of this Nature, and exactly

vers'd

1661 vers'd in the publick Ceremonies of State, especially in the Rites and Customs of the most Noble and Illustrious Order of the Garter: The Names and order of the Companions whereof as they were settled in their Stalls the 16th of *April*, 1661. were as followeth:

1. The *Soveraign.*

2. Duke of *Yorke.*
3. Prince Elector of *Brandenburgh.*
4. Prince *Rupert.*
5. Earl of *Salisbury.*
6. Earl of *Northumberland.*
7. Duke of *Ormond.*
8. Earl of *Southampton.*
9. Earl of *Bristol.*
10. Count *Marsin.*
11. Earl of *Sandwich.*
12. Duke of *Richmond.*
13. Earl of *Manchester.*

1. Voyd.

2. The *Elector Palatine.*
3. Prince of *Aurange.*
4. Prince *Edward.*
5. Earl of *Berkshire.*
6. Duke of *Espernon.*
7. Duke of *Buckingham.*
8. Marquess of *Newcastle.*
9. Prince of *Tarante.*
10. Duke of *Albemarle.*
11. Earl of *Oxford.*
12. Earl of *Lindsey.*
13. Earl of *Strafford.*

Likewise, in order to their attendance upon this Grand Solemnity, there were created 68. *Knights* of the *Holy Trinity*, called *Knights of the Bath*, six Earls and as many Barons. The Names of the *Knights of the Bath*, (they being a Society of Knights never made but at a Coronation of a King or a Queen, or at a creation of a Prince of *Wales* or Duke of *York*) were,

1. *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, afterwards Earl of *Lincoln.*
2. *John* Viscount *Bracklye.*
3. Sir *Philip Herbert*, second Son to the Earl of *Pembroke.*
4. Sir *William Egerton*, second Son to the Earl of *Bridgewater.*
5. Sir *Vere Fane*, second Son to the Earl of *Westmerland.*
6. Sir *Charles Berkley*, eldest Son to the Lord *Berkley.*
7. Sir *Henry Bellasis*, eldest Son to the Lord *Bellasis.*
8. Sir *Henry Hide*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Chancellor.
9. Sir *Rowland Bellasis*, Brother to the Viscount *Faulconbridge.*
10. Sir *Henry Capel*, Son of the late Lord *Capel.*
11. Sir *John Vaughan*, second Son to the Lord *Vaughan* Earl of *Carbury.*
12. Sir *Charles Stanley*, Grandchild to the Earl of *Derby.*
13. Sir *Francis Fane*, } Grand-Children to the
14. Sir *Henry Fane*, } Earl of *Westmerland.*
15. Sir *William Portman*, Baronet.
16. Sir *Richard Temple*, Baronet.
17. Sir *William Ducy*, Baronet. *
18. Sir *Thomas Trevon*, Baronet.
19. Sir *John Scudamore*, Baronet.
20. Sir *William Gardiner*, Baronet.
21. Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, eldest Son to Sir *Frederick Cornwallis.*
22. Sir *John Nicholas*, Son to Sir *Edw. Nicholas* Principal Secretary of State.
23. Sir *John Monson.*
24. Sir *Bourchier Wray.*
25. Sir *John Coventry.*
26. Sir *Edward Hungerford.*
27. Sir *John Knevet.*
28. Sir *Philip Butler.*
29. Sir *Adrian Scroop.*
30. Sir *Richard Knightley.*
31. Sir *Henry Heron.*
32. Sir *John Lewkenor.*
33. Sir *George Brown.*
34. Sir *William Terringham.*
35. Sir *Francis Godolphin.*
36. Sir *Edward Boynton.*
37. Sir *Grevill Verney.*
38. Sir *Edward Harley.*
39. Sir *Edward Walpole.*
40. Sir *Francis Popham.*
41. Sir *Edward Wise.*
42. Sir *Christopher Calthrop.*
43. Sir *Richard Edgcombe.*
44. Sir *William Bromley.*
45. Sir *Thomas Bridges.*
46. Sir *Thomas Fanshaw.*
47. Sir *John Denham.*
48. Sir *Nicholas Bacon.*
49. Sir *James Altham.*
50. Sir *Thomas Wendey.*
51. Sir *John Bramston.*
52. Sir *George Freeman.*
53. Sir *Nicholas Slanning.*
54. Sir *Richard Ingoldsby.*
55. Sir *John Bates.*
56. Sir *Edward Heath.*
57. Sir *William Morley.*
58. Sir *John Bennet.*
59. Sir *Hugh Smith.*
60. Sir *Simon Leech.*
61. Sir *Henry Chester.*
62. Sir *Robert Atkins.*
63. Sir *Robert Gayre.*
64. Sir *Richard Pawle.*
65. Sir *Hugh Ducy*, another Son of the foresaid Sir *Robert Ducy.*
66. Sir *Steven Hales.*
67. Sir *Ralph Bash.*
68. Sir *Whitmore.*

* Son of that Sir *Robert Ducy*, who in the dangerous times of difficulty and tryal, chose rather to contract the Envy of his Brethren, than to recede from those Principles of Allegiance which inspir'd him to adjudg God and *Cæsar* their Due.

Which *Knights of the Bath*, were first dubbed Knights-Bachelors, were Knighted by the King with the *Sword* of *State*, and then every one of them was adorned with the *Red-Ribbond* of *Knight-hood* of the *Bath*, with a Medal adjoyning unto it of *Three Crowns*, with an Inscription about it of *Tria juncta in uno*; which words till King *James*'s Coronation, were *Tria numina juncta in uno*, from *The Holy Trinity*, but at that time the word *Numina* was left out which is supposed to be, that from that time it might be lookt on to be an order of *Knight-hood* in allusion unto the union of the Three Kingdoms of *England*

England, Scotland and *Ireland*, as *Tria Regna juncta in uno.*

The Commiſſioners appointed for the calling together of theſe perſons to be Knighted, were the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earls of *Northumberland, Suffolk, Lindſey* and *Mancheſter.*

The Twelve Perſons Advanc'd unto the Titles of Earls and Barons, were *Edward* Baron *Hide* of *Hindon*, Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, created Earl of *Clarendon*. *Arthur* Baron *Capell*, created Earl of *Eſſex*. *Thomas* Baron *Brudenell*, Earl of *Cardigan*. *Arthur* Viſcount *Valentia*, Earl of *Angleſey*. Sir *John Greenvill* Knight, Gentleman of his Majeſtie's Bed-Chamber, Earl of *Bath*. *Charles Howard*, Earl of *Carliſle*. *Denzell Holles* Eſquire, Barron *Holles* of *Ifeld*. Sir *Frederick Cornwallis* Knight and Baronet,, Baron *Cornwallis* of *Eye* in *Suffolk*. Sir *George Booth* Baronet, Baron *de la Mere* of *Dunham Maſſey*. Sir *Horatio Townſend* Baronet, Baron *Townſend* of *Lyn-Regis*. Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper* Baronet, Baron *Aſhly* of *Winton* St. *Giles*. *John Crew* Eſq, Baron *Crew* of *Stene*. Who were ſo created Earls and Barons on *Saturday* in the Afternoon, the 20 of *April*, 1661. in the *Banquetting-Room* in *White-Hall*, three days before the King's Coronation.

On *Monday* the 22d of *April*, his Majeſty, according to the Ancient Cuſtom, made his *Cavalcade* from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, in ſuch a glorious and ſplendid manner, that it ſeem'd to out-vie whatever had been ſeen before of Gallantry and Riches, the gorgeouſneſs of Apparel, the ſparkling of Gems, the luſtre of Gold, in a continued Train ſo dazling the Spectator's ſight, as if both the *Indies* had been ſummon'd over to attend at that Day's Triumph; In preparation to which, Four very Stately and Magnificent *Triumphal Arches* had been Erected by the City (according as their *Charter* obligeth them upon ſuch an occaſion) for his *Majeſty* to paſs through to his *Coronation.*

The firſt in *Leaden-Hall-Street*, near *Limeſtreet* end, made after the *Dorick* Order, repreſenting his *Majeſty*'s happy Arrival in *England.*

The ſecond, being a Naval Repreſentation, was near the *Exchange* in *Cornhill.*

The third, conſiſting of the *Corinthian* and Compoſite Order, and repreſenting the Temple of *Concord*, was plac'd in *Cheapſide*, near *Woodſtreet* End.

The fourth, conſiſting of the *Dorick* and *Ionick* Orders, and repreſenting the Garden of Plenty, ſtood in *Fleet-ſtreet*, near *White-Friars.*

All Four of them being deſcrib'd at large in a *Treatiſe* particularly ſet forth to that purpoſe by Mr. *John Ogilby.*

The Proceeding of his Majeſty from the Tower to Weſtminſter, *was in the following Order:*

THE Duke of *York*'s *Horſe-Guard.*
Meſſengers of the Chamber.
Eſquires to the Knights of the *Bath.*
Knight *Harbinger.* Sergeant *Porter.*
Sewers of the Chamber.
Quarter-Waiters.
The Six Clerks of the *Chancery.*
Clerks { Of the Signet, Privy Seal, Council, } { Parliament. Crown. }
Chaplains having Dignities, Ten in Number. 1661
The King's *Advocate*, and Remembrancer.
The Kings Learned Councel at Law.
Maſters of the *Chancery.*
King's puiſne Serjeants.
King's Attorny and Sollicitor.
King's Eldeſt Serjeants.
Secretaries of the *French* and *Latin* Tongues.
Gentlemen Uſhers Daily Waiters.
Sewers, Carvers, and Cup-Bearers in Ordinary.
Eſquires of the Body.
Maſters of ſtanding Offices, being no Councellors, *viz.* Of the Tents, Revels, Ceremonies, Armory, Wardrobe, Ordnance.
Maſters of the Requeſts.
Chamberlains of the *Exchequer.*
Barons of the *Exchequer*, and Judges of the Law, according to their Dignities.
Lord Chief Baron:
And Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas.*
Maſter of the Rolls.
Chief Juſtice.
Trumpets.
Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.
Knights of the *Bath.*
Knight-Marſhal.
Treaſurer of the Chamber.
Maſter of the Jewel-houſe.
Barons younger Sons.
Viſcounts younger Sons.
Knights of the Privy-Council.
Barons eldeſt Sons.
Earls youngeſt Sons.
Viſcounts eldeſt Sons.
The Trumpts and Serjeant Trumpets.
Two Purſuivants at Arms.
Barons.
Marqueſſes younger Sons.
Earls eldeſt Sons.
Viſcounts.
Dukes younger Sons.
Marqueſſes eldeſt Sons.
Two Heralds.
Earls. Earl Marſhal:
And Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhould.
Dukes eldeſt Sons.
Two Heralds.
Marqueſſes.
Dukes.
Serj. at Arms. { *Clarencieux*, and *Norroy.* / Lord Treaſurer. / Lord Chancellor. / Lord High-Steward. / Two Perſons Repreſenting the Dukes of *Normandy* and *Aquitain.* / Gent. Uſher, *Garter*, L. *Major.* }
The Duke of *York* alone.
The Lord High-Conſtable of *England.*
The Lord Great-Chamberlain of *England.*
The Sword born by the Duke of *Richmond.*
The KING.
Equerries, and Footmen next his Majeſty.
Gentlemen, and Penſioners without them.
The Maſter of the Horſe leading a ſpare Horſe.
The Vice-Chamberlain to the King.
Captain of the Penſioners.
Captain of the Guard.
The Guard.
The King's Horſe-Guard.
The General's Horſe Guard.

1661.

The Proceedings on the day of his MAJESTIES Coronation, *were as followeth.*

UPon *Tuesday* the 23d of *April*, being St. *George*'s day, about half an hour after seven in the Morning, the *King* entred into his Rich *Barge*, took Water from the *Privy-Stairs* at *White Hall*, and Landed at the *Parliament-Stairs*: From whence he proceeded up to the Room behind the *Lords House*, called the *Princes Lodgings*, where after he had reposed himself for a while, he was arrayed in his Royal Robes of Crimson-Velvet, furr'd with Ermine: By which time the *Nobility* being assembled, robed themselves in the *Lords House*, and *Painted Chamber*.

The *Judges* also, with those of the *Long-Robe*, the *Knights* of the *Bath*, and *Gentlemen* of the *Privy-Chamber*, met in the Court of *Requests*.

After some space, the *Kings Heralds*, and *Pursuivants*, began to set the *Proceeding* in order, each of them taking his share assigned in Chapter, (held at the *Heralds-Office* the Evening before) and thence directed all the before-mentioned *Degrees* (except the *Nobility*) down into *Westminster-Hall*, where the rest of the *Proceeding* attended, and from whence the *March* began.

About half an hour after Nine, the *Nobility* (having been first called over in the *Painted-Chamber*) proceeded each according to his Rank and Dignity, in their Robes and Coronets, before the *King*, through the Court of *Requests*, into *Westminster-Hall*, ascended up to the *State*, which was raised at the West-end, and placed themselves upon each side thereof.

His Majesty being set in his Chair, under a rich Cloth of State: First, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, the *Master* of the *Jewel House*, presented the *Sword* of *State*, as also the *Sword* called *Curtana*, and two other *Swords* to the Lord High-Constable, who took and delivered them to the Lord High-Chamberlain, and he (having drawn the last) laid them upon the Table before the King.

Then the said *Master* of the *Jewel-House* delivered likewise the *Spurs* to the Lord High-Constable; and he again the same to the Lord High-Chamberlain, who also placed them upon the Table.

Immediately after the *Dean* and *Prebends* of *Westminster*, (by whom the *Regalia* had been brought in Procession from the *Abbey-Church* unto *Westminster-Hall*) being vested in rich Copes, proceeded from the lower end thereof, in manner following:

The *Serjeant* of the *Vestry* in a Scarlet Mantle.
The *Children* of the *Kings Chappel*, being twelve in number, in Scarlet Mantles.
The *Quire* of *Westminster* in Surplices.
The *Gentlemen* of the *Kings Chappel*, being thirty three in number, in Scarlet Mantles.
The *Pursuivants*, *Heralds*, and *Provincial Kings*.
The *Dean*, carrying St. *Edward*'s Crown.
Doctor *Helyn*, the *Scepter* with the *Cross*.
Doctor *Heywood*, the *Scepter* with the *Dove*.
Doctor *Nicholas*, the *Orb* with the *Cross*.
Doctor *Killegrew*, King *Edward*'s *Staff*.
Doctor *Jones*, the *Chalice*, and *Patena*.
Doctor *Dowty*, the *Spoon*.
Doctor *Busby*, the *Ampulla*.

All standing towards the lower end of the *Hall*, ready to proceed, they made their first Reverence together; then coming to the middle of the said *Hall*, they made there a second; and thence going a little further, both the *Quires* fell off, and stood on either side, through which Lane, the *Pursuivants*, *Heralds*, and *Kings* passing, fell likewise off on either side, the Seniours still placing themselves uppermost towards the Throne: after whom the *Dean* and *Prebends* proceeded, and arrived at the foot of the Stone-steps, ascending to the *Throne*, where they made another Reverence.

This being done, the *Dean* and *Prebends*, with *Garter*, *Principal King of Arms* before them, (he having waited their coming thither) ascended the Steps, and approaching near to the Table before the King, made their last Reverence.

The *Dean* first presented the *Crown*, which was by the Lord High-Constable, and Lord Great-Chamberlain, set upon the Table; who afterwards took from each of the *Prebends* that part of the *Regalia*, which they carried, and laid them also by the *Crown*: which done, they retired.

Then the *Lord Great-Chamberlain* presenting the *Regalia* severally to the *King*, his *Majesty* thereupon disposed of them unto the *Noble-men* hereafter-named, to be carried by them in the *Proceeding* to the *Abbey Church*, viz.

St. *Edward*'s *Staff* to the Earl of *Sandwich*.
The *Spurs* to the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*.
The *Scepter* with the *Cross* to the Earl of *Bedford*.
The *Pointed-Sword* (born on the left hand of *Curtana*) to the Earl of *Derby*.
The *Pointed-Sword* (born on the right hand thereof) to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.
The *Sword* called *Curtana* to the Earl of *Oxford*.
The *Sword* of *State* to the Earl of *Manchester*.
The *Scepter* with the *Dove* to the Duke of *Albemarle*.
The *Orb* with the *Cross* to the Duke of *Buckingham*.
St. *Edward*'s *Crown* to the Duke of *Ormond*.
The *Patena* to the Bishop of *Exeter*: And lastly,
The *Chalice* to the Bishop of *London*.

And because the *Spoon* and *Ampulla* were not to be born in the *Proceeding*, and therefore ought not to have been brought thither, but placed upon the *High-Altar* in the *Abbey-Church*, there to lye in readiness; they were not presented to the *King*, but commanded to be sent back thither, and laid thereon.

All things being thus prepared, and it being about ten a clock, the *Proceeding* began from out the said *Hall* into the *Palace-Yard*, through the *Gate-House*, and the end of *King*'s-*street*, thence along the *Great Sanctuary*, and so to the *West*-end of the *Abbey-Church*, all upon blew Cloth, which was spread upon the ground, from the *Throne* in *Westminster-Hall*, to the great Steps in the *Abbey-Church*, by Sir *George Carteret* Knight, *Vice-Chamberlain*, appointed by the *King* to be his *Almoner* for this Day.

The

The Proceeding *to the* Coronation, *was in this following Order.*

THe *Drums* four.
The *Trumpets* ſixteen, in four *Claſſis*.
The *Six Clerks* of the *Chancery*.
Ten of the Kings Chaplains, having Dignity.
The *Aldermen* of *London*.
The *King*'s Learned Councel at Law.
The *King*'s *Solicitour*.
The *King*'s *Attorney*.
The *King*'s Eldeſt *Serjeant at Law*.
The *Eſquires* of the *Body*.
The *Maſters* of *Requeſt*.
The *Gentlemen* of the *Privy-Chamber*.
The *Knights* of the *Bath*.
The *Barons* of the *Exchequer*, and *Juſtices* of both *Benches*, two and two, in order, according to their Seniority of the Coif.
The Lord Chief Baron.
The Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*.
The Maſter of the *Rolls*.
The Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Kings-Bench*.
The Serjeant-Porter.
The Serjeant of the *Veſtry*.
The Children of the King's Chappel.
The Gentlemen of the King's Chappel.
The *Prebends* of *Weſtminſter*.
The Maſter of the Jewel-Houſe, who now had Precedency of the *Judges*, in regard he brought the Sword and Spurs into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the *Ring* to the Church.
The Knights of the Privy-Council.
Port-cullis, Purſuivant at Arms.
The *Barons* in their Robes, two and two, carrying their Caps of Crimſon-Velvet, turn'd up with Miniver, in their hands.
The *Biſhops*, two and two, according to their Dignities, and Conſecrations.
Rouge-Croix, *Blew-mantle*, Purſuivants.
The *Viſcounts*, two and two, in their Robes, with their Coronets in their hands.
Somerſet, *Cheſter*, Heralds.
The *Earls*, two and two, in their Robes, holding their Coronets in their hands.
Richmond, *Windſor*, Heralds.
The Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, in their Robes, with their Coronets in their hands. 1661.
Lancaſter, *York*, Heralds.
Norrey, *Clarenceux*, Provincial Kings, carrying their Crowns in their hands.
The *Lord High-Treaſurer*.
The *Lord High-Chancellour*.
St. *Edward*'s *Staff*, born by the Earl of *Sandwich*.
The *Spurs*, born by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Montgomery*.
St. *Edward*'s *Scepter*, born by the Earl of *Bedford*.
The third *Sword*, drawn and born by the Earl of *Derby*.
The *Sword* called *Curtana*, drawn and born by the Earl of *Oxford*.
The *Pointed Sword*, drawn and born by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.
The Lord Mayor of *London*.
Garter, Principal King of Arms.
The Gentleman-Uſher of the *Black-Rod*.
The Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*.

Arms.
- The Earl of *Suffolk*, Earl-Marſhal for this preſent occaſion.
- The *Sword* of *State* in the Scabbard, born by the Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold.
- The Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord High-Conſtable of *England* for this preſent occaſion.

His Highneſs the *Duke* of *York*.

Serjeants at
- The *Scepter*, with the *Dove*, born by the Duke of *Albemarle*.
- St. *Edward*'s *Crown*, born by the Duke of *Ormond*, High-Steward for this preſent occaſion.
- The *Orb*, born by the Duke of *Buckingham*.
- The *Patena*, born by the Biſhop of *Exeter*, in his Cope.
- The *Regale* or *Chalice*, born by the Biſhop of *London* in his Cope.

The *Penſioners* with their Pole-Axes. } { *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports*, carrying the Canopy.

The KING.
ſupported by the Biſhops of
Bath and *Wells*, and *Dureſme*.

His Train born by the Lords

Mandevill, *Cavendiſh*, *Oſſory*, and *Percy*; and aſſiſted by the Lord *Mansfield*, Maſter of the *Robes*.

The Lord *Lauderdale*,

One of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, to be near to the King.

Mr. *Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Seamour*.

both Grooms of the Bed-Chamber.

Captain of the Guard. Captain of the Penſioners.

The Yeomen of the Guard.

{ *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports*, carrying the Canopy. } { The *Penſioners* with their Pole-Axes.

When the *Proceeding* had entred the Abbey-Church, all paſſed through the *Quire*, and thence went up the *ſtairs* towards the great *Stage*, and as they arrived at the top thereof, were diſpoſed

1661. disposed by the Heralds into two Galleries, built on either side the upper end of the Quire.

That on the *North*-side received the Aldermen of *London*, the Judges, and Gentlemen of the *Long-Robe*, the Quire of *Westminster*, the Gentlemen and Children of the *Kings* Chappel, (excepting twelve Gentlemen, four Children, and one Organist, who went into a Gallery, raised on the *South*-side of the upper Quire, peculiarly appointed for them:) and in the Gallery on the *South*-side, were seated the Knights of the *Bath*, and Gentlemen of the *Privy-Chamber*.

The *King* being entred the *West*-Door of the Abbey-Church, was received with an *Anthem*, begun by the *Quire* of *Westminster*; who, with the *Dean*, and *Prebends*, had before fallen off from the *Proceeding*, a little on the left hand of the middle Isle, and stayed there to attend his coming, where also a *Fald-stool*, and *Cushions* were laid ready for his Majesty to kneel at.

The *Anthem* sung, was the first, fourth, fifth, and sixth *Verses* of the 122 *Psalm*:

I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the House of the Lord, &c.

The *King* arriving at the *Fald-stool*, kneeled down, and used some private Ejaculations, which being finished, he thence proceeded into, and through the *Quire*, up to the great *Theatre* (erected close to the four high *Pillars*, standing between the *Quire* and the *Altar*) upon which the *Throne of Estate* was placed, (being a Square raised on five Degrees) at the Entrance whereof were set a *Chair*, *Foot-stool*, and *Cushion*, covered with Cloth of Gold, whereon he reposed himself.

Immediately after the Bishop of *London* (who was appointed to Officiate, in part, that day; for the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, whose Age and Weakness rendred him uncapable of performing his whole Duty at the *Coronation*) having the *Lord High Constable*, the *Earl-Marshal*, the *Lord Great Chamberlain*, the *Lord High Chancellour*, and *Lord Chamberlain* of the *Houshold* before him, went first to the *South*, next to the *West*, and lastly, to the *North*-side of the *Theatre*; and at every of the said three sides, acquainted the People, that he presented to them *King* CHARLES, the Rightful Inheritour of the *Crown* of this *Realm*; and asked them, if they were willing to do their *Homage*, *Service*, and *Bounden Duty* to Him.

As this was doing, the *King* rose up, and stood by the aforesaid *Chair*, turning his Face still to that side of the *Stage* where the said Bishop stood, when he spake to the *People*; who signified their willingness, by loud Shouts and Acclamations.

The same Question was likewise put by the said *Bishop* to all the *Nobility* present.

Immediately after, this following *Anthem* was sung by the *Gentlemen* of the *Kings Chappel*:

Let thy Hand be strengthened, and thy right Hand be exalted. Let Justice and Judgment be the Preparation of thy Seat, and Mercy and Truth go before thy Face.

In which time, a large *Carpet* was spread by a *Groom* and *Page* of the removing *Wardrobe*, from the *Altar*, down below the *half-Paces* thereof, and over that a *Silk-Carpet*, and *Cushion* laid by the *Gentleman-Usher* of the *Black-Rod*, and Mr. *Kimmersley*: Whereupon the *Bishop* of *London* went down from the *Stage* towards the *Altar*; and having made his Reverence, placed himself at the *North*-side thereof.

Then the *King* descended from his *Throne*, and proceeded towards the *Altar*, being supported by the *Bishops* of *Duresme*, and *Bath*, and *Wells*, with the *four Swords*, the *grand Officers*, the *Noble-men* and *Bishops*, that carried the *Regalia* before him, the *Dean* of *Westminster* also attending. Being arrived at the steps of the *Altar*, he kneeled down upon the Cushion, there laid ready for him, having first offered the *Pall*, (which was of Cloth of Gold, and born by the Earl of *Sandwich*) as also a Wedge of Gold of a pound weight (presented unto his hands by the Lord *Cornwallis*, Treasurer of his *Houshold*) both which were received from the *King* by the *Bishop* of *London*, who laid them reverently upon the *Altar*. Immediately after, his Majesty retired to a *Chair* of *State*, set on the *South*-side of the *Altar*, a little below the Traverse of Crimson Taffety.

After this, the *Bishops* and *Noble-men* that carried the *Regalia*, drew near to the *Altar*, and presented every particular to the said *Bishop* of *London*, who placed them also upon the *Altar*; and having so done, they retired to their Seats. Whereupon the *King* kneeled at a *Fald-stool* (set on the right side of his Chair of State, whilest the Bishop of *London* said this Prayer,

O God, which dost visit those that are humble, and dost comfort us by thy Holy Spirit, *send down thy Grace upon this thy* Servant CHARLES, *that by Him we may feel thy Presence among us, through* Jesus Christ, *Amen.*

This *Prayer* ended, the *Bishop* of *Worcester* went up into the *Pulpit*, placed on the *North*-side of the *Altar*, opposite to the *King*, and began his SERMON, the Text being taken out of the 28th Chapter of the *Proverbs*, and the second Verse.

From the beginning of the aforesaid *Offering* to this time, the KING was bare; but now he put on his Cap, made of Crimson Velvet, turn'd up with Ermines; with which he sate covered all the *Sermon*-time.

On the Kings right hand stood the *Bishop* of *Duresme*, and beyond him the *Noble-men*, that carried the *Swords*, who held them naked, and erect. The Duke of *York* sate a little behind him on his left hand; next to whom stood the *Bishop* of *Bath* and *Wells*, together with the Lord Great Chamberlain.

The Lord High Chancellour, and Lord High Treasurer, sate on a Form behind the Duke of *York*; and behind them, in a Gallery, sate the Dutchess of *York*.

In the same Gallery also were placed

Baron *Bateville*, Ordinary Ambassadour from *Spain*.

Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, Extraordinary Ambassadour from the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

Monsieur Weyman, the Electors Chancellour, who was joyned in Commission with him.

The *Count Coningsmark*, Envoy from *Sweden*.

Monsieur Friesendorf, Resident of *Sweden*.

Monsieur

Monſieur Petcom, Reſident of *Denmark*.
Monſieur Pleſſis Bellievre, Envoy from *Monſieur* the Duke of *Orleans*.
Signieur Giavarina, Reſident of *Venice*.
Signieur Bernardi, Reſident of *Genoa*.
Monſieur La-Motte, and *Monſieur Frays*, Envoys from the *Prince Elector*.
Monſieur Gormers, Deputy-Extraordinary from *Hamburgh*.
An Envoy from the *Cardinal* of *Heſs*.
The Marqueſs *de Montbrun*, with ſeveral other *Gentlemen-ſtrangers*.
But *Don Franciſco de Mello*, the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, was placed in the Lord Chamberlains Box.

On the *North*-ſide of the Altar ſate the Biſhop of *London*, directly oppoſite to the *King* in the Arch-Biſhops Chair, covered with Purple-Velvet; the reſt of the Biſhops were placed on Forms behind him.

And higher, towards St. *Edward*'s Chappel ſtood *Garter*, Principal King of Arms, with the Officers of the ſtanding and moving *Ward-robe*, viz. Mr. *Rumbal*, and Mr. *Tourneſend*, and Mr. *Kinnerſley*, in Scarlet-Gowns, having a Crown embroidered with Gold on their left ſleeves, the *Groom* and *Page* of the Ward-robe having Scarlet-Gowns alſo, but not the badg of the Crown; the *Serjeant* of the *Veſtry* with his gilt Verge, and other Vergers: with them alſo ſtood Mr. *Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Seymour*, Mr. *Elliot*, Mr. *Progers*, and Mr. *Chiffinch*, with ſome other of the *Kings* Servants, who attended to do Service.

Oppoſite to them, on the *South*-ſide of the Altar, ſtood the *Dean* and *Prebends* of *Weſtminſter*.

St. *Edward*'s Ancient Chair, (covered all over with Cloth of Gold) was placed upon the *North*-ſide of the Altar, a little lower than that belonging to the Arch-Biſhop, but ſomething nearer the middle of the Iſle, and between the Kings Chair of State and the Pulpit.

Near the Pulpit ſtood the *Maſter* of the *Jewel-Houſe*, and the Lord Mayor of *London*.

The *Nobility*, not formerly named, (who were ſeated upon Forms round about the in-ſide of the Stage) when *Sermon* began, drew near to that ſide thereof which faced the High Altar, and ſtood there.

On the Corners of the Stage, near the High Altar, adjoyning to the two uppermoſt Pillars, were places railed in for the *Provincial Kings*, *Heralds*, and *Purſuivants*.

The *Serjeants at Arms*, being ſixteen in number, ſtood with their Maces on their Shoulders within the Rails, on either ſide the Entrance of the Stage from the *Quire*.

Over the Door, and at the *Weſt*-end of the *Quire*, ſtood the Drums and Trumpets.

Sermon being ended, the King uncovered his Head, and immediately the Biſhop of *London* aroſe from his Seat, and drew near to the Kings Chair of *State*, and asked him his willingneſs to take the uſual *Oath* to confirm the *Laws* to the *People*, and namely the *Franchiſes* granted to the *Clergy* by St. *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, to maintain the *Goſpel* eſtabliſhed in the *Kingdom*, to keep *Peace*, execute *Juſtice*, and grant the *Commons* the rightful *Cuſtoms*: unto every of which Queſtions his Majeſty made particular Anſwers, That *He would*.

Then the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* read the *Biſhop's Petition* to the King; the *Prayer* whereof was, That he would preſerve unto them, and the *Churches* committed to their Charge, all *Canonical Priviledges*, due *Law*, and *Juſtice*, and protect and defend *them*, and the *Churches* under their Government: Which his *Majeſty* moſt graciouſly by a large Anſwer (which repeated the words of the *Petition*) granted, and promiſed to perform. 1661.

Afterwards the King, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Dureſme*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, was led from his *Chair* up to the *Altar* (the *Sword* of *State* being born before him, and the Lord Great Chamberlain attending) where he took an *Oath* to perform, and keep what he had promiſed.

Which *Oath* taken, the King was led in like manner back to his *Chair of State*, and immediately the Biſhop of *London* begun the *Hymn*, *Come Holy Ghoſt, Eternal God*, &c. the *Quires* ſinging the reſt of it.

And a little before the ending thereof, the *Fald-ſtool* was ſet again at the Kings right hand, whereat (as ſoon as the *Hymn* was finiſhed) he kneeled, the Biſhop of *London* ſtanding before him, and ſaying the following *Prayer*:

We beſeech thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlaſting God, for this thy Servant Charles, *&c.*

The *Prayer* ended, the Biſhop of *London* went to the *North*-ſide of the Altar, the King ſtill kneeling, and forthwith the Biſhops of *Peterborough*, and *Glouceſter*, went and kneeled on the upper hault-pace of the Altar, where they began the *Letany*, the *Quires* ſinging the *Reſponſes*; the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter* kneeling all the while at the Kings left hand.

After the *Letany* followed three *Prayers*, ſaid by the Biſhop of *London* at the *North*-ſide of the *Altar*: and a little before the laſt of them was ended, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* came out at the *North* door of St. *Edward*'s Chappel, veſted in a rich antient Cope.

At the ending of the third *Prayer*, the ſaid Arch-Biſhop ſtanding before the *Altar*, began the *Verſicle*:

Lift up your Hearts.
Reſp.
We lift them up to the Lord.
Arch-Biſhop.
Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God.
Reſp.
It is meet and right ſo to do.
Arch-Biſhop.
It is very meet, and right, and our bounden duty, that we ſhould at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, &c.

This Preface being finiſhed, the *King* aroſe from before the *Fald ſtool*, and went to the *Altar*, ſupported by the aforeſaid Biſhops of *Dureſme*, and *Bath* and *Wells*; where he was diſrobed by the Lord Great Chamberlain of his *Royal Robes*, which were immediately carried thence into the Traverſe erected in St. *Edward*'s Chappel.

Whileſt this was in doing, the *Chair* that was before placed at the entrance of the *Stage*, was

1661. was removed, and set on the *North*-side of the *Altar*, betwixt it and St. *Edward*'s *Chair*, whereunto the *King* came, sate down, and was *anointed* by the said Arch-Bishop, (while the *Dean* of *Westminster* held the *Ampulla*, and poured the Oyl out into the *Spoon*) first in the Palms of both his hands, in manner of a Cross, the Arch-Bishop as he anointed him, pronouncing these words:

Let these Hands be anointed with Holy Oyl, as Kings and Prophets have been anointed, and as Samuel *did anoint* David *to be King, that Thou mayst be blessed, and established* KING *in this Kingdom, and this People, whom the Lord thy God hath given* Thee *to rule over: which he vouchsafe to grant; who, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, Three in Person, and One in Unity, be blessed, and praised, now, and for evermore.* Amen.

After which the *Quire* sung this *Anthem*,

Sadoc *the Priest, and* Nathan *the Prophet anointed* Solomon *King, and all the People rejoyced, and said, God save the* KING.

At the end of which *Anthem*, the Arch-Bishop said this *Prayer*:

Look down, Almighty God, with thy favourable Countenance upon this Glorious KING, *&c.*

And then proceeded with his anointing the *King*'s Breast, between his Shoulders, on both his Shoulders, the two bowings of his Arms, and on the Crown of his Head, in manner aforesaid.

Which being done, the *Anointing* was dried up with fine Linnen, and the Loops of his Shirt closed up by the *Dean* of *Westminster*, and then the Arch-Bishop said these two *Prayers*:

God, the Son of God, Christ Jesus *our Lord, who is anointed of his Father with the Oyl of Gladness above his fellows, &c. God, which art the Glory of the Righteous, and the Mercy of Sinners, &c.*

During the time of *Unction*, a rich *Pall* of Cloth of Gold, (brought from the great *Wardrobe* by Mr. *Rumball*) was held over the *King*'s Head by the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Albemarle*, the Earls of *Berks* and *Sandwich*, as *Knights* of the most Noble Order of the *Garter*.

After these Prayers, the Lord Great Chamberlain delivered the *Coif* to the Arch-Bishop, who put it on the *King*'s Head, and immediately after the *Dean* of *Westminster* put the *Coif*, with the *Colobium Sindonis*, or *Surplice*, upon the *King*: whereupon the Arch-Bishop said this short *Prayer*;

O God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, by whom Kings do Reign, and Law-givers do make good Laws, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, in thy favour, to bless this Kingly Ornament, and grant that thy Servant Charles, *our* King, *who shall wear it, may shine in thy sight with the Ornament of a good Life, and holy Actions; and after this life ended, He may for ever enjoy that Life and Glory which hath no end, through* Christ *our Lord.* Amen.

This said, the *Dean* of *Westminster* having likewise fetched the *Tissue-Hose* and *Sandals* from the *Altar*, he arrayed the *King* therewith; as also with the *Super-tunica*, or *close Pall* of Cloth of Gold, and girded the same about him.

But the *Taffety red Shirt* was not made use of at all.

After all this, the said *Dean* took the *Spurs* from off the *Altar*, and delivered them to the Lord Great Chamberlain, who touched the *King*'s Heels therewith, and forthwith sent them back to the *Altar*.

Then the Arch-Bishop received the *Sword* of *State* in the Scabbard from the Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold, and laid it upon the *Altar*, saying this *Prayer*:

Hear our Prayers, we beseech thee, O Lord, and vouchsafe by thy right hand of Majesty, to bless and sanctifie this Sword, *wherewith thy Servant* Charles *desireth to be girt, that it may be a Defence and Protection of Churches, Widows and Orphans, and all the Servants of God, against the savage cruelty of Pagans, and Infidels; and that it may be a Fear and Terrour to all those that lie in wait to do mischief, through* Christ *our Lord.* Amen.

This *Prayer* finished, the Arch-Bishop and Bishops assisting, delivered the *Sword* back to the *King*, saying, *Accipe gladium per manus Episcoporum.* Whereupon the Lord Great Chamberlain girt it about the *King*, and the Arch-Bishop said,

Receive this Kingly Sword, which is hallowed for the defence of the Holy Church, and delivered unto Thee by the hands of the Bishops, though unworthy, yet Consecrated by the Authority of the Holy Apostles, &c.

After this, the *Dean* of *Westminster* took the * *Armil*, made of Cloth of Tissue, (brought thither by Mr. *Rumbal*, on the behalf of the Earl of *Sandwich*, Master of the great *Ward-robe*) and put it about the *King*'s Neck, and tyed it to the bowings of his Arms, the Arch-Bishop standing before the *King*, with the Bishop of *London* on his right hand, and saying,

* Armillæ sunt in modum Stolæ, & ab utraque scapula usque ad Compages Brachiorum erunt dependentes, in ipsis Compagibus laqueis (vicis connexa.

Receive the Armil of Sincerity and Wisdom, as a Token of Gods imbracing, whereby all thy works may be defended against thine Enemies, both Bodily and Ghostly, through Christ *our Lord.*

Next the *Mantle* or open *Pall*, being made of Cloth of Gold, and lined with red Taffety, was put upon him by the said Dean; the *Arch-Bishop* likewise using the words of signification, *viz.*

Receive this Pall, which is formed with four Corners, to let thee understand, that the four Corners of the World are subject to the Power of God; and that no man can happily reign upon the Earth, who hath not received his authority from Heaven.

In the next place, the *Arch-Bishop* took Saint *Edward*'s *Crown*, and blessed it, saying,

God, the Crown of the Faithful, &c. bless and sanctifie this Crown, that as the same is adorned with divers precious Stones, so this thy Servant that weareth it, may be filled with thy manifold Graces of all precious Vertues, through the King Eternal, thy Son our Lord. Amen.

In

In the mean time, St. *Edward*'s Chair was removed into the middle of the *Isle*, and set right over-against the *Altar*, whither the King went and sate down in it, and then the *Arch-Bishop* brought St. *Edward*'s *Crown* from the *Altar*, and put it upon his Head.

Whereupon, all the *People*, with loud and repeated shouts, cryed, *God save the* KING; and by a Signal then given, the great *Ordinance* from the *Tower* were also shot off.

At the ceasing of these Acclamations, the Arch-Bishop went on, saying,

God crown thee with a Crown of Glory, and Righteousness, with the honour and work of Fortitude, that thou by thy Ministry, having a Right Faith and manifold fruit of good Works, mayest obtain the Crown of an everlasting Kingdom, by the gift of him, whose Kingdom endureth for ever. Amen.

Adding thereunto this *Prayer*,

† At which words the King bowed His Head.

O God of Eternity, &c. *Bless this thy Servant who* † *boweth his Head unto thy Majesty*, &c.

After the *Prayer*, the *Arch-Bishop* read the *Comfortare*.

Be strong, and of a good courage, and observe the Commandments of the Lord, to walk in his ways, &c.

In the mean while, the *Quires* sung this *Anthem*.

The King shall rejoyce in thy strength, O Lord. Exceeding glad shall he be of thy Salvation, &c.

Upon this, the Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Viscounts put on their *Coronets*; the Barons their *Caps*: and divers of them came and stood about the KING, who still sate in St. *Edward*'s Chair.

Mr. *Garter* and the *Provincial Kings* put on their *Crowns* also.

Then the *Master* of the *Jewel-House* delivered to the Arch-Bishop the *Ring*, who Consecrated it after this manner, saying,

Bless, O Lord, and sanctifie this Ring, that thy Servant, wearing it, may be sealed with the Ring of Faith, and by the Power of the Highest be preserved from Sin, and let all the Blessings, which are found in Holy Scripture, plentifully descend upon him, that whatsoever he shall sanctifie, may be holy; and whatsoever he blesseth, may be blessed. Amen.

After which, he put it upon the Fourth Finger of the Kings right Hand, and said,

Receive this Ring of Kingly Dignity, and by it the Seal of Catholick Faith, that as this Day thou art adorned the Head and Prince of this Kingdom, and People, so thou mayest preserve as the Author, and Establisher of Christianity, *and the* Christian *Faith; that, being rich in Faith, and happy in Works, Thou mayest Reign with Him, that is King of Kings; to whom be Honour and Glory, for ever and ever.* Amen.

And then began this Prayer, 1661

O God, to whom belongeth all Power, and Dignity, give unto thy Servant Charles *the Fruit of his Dignity, wherein grant He may long continue, and fear Thee always, and always labour to please Thee, through* Christ *our Lord.* Amen.

When this Prayer was finished, the *Linen-Gloves* were delivered to the KING by the Lord Great-Chamberlain: who, going to the *Altar*, ungirt his *Sword*, and offered it at the *Altar* in the Scabbard; which being redeemed by the Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold, was drawn out of the Scabbard, and carried naked by him all the following part of the Solemnity.

Then the Arch-Bishop took the Scepter, with the Cross, from off the *Altar*, and delivered it into the Kings right Hand, saying,

Receive this Scepter, the Sign of Kingly Power, the Rod of Kingdoms, the Rod of Vertue, that thou govern thy Self aright, and defend the Holy Church, and Christian *People committed by God unto thy Charge, punish the Wicked, and protect the Just, and lead them in the ways of Righteousness, and that from this Temporal Kingdom thou mayst be advanced to an Eternal Kingdom, by his Goodness whose Kingdom is Everlasting.* Amen.

Whilst this was pronounced by the Arch-Bishop, Mr. *Henry Howard* delivered to the King a rich *Glove*, which he put on his right hand, and then received the *Scepter*: And after that, the Arch-Bishop said this Prayer,

O Lord, the Fountain of all good things, &c. *Grant, We beseech Thee, to this thy Servant* Charles, *that He may order aright the Dignity, which He hath obtained*, &c.

During which time, the said Mr. *Howard* performed the service of supporting the Kings right *Arm*, according as it was adjudged to him by the Court of *Claims*, by vertue of holding the *Manor of Worksop* in the County of *Nottingham*.

Next of all, the Arch-Bishop took the *Scepter* with the *Dove*, and gave it into the Kings Hand also, saying,

Receive the Rod of Vertue, and Equity, learn to make much of the Godly, and to terrifie the Wicked, shew the way to those that go astray, offer thy hand to those that fall, repress the proud, lift up the lowly, that Our Lord Jesus Christ *may open to Thee the Door, who saith of himself,* 'I am the Door, by me if any man 'enter, he shall be safe. *And let Him be Thy help, who is the Key of* David, *and the Scepter of the House of* Israel, 'who openeth, and no 'man shutteth, who shutteth, and no man 'openeth; who bringeth the Captive out of 'Prison where he sate in darkness, and in the 'shadow of death. *That in all things thou mayest follow him, of whom the Prophet* David *saith,* 'The 'Scepter of thy Kingdom is a right Scepter, 'thou hast loved Righteousness, and hated Iniquity; wherefore God, even thy God, hath a-'nointed thee with the Oyl of gladness above 'thy fellows, *even* Jesus Christ *our Lord.* Amen.

After

1661. After which the KING kneeled, holding both the Scepters in his Hands, whil'ſt the Arch-Biſhop thus bleſſed Him,

The Lord bleſs thee, and keep thee; And as he hath made thee King *over his People, ſo he ſtill proſper thee in this World, and make thee partaker of this Eternal Felicity in the World to come.* Amen.

Then the KING aroſe, and ſet himſelf again in St. *Edward*'s Chair, whileſt the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops preſent, one after another, kneeled before him, and were kiſſed by him.

In the mean time, the *Kings* Chair of State, wherein He was anointed, was ſet above the upper Steps at the entrance upon the Theatre, whither the KING went, as ſoon as He had performed the Ceremony of kiſſing the Biſhops, having now four Swords born naked before him, the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and Great Officers attending: at his arrival there, the Arch-Biſhop ſaid this Prayer, the King kneeling,

Grant, O Lord, that the Clergy, and People, gathered together by thine Ordinance for this ſervice of the KING, *may by the moſt gracious aſſiſtance of thy goodneſs, and the vigilant care of thy Servant Our* KING, *be continually governed, and preſerved in all happineſs.*

Then the King aroſe, and repoſed himſelf in the ſaid Chair, whileſt both the *Quires* ſung *Te Deum.*

When *Te Deum* was ended, the King aſcended his Throne placed in the middle of the Theatre, the Swords, and Great Officers ſtanding on either ſide; as alſo the Biſhops, ſome in Copes, others in Rochets, the Arch-Biſhop then ſaying, *Stand, and hold faſt from henceforth that Place, whereof hitherto You have been Heir by the Succeſſion of Your Fore-Fathers,* &c.

After this, the *Biſhops*, and *Nobility* did their Homage to the King in manner following:

And firſt the *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* kneeled down before the Kings Knees, and ſaid,

I, William *Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *ſhall be Faithful and True, and Faith and Truth bear unto You, Our Sovereign Lord, and Your Heirs, Kings of* England, *and ſhall do, and truly acknowledge the Service of the Land, which I claim to hold of You, in the right of the Church*: So help Me God.

Which ſaid, he kiſſed the *Kings* left Cheek.

The like did all the other *Biſhops*, that were preſent.

Then came up the Duke of *York*, with *Garter*, principal *King* of *Arms*, before him, and his Train born by two Gentlemen, who, being arrived at the Throne, kneeled down before the *King*, put off his Coronet, and did his *Homage*; at which the Drums beat, Trumpets ſounded, and all the *People* ſhouted.

The like did the Dukes of *Buckingham*, and *Albemarle*, for themſelves, and the reſt of the Dukes.

So alſo did the Marqueſſes of *Worceſter*, and *Dorcheſter*.

Next, the Earl of *Oxford* did homage after the ſame manner for himſelf, and all the reſt of the *Earls*, who attended upon him to ſignifie their conſents.

After him, Viſcount *Hereford* did the like for himſelf, and the reſt of the *Viſcounts*; and then the Drums beat, and Trumpets ſounded again, and the People ſhouted.

Laſtly, Baron *Audley* in like manner did homage for himſelf, and all the *Baronage*, who alſo accompanied him to the Throne, in teſtification of their Conſents; which being finiſhed, Drums, Trumpets and Shouts followed.

Note, That the Words of *Homage* were ſaid by every one of the *Nobility*, that kneeled down, *viz.*

I, N. N. *do become Your Liege-man of Life, and Limb, and of Earthly Worſhip; and Faith and Truth I ſhall bear unto You, to live, and die, againſt all manner of Folks*: So God Me help.

Afterwards the Duke of *York*, and all the *Nobility* ſingly aſcended the Throne, and touched the *Kings Crown*, promiſing by that Ceremony to be ever ready to ſupport it with all their power.

During the performing of this Solemn Ceremony, the Lord High Chancellor went to the South-Weſt, and North-ſides of the Stage, and proclaimed to the People the *Kings General Pardon*, being attended by Mr. *Garter* to the South-ſide, and by a *Gentleman-Uſher*, and two *Heralds* to the other two Sides.

And at theſe three Sides, at the ſame time, did the Lord *Cornwallis*, Treaſurer of his Majeſties *Houſhold*, fling abroad the *Medals*, both of Gold, and Silver, prepared for the Coronation, as a Princely Donation, or Largeſs, among the People.

The *King* being thus enthronized, the *Gentlemen* of his *Chappel* began this following *Anthem*, *Behold O Lord, Our Defender, and look upon the Face of Thine Anointed.*

The Violins, and other Inſtrumental Muſick, (who were robed in Scarlet Mantles, and plac'd in a Gallery erected over againſt them, on the North-ſide of the Altar) anſwering alternately: at the ending of which *Anthem*, the Trumpets ſounded, and Drums beat again. In which time the *King* took off his Crown, and delivered it to the Lord High Chamberlain to hold; the Scepter with the Croſs to Mr. *Henry Howard*, and that with the Dove to the Duke of *Albemarle*.

The *Epiſtle* (taken out of the Firſt Epiſtle of St. *Peter*, the ſecond *Chapter*, and beginning at the eleventh *Verſe*) was read by the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*.

The *Goſpel* (being part of the twenty ſecond *Chapter* of St. *Matthew*, beginning at the 15th *Verſe*) by the Biſhop of *Ely*.

After

After which the *Nicene Creed* was began by the Bishop of *London*, and sung by the *Gentlemen* of the Chappel, with *Verse*, and *Chorus*, (that, and the rest of the special *Musick*, for the Solemnity, being set by Captain *Cook*, Master of the Children of His Majesties said Chappel.) The *Violins*, and other *Instrumental Musick* placed in the Gallery over-against them, alternately playing.

All which time the *King* stood by His *Throne*.

But towards the end of the *Creed* He took again his *Crown* from the Lord Great Chamberlain, and put it on his Head; as also the *Scepter* with the *Cross*, from Mr. *Howard*, and that with the *Dove* from the Duke of *Albemarle*, and prepared for His Descent from His *Throne* towards the *Altar*, to receive the Communion.

And, as soon as the singing of the *Creed* was fully ended, the *King* descended with the *Crown* on his Head, and *Scepters* in both Hands (the Bishops of *Duresm*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, supporting him) with the four *Swords* naked before, and all the great Officers attending.

In the time of this *Proceeding*, the *Quire* sung.

Let my Prayer come up into thy presence as the Incense, and the lifting up of my hand be as an Evening-Sacrifice.

Here the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* retired from the Ceremonies into St. *Edward*'s Chappel, and thence went home, leaving the remainder of his Duty to be performed by the Bishop of *London*.

At the Kings approach to the *Altar*, the Bishop of *Ely* delivered unto Him Bread, and Wine, which He there offered, and then returned to the *Fald-stool*, on the *South*-side of the *Altar*, near his Chair of State, before which He kneeled down, and laid His *Crown* upon the *Cushion*, before Him, towards His right Hand; and the *Scepter* with the *Dove*, on his left; and gave again to Mr. *Howard* the *Scepter* with the *Cross*, who held it, kneeling on the Kings right Hand: the Grand Officers, and the *Noble-men*, with the four *Swords* naked, and erect, standing about Him.

Then the Bishop of *London* said this *Prayer*.

Bless, O Lord, we beseech thee, these thy Gifts, and sanctifie them unto This holy Use, &c.

At the end of which, the Lord *Cornwallis* Treasurer of the Houshold, presented the *King* with another *Wedge of Gold*; which goeth under the name of the *Mark* of *Gold*. This the *King* offered into the *Bason*, kneeling still at his *Fald-stool*, whilest the Bishop of *London* said the following *Prayer*,

Almighty God give Thee the dew of Heaven, and the fatness of the Earth, and abundance of Corn and Wine, &c.

And next pronounced this Blessing,

Bless, O Lord, the virtuous carriage of This King, *and accept the Work of His Hands: replenish the Realm with the Blessings of Heaven, of the Dew, of the Water, and of the Deeps.*

Then the Bishop proceeded to the Consecration of the *Sacrament*: which being finished, he first of all received; next, the *Dean* of *Westminster*; then the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*; and lastly, the Bishop of *Duresm*. 1661.

These four *Prelates* having communicated, Preparation was made for the *Kings* Receiving, who kneeled all this while before His *Fald-stool*.

The *Towel* was brought thither by Mr. *Rumbal* on the behalf of the *Master* of the *Wardrobe*, and presented to the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Carlisle*, who held it before the *King*, while He received.

The *Bishop* of *London* gave the *King* the *Bread*, and the *Dean* of *Westminster* the *Cup*.

As soon as the *King* had received, this *Anthem* was begun by the upper-*Quire*,

O hearken unto the voice of my calling, my King, and my God, &c.

In the mean while, the *King* returned to His Throne upon the Theatre, with the Crown on his Head, and bearing the Scepters in his Hands.

When he came thither, he put off his Crown, and delivered it to the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Scepter with the Cross to Mr. *Howard*, and that other with the Dove to the Duke of *Albemarle*.

And then the Bishop of *London* went on with the Communion, which being finished, the *King* (attended as before) descended from his Throne Crowned, with both the Scepters in his Hands.

The rest of the *Regalia* (which lay all this while on the *Altar*) being delivered to the *Noblemen*, that brought them in the *Proceeding* to the Church were carried before him, and thence the *King* proceeded into St. *Edward*'s Chappel, the *Organs* playing all the while.

Where being arrived, he took off St. *Edward*'s Crown, and delivered it to the Bishop of *London*, who immediately laid it upon St. *Edward*'s *Altar*; all the rest of the *Regalia* were given into the hands of the *Dean* of *Westminster*, and laid there also.

Afterwards the *King* entred into the Traverse erected in the middle of the Wall, on the back-side of the *High-Altar*, and there retired, whilest he was disrobed of St. *Edward*'s Robes by Mr. *Seymor*, and Mr. *Ashburnham*, Grooms of the *Bed-Chamber*, on the behalf of the Lord High-Chamberlain, Mr. *Eliot*, Mr. *Progers*, Colonel *Philips*, and Mr. *Chiffinch* assisting.

These Robes were laid on St. *Edwards Altar*, by the Bishop of *Duresm*; and afterwards delivered to the *Dean* of *Westminster* to lay up with the *Regalia*.

After this, the *King* was arrayed in his Purple *Robes*, and then came near to St. *Edward*'s *Altar*, where the Bishop of *London* stood ready with the *Imperial Crown* in his hands, and set that upon the *Kings* Head; thereupon the *King* took the Scepter with the Cross in his right Hand, with the Globe in his left; and immediately the *Proceeding* (ordered also by the *Heralds*) began thence into *Westminster-Hall*, the same way that he came, and attended after the same manner, saving that the *Noble-men*, and *Bishops*, which brought the *Regalia* to the *Abbey-Church*, went not now immediately before the *King*, as

1661 they did then, but were ranked in places according to their Degrees, and Conſecrations: all the *Noblemen*, with their *Coronets*, and *Caps* on their Heads. The *Kings* of *Arms* marched likewiſe with their *Crowns* on.

The *Proceeding* being entred into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the *Nobility*, and others, who had Tables aſſigned them, went, and placed themſelves thereat; but the *King* (attended with the *Great-Officers*) withdrew into the *Inner-Court* of *Wards*, for half an hour.

In the mean time, all the *Tables* in the *Hall* were ſerved, (*viz.*) before the *King's Service* came up; and were placed in this manner:

On the right hand of the King's *Throne*, below in the *Hall*, were ſet two *Tables*, one beneath the other: at the upper-end of the firſt next the *State*, (which had two *Side-Tables* to ſerve it) ſate the *Biſhops*, and below them the *Judges*, with the reſt of the *Long-Robe*.

At the ſecond *Table*, (which had two *Side-Board-Tables* likewiſe to ſerve it) ſate the *Maſters* of the *Chancery*, and the *Six-Clerks*.

And here, at this *Table*, were the *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports* neceſſitated to ſit, although the upper-end of the firſt *Table* was appointed for them.

The Occaſion this: No ſooner had the aforeſaid *Barons* brought up the *King* to the Foot of the Stairs in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, aſcending to His *Throne*, and turned on the left hand (towards their own *Table*) out of the way, but the Kings *Foot-men* moſt inſolently, and violently ſeized upon the *Canopy*, which the *Barons* endeavouring to keep and defend, were by their number and ſtrength dragged down to the lower end of the *Hall*, nevertheleſs ſtill keeping their hold: and, had not Mr. *Owen* YORK-*Herald* been accidentally near the *Hall*-Door, and ſeeing the Conteſt, cauſed the ſame to be ſhut, the *Foot-men* had certainly carried it away by force. But in the interim alſo, (ſpeedy notice hereof having been given the *King*) one of the *Querries* were ſent from Him, with Command, to impriſon the *Foot-men* and diſmiſs them out of His Service, which put an end to the preſent Diſturbance.

Theſe *Foot-men* were alſo commanded to make their ſubmiſſion to the *Court* of *Claims* (which was accordingly done by them, the 30th of *April* following, and the *Canopy* then delivered back to the ſaid *Barons*.)

Whilſt this Diſturbance happened, the upper-end of the aforeſaid *Table* was taken up by the *Biſhops*, *Judges*, *&c.* and hereupon it came to paſs, that the *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports* loſt their Places, and were neceſſitated to ſit down at the ſaid ſecond *Table*, with the *Maſters* of *Chancery*, *&c.* where there was Room left by ſome of the *Long-Robe*, that ſate at the Upper-*Table*.

Upon the left hand of the Kings *Throne*, below, on the other ſide of the *Hall*, was placed likewiſe a long *Table*, which reached down near to the *Common-Pleas-Court*, whereat the *Nobility* dined; and this *Table* had four *Side-board-Tables* to ſerve it.

And behind this, cloſe to the Wall, at a ſhorter Table, ſate the Lord Major, Aldermen, Recorder, and twelve chief Citizens of *London*, who had alſo two Side-Tables to ſerve them.

Laſtly, within the Court of *Common-Pleas* was a Table with one Side-Table to ſerve it, ſet for the Officers of *Arms*, whereat they alſo dined. Each Table was furniſhed with three *Courſes* anſwerable to that of the Kings, beſides the *Banquet*.

A little before the *King* returned to Dinner, two *Eſquires* of the *Body*, viz. *Ferdinando Marſham*, and *Henry Norwood*, took their Seats upon two little Foot-ſtools, on either ſide of the foot of the *Kings Chair*, (placed in the middle of the Table) and there ſate until the King came in to Dinner; when riſing, and performing their Duty in placing the *Kings Robes* for his better conveniency of ſitting, they ſate down again at the Kings Feet a good part of Dinner-time, and until the King gave them leave to riſe; He accepting that time of Seſſion in full performance of their Service.

On the right Side of the *Throne* was erected a *Gallery*, for the *Kings* of *Arms Heralds*, and *Purſuivants*; and oppoſite to that, on the other ſide, another for the *Muſick*; and below, on the old Scaffolds, next the *Court* of *Common-Pleas*, ſtood the Kings *Trumpeters*.

THE

1660

The Proceeding at Carrying up of the First Course *to the* KINGS Table.

SIR *George Barker*, Sir *William Boreman*,
Clerks Comptrollers:
Mr. *Stephen Fox*, Sir *Henry Wood*,
Clerks of the Green-Cloth:

All four in black Velvet-Gowns, trimm'd with black Silk, and Gold-Lace, with Velvet-Caps raised in the Head.

William Ashburnham Esquire, Cofferer.

Six *Serjeants at Arms*, two and two.

The *Earl-Marshal* on the left Hand. The *Lord High-Steward*. The *Lord High-Constable* on the right Hand.

All three mounted on Horse-back in their Robes, and with their Coronets on their Heads: having their Horses richly trapped.

Six *Serjeants at Arms*, two and two.

Comptroller of the *Houshold*, *Treasurer* of the *Houshold*,

With their White Staves.

Earl of *Dorset*, Sewer.
Earl of *Coesterfield*, his Assistant.
The *Knights* of the *Bath*,

Who carried up the Service, two and two to a Dish, which was set upon the Table by the Earl of *Lincoln* Carver, assisted by the *Earl*-Sewers.

In the Rear came up three Clerks of the Kitchin, (*viz.*) Mr. *Leonard Pinkney*, Mr. *John Clements*, and Mr. *Henry Firebrass*, all suted in Black Fugar'd Satin-Gowns, and Velvet-Caps, in fashion like those worn by the Clerks Comptrollers.

Dinner being set on the Table, the *King* came forth from the *Inner-Court* of *Wards*, in his *Royal Robes*, with the *Crown* on his Head, and *Scepter* in his Hand, having the three *Swords* born naked before him, and went directly to his *Chair* at the Table, wherein he sate down to Dinner, the Bishop of *London* saying Grace. The Bason and Ewer were brought up and presented by the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, assisted by the Lord *Paget*, and the *Serjeant* of the *Ewery*.

On the *Kings* right Hand, the *Noble-men* that carried the three *Swords*, stood holding them naked, and erected, all the Dinner-while; at his left Hand stood the Lord High-Chamberlain, to whom the King had given the *Scepter* to hold; and at the Tables end, on the Kings left Hand, sate the Duke of *York* in his Robes and Coronet.

Soon after Dinner was begun, the Lord *Allington* carried to the King his first Draught of Drink in a silver gilt Cup, being assisted by the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Viscount *Montague*, and the Lord *Paget*, his Assistants.

The Office of Cup-Bearer, as also the Fee, having been by the Court of *Claims* adjudged to him, as being seized of the *Mannour* of *Wymmondeley* in the County of *Hertford*; and when the King had drank, the said Lord *Allington* received the Cup for his Fee.

Next, *Thomas Leigh* Esquire, was brought up to the Table with a Mess of Pottage, called *Dillegrout*, this Service being adjudged unto him by the aforesaid Court of *Claims* in right of the *Mannour* of *Addington*, in the County of *Surrey*; whereupon the Lord High-Chamberlain presented him to the King, who accepted the Service, but did not eat thereof.

Afterwards, a little before the second Course was ready, Sir *Edward Dymock* (to whom the Court of *Claims* had adjudged the Office of the *Kings Champion*, as being seized of the *Mannour* of *Scrivelsby*, in the County of *Lincoln*) entred the *Hall* on a goodly white Courser, and armed at all Points in rich Armour, having a Plume of Blew Feathers in his Helm, he there made a stand for some time, and then advanced in manner following, way being made for him by the *Knight-Marshal*.

First, two *Trumpets*.
The *Serjeant-Trumpeter*.
The *Serjeant* at *Arms*.
An *Esquire* carrying a *Target*, having the *Champions* own *Arms* depicted thereon.
An *Esquire*, carrying the *Champions Lance* upright.
Mr. *Owen* York-Herald.
The *Earl-Marshal* on his left Hand.
The *Champion*.
The Lord *High-Constable* on his right Hand.
Both likewise on Horse-back.

1661.

At the lower end of the *Hall*, YORK-*Herald* proclaimed the *Challenge*, in these words following:

The Form of the *Challenge*, however omitted in Mr. *Ashmoles* Original, being in all the rest more Compleat and Correct, we have supplied out of the other *Narrative* which was since done, and extracted out of his

IF *any Person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny, or gain-say Our* Sovereign *Lord* King CHARLES the Second, *King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, Defender of the Faith, *Son and next Heir to Our* Soveraign *Lord* CHARLES the First, *the last King deceased, to be Right Heir to the Imperial Crown of this Realm of* England, *or that he ought not to enjoy the same; here is his* Champion, *who saith, that he lieth, and is a false* Traytor, *being ready in Person to Combate with him, and in this* Quarrel *will adventure his Life against him, on what day soever he shall be appointed.*

Thereupon the *Champion* threw down his *Gantlet*, which lying some small time, and no body taking it up, it was delivered unto him again by *York*-Herald. Then all advanced forward, until the *Champion* came to the middle of the *Hall*, where *York*-Herald made the like Proclamation, and the *Gantlet* was again thrown down, taken up, and returned to the *Champion*; who advanced to the foot of the ascending steps to the *State*, and at the top of the said steps, the said *Herald* proclaimed the said *Challenge* the third time; whereupon the *Champion* threw down his *Gantlet* again, which no body taking up, it was delivered unto him.

This being done, the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, (assisted, as before) presented on the Knee to the *King* a Gilt Cup with a Cover, full of Wine, who drank to his *Champion*, and by the said Earl sent him the Cup; and he, after three Reverences, drank it all off, went a little backward, and so departed out of the *Hall*, taking the said Cup for his *Fee*, according as had been adjudged him by the said Court of Claims.

When this Solemnity was finished, the *Kings Heralds* and *Pursuvants* descended from their Gallery, and went into the *Hall*, to the lower end of the *Noble-mens* Table, and there all together made their Reverence. Thence they proceeded a little further, and there made a second Reverence; and the like Reverence at the steps ascending to the *State*: Where all standing still, *Garter*, Principal *King of Arms*, cryed *Largess* thrice, and proclaimed the *Kings Style* in *Latin*, *French*, and *English*, making Reverence betwixt every *Style*. At the finishing of which, they all retired backward into the midst of the *Hall*, and there, after crying *Largess* again thrice, he proclaimed the *Kings Style*, as before. Lastly, they went yet backwards to the end of the said *Noblemens* Table, and did the same again; and from thence into the *Common-Pleas-Court*, to Dinner.

Immediately after this, the second Course was brought up by the *Gentlemen-Pensioners*, with the former Solemnity.

And the last Dish being carried by *Erasmus Smith* Esquire, he having delivered the same to the Table, presented the *King* with three *Maple-Cups*, on the behalf of *Robert Bernham* Esquire, who was seized of the *Mannour* of *Nether-Bilsington* in the County of *Kent*.

Lastly, The Lord Mayor of *London* presented the *King* with Wine in a Golden Cup, having a Cover; of which the *King* having drank, the said Lord Mayor received it for his *Fee*.

By this time the day being far spent, the *King* (having water brought him by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and his Assistants) washed, and rose from Dinner before the third Course was brought in; and retiring into the *Inner-Court* of *Wards*, he there disrobed himself: and from thence he went privately to his *Barge*, which waited for him at the *Parliament-Stairs*, and so to the *Privy-Stairs* at *White-Hall*, where he landed.

It is a thing very memorable, that towards the end of *Dinner*-time, (although all the former part of the day, and also the preceding day, in which the King made his *Cavalcade* through *London*, were the only fair days that we enjoyed of many, both before, and after) it began to *Thunder* and *Lighten* very smartly; which, however some sort of people were apt to interpret as *ominous*, and *ill-boding*, yet it will be no difficult matter to evidence from Antiquity, that Accidents of this nature, though happily they might astonish and amaze the common Drove of men, were by the most Prudent and Sagacious looked upon as a *prosperous* and *happy Presage*. And of this, *Virgil* gives us a very pertinent example (in the Eight Book of his *Æneids*) where *Evander*, having addressed himself in a Speech to *Æneas* for aid against the *Hetrurians*, and he being sollicitous how to answer his request, mark what Sign was immediately sent from Heaven,

Namque improviso vibratus ab Æthere fulgor
Cum sonitu venit, &c.

For suddenly from Heaven a brandished Flash
With Thunder came, &c.

And presently after the *Poet* adds,

Obstupuere animis alti, sed Troius *Heros*
Agnovit sonitum, & Divæ promissa Parentis.

While other stood amazed, the *Hero* knew
His Mothers Promise by the Sound that flew.

The same *Author*, in another place, * mentions the same thing, as a testimony of *Prayers* heard, and answered; as when Old *Anchises*, seeing the *Lambent flame* upon his Grand-child *Julius* his head, lifted up his hands to Heaven, and prayed to *Jove* for help, and direction, he was thus answered,

* *Lib.* 2.

Vix ea fatus erat Senior, subitoque fragore
Intonuit lævum, &c.

Scarce had the grave Sire spoke, when suddenly
It thundered prosperous, &c.

For so *Intonuit lævum* is interpreted by *Servius*, according to the Maxim of the Ancient *Augurs*, who interpret *Thunder* from the *North*, that is, (as they, contrary to the common *Astronomers*, accounted it) the left part of Heaven, for a prosperous *Omen*.

But, in reference to our present purpose, we may proceed to a larger Interpretation, and conclude,

clude, that the Heavens, with the Volleys of Thunder, and nimble Flashes of Lightning, seemed to give a *Plaudite* and Acclamation to this Grand and Sacred *Solemnity*, in like manner as we Mortals use to close our greater Triumphs with Fire-works, Bonfires, and the loud Report of our Great Ordnance: this Terrestrial Thunder being but the Imitator and Counterfeit of the Heavenly Artillery.

And so I observe it expounded by *Claudian* in these Verses, †

† Claud. *de Cons.* Probini & Olybrii *vers.* 205.

Ut sceptrum gessere manu, membrisque rigentes
Aptavere togas, Signum dat summus hinc a
Nube Pater, gratamque facem per inane rotantes
Prospera vibrati sonuerunt Omnia Nimbi.

As soon as Rob'd, and Scepter'd, *Jove* aloud
His Signal Favour thunders from a Cloud,
Successful Lightning through Heav'ns Arches shines;
Both at his Coronation happy Signs.

Thus having travell'd through a *HISTORY* fraught with Troubles and Confusions, an Unnatural and Intestine War, succeeded by a long time of Usurpation and Mis-rule; and now having at length arriv'd to such a point of Settlement and Right restor'd, as promises a long continued Calm and Peaceful Government, we glad to have found such a convenient Haven, shall here chuse to cast our Anchor; and though several things have hapned from the *Coronation* to this present time, as the Kings Marriage with the Daughter of *Portugal*, the Transactions of the present *Parliament*, with other matters sufficiently Memorable; yet in regard we cannot Close at a more happy Period, we shall reserve as well something of what is past, as what is yet to come, for a farther Continuation, as likewise the observation of that Method which our *Historian* ever observes at the end of every Kings Reign, that time only admitting of the said Method. And if the last Part of our HISTORY somewhat exceed in Bulk what may be thought proportionable to the rest, it will no doubt be in a great measure excus'd by the consideration of what manner of Times we have had to set forth an Interval of such Wonders, such strange and Capricious Revolutions as are scarce to be parallell'd by any Age or Kingdom, hoping that the Intricate Turns and Labyrinths of Fortune being now at length run out, the Course and Stream of the *History* will run more smooth and clear through all the subsequent Years (which God grant may be many and prosperous) of his present *Majesties* Reign; than whom, never was any Prince likely to prove a more glorious President to those that after him shall sit at the Helm of State, both in respect of his innumerable other Vertues and Regal Endowments, and particularly of his admirable skill and understanding in that which is the Bulwark of the Nation; the improvement whereof so mainly imports his own Glory and Renown above all other Princes of the World, and the Reputation and Enrichment of his Subjects; a thing wherein he hath ever shew'd himself to be most Zealously concern'd.

1661.

Mayors

1661.

Mayors and Sheriffs of LONDON, *to the* 30th. *Year of his Reign.*

In his First Year, 1649.
Thomas Foot, was Mayor.
Chriſtopher Pack, *Rowland Wilſon*, died in the Year. *John Dethick*, Sheriffs.

In his 2d. Year, 1650.
Thomas Andrews, was Mayor.
Robert Tichborn, *Richard Chiverton*, Sheriffs.

In his 3d. Year, 1651.
John Kendrick, was Mayor.
Andrew Richards, *John Ireton*, Sheriffs.

In his 4th. Year, 1652.
John Fowke, was Mayor.
Stephen Eaſtwick, *William Underwood*, Sheriffs.

In his 5th. Year, 1653.
Thomas Vyner, was Mayor.
James Phillips, *Walter Bigge*, Sheriffs.

In his 6th. Year, 1654.
Chriſtopher Pack, was Mayor.
Edmund Sleigh, *Thomas Aleyn*, Sheriffs.

In his 7th. Year, 1655.
John Dethick, was Mayor.
William Thompſon, *John Frederick*, Sheriffs.

In his 8th. Year, 1656.
Robert Tichborn, was Mayor.
Tempeſt Milner, *Nathaniel Temms*, Sheriffs.

In his 9th. Year, 1657.
Richard Chiverton, was Mayor.
John Robinſon, *Thomas Chandler*, died in the Year, *Richard King*, Sheriffs.

In his 10th. Year, 1658.
John Ireton, was Mayor.
Anthony Bateman, *John Lawrence*, Sheriffs.

In his 11th. Year, and part of the 12th. 1659.
Sir *Thomas Aleyn*, Baronet, was Mayor.
Francis Warner, *William Love*, Sheriffs.

In his 12th. Year, and part of the 13th. 1660.
Sir *Richard Brown*, Baronet, was Mayor.
Sir *William Boulton*, Sir *William Peake*, Sheriffs.

In his 13th. Year, and part of the 14th. 1661.
Sir *John Frederick*, was Mayor.
Francis Menill, *Samuel Starling*, Sheriffs.

In his 14th. Year, and part of his 15th. 1662.
Sir *John Robinſon*, was Mayor.
Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, Sir *William Turner*, Sheriffs.

In his 15th. Year, and part of the 16th. 1663.
Sir *Anthony Bateman*, was Mayor.
Sir *Richard Ford*, Sir *Richard Rives*, Sheriffs.

In his 16th. Year, and part of the 17th. 1664.
Sir *John Lawrence*, was Mayor.
Sir *George Waterman*, Sir *Charles Doe*, Sheriffs.

In his 17th Year, and part of the 18th. 1665.
Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, was Mayor.
Sir *Robert Hanſon*, Sir *William Hooker*, Sheriffs.

In his 18th. Year, and part of the 19th. 1666.
Sir *William Boulton*, was Mayor.
Sir *Robert Vyner*, Sir *Joſeph Sheldon*, Sheriffs.

In his 19th Year, and part of the 20th. 1667.
Sir *William Peake*, was Mayor.
Sir *Dennis Gauden*, Sir *Thomas Davies*, Sheriffs.

In his 20th. Year, and part of the 21th. 1668.
Sir *William Turner*, was Mayor.
John Forth, Eſq; Sir *Francis Chaplaine*, Sheriffs.

In his 21th. Year, and part of the 22th. 1669.
Sir *Samuel Starling*, was Mayor.
Sir *John Smith*, Sir *James Edwards*, Sheriffs.

In his 22th Year, and part of the 23th. 1670.
Sir *Richard Ford*, was Mayor.
Samuel Forth, *Patience Ward*, Sheriffs.

In his 23th Year, and part of the 24th. 1671.
Sir *George Waterman*, was Mayor.
Sir *Jonathan Dawes*, died in the Year. } Sheriffs.
Sir *Robert Claiton*, Sir *John Moore*, }

In his 24th Year, and part of the 25th. 1672.
Sir *Robert Hanſon*, was Mayor.
Sir *William Pritchard*, Sir *James Smyth*, Sheriffs.

In his 25th. Year, and part of the 26th. 1673.
Sir *William Hooker*, was Mayor.
Sir *Henry Tulſe*, Sir *Robert Jeffry*, Sheriffs.

In his 26th. Year, and part of the 27th. 1674.
Sir *Robert Vyner*, was Mayor.
Sir *Nathaniel Herne*, Sir *John Lethienlier*, Sheriffs.

In his 27th Year, and part of the 28th. 1675.
Sir *Joſeph Sheldon*, was Mayor.
Sir *Thomas Gold*, Sir *John Shorter*, Sheriffs.

In his 28th. Year, and part of the 29th. 1676.
Sir *Thomas Davies*, was Mayor.
Sir *John Peake*, Sir *Tho. Stamp*, Sheriffs.

In his 29th. Year, and part of the 30th. 1677.
Sir *Francis Chaplaine*, was Mayor.
Sir *William Rawſtorn*, Sir *Tho. Beckford*, Sheriffs.

THE

THE

INDEX.

A.

ABACOT, the Kings Cap of Eſtate ſo called, 204.

Abbeys, and Priories, and Monaſteries, never kept vacant by King *William* the Conqueror, 26. But kept vacant, and made uſe of by King *William Rufus*, 33. And by King *Henry* the Firſt, 40. Never kept vacant by King *Stephen*, 46. But kept vacant, and to his own uſe, by King *Henry* the Second, 56. Put into the hands of Lay-men, by King *John*, 72. Kept vacant to his own uſe, by King *Henry* the Third, 88. All Priories, Aliens, and their Goods, ſeized by King *Edward* the Firſt, 100. All Monaſteries within the Dioceſs of *Canterbury* ſeized on alſo, *ibid.* Priories Aliens, one hundred and ten ſuppreſſed by King *Henry* the Fifth, 178. Forty ſmall Monaſteries ſuppreſſed by *Woolſey*, 273. Three hundred ſeventy ſix Monaſteries, of the yearly value of 300 Marks, given to the King by Parliament, 283. Frieries and Nunneries all ſuppreſſed, 286. All Chantries, Colledges, free Chappels and Fraternities given to King *Edward* the Sixth by Parliament, 304. Begun to be re-edified by Queen *Mary*, 325.

The Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, in whoſe Houſe a Confederacy of divers great Lords againſt King *Henry* the Fourth: how purſued, and how diſcovered, 159. How he dyed, 160.

The Abbot of *Weſtminſter* hath return of Writs taken from him, 96.

George Abbot, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſhooting at a Deer, by chance killed a Man, doubted whether it made him not irregular, and reſolved that it did not, 423. His work of Piety, *ibid.* He is ſuſpended from his Juriſdiction for refuſing to Licenſe Dr. *Sibthorp*'s Sermon, called *Apoſtolical Obedience*, 440. His Narrative concerning the Cauſe of his ſuſpenſion, *ibid.*

Aberdeen, the Standard of King *Charles* the Second ſet up there, 604. The Town taken by the Parliaments Forces in *Scotland*, 611.

Abergevenny, the Barony granted to *William Beauchamp* of *Bedford*, 148.

The right of the Barony examined and diſcuſſed, and how ordered, 376.

Acts in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt. *See* the head of Laws and Ordinances.

Act for the aboliſhing of Kingly Government, 588. The *Junto*'s Act of Oblivion, 613. An Act of the *Junto* againſt the raiſing of Money without conſent of Parliament, 660. An Act for appointing Commiſſioners for the Government of the Army, *ibid.* An Act of the Long Parliament for Conſtituting five Commiſſioners for the Government of the Army, 787. The Act of General Pardon taken into debate by the Commons, 713. Three Acts ſigned by the King, *ibid.* Several other Acts ſign'd, 718. The Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings, 719. The Act for Pole-money, *ibid.* An Act for reſtraining Exceſſive Uſury, 720. The Act of Indemnity, *ibid.* An Act for obſerving a perpetual Anniverſary for His Majeſties Reſtauration, 722. Twenty two Acts more ſigned by His Majeſty, 723. An Act for Confirming and reſtoring of Miniſters, 724. The ſubſtance of the Act for Encouragement of Navigation, *ibid.* The ſubſtance of the Act of Attainder, 733.

Addreſſes made to *Richard Cromwell* from ſeveral parts, to congratulate his advancement to the Protectorſhip, 636. From all the Regiments of the Army, *ibid.*

The Cities Addreſs to General *Monk* at *Morpeth*, by their Sword-Bearer, 678. Addreſſes to him from the Gentry of the Country in all parts, as he march'd towards *London*, *ibid.* Addreſſes to him from *Northamptonſhire*, and other parts, pleading for a free Parliament, 681. The Addreſs of the Officers to General *Monk*, in compliance with the King's Letter and Declaration, 705. Approved by the *Houſe of Commons*, 706. Sent to His Majeſty by Commiſſary *Clarges*, *ibid.* Congratulatory Addreſſes from all parts of the Nation upon his firſt arrival, 714.

Adela, a Daughter of *William* the Conquerours, married to *Stephen* Earl of *Elois*, and Mother to King *Stephen*, 29.

The *French* King's Daughter Affianced to King *Henry* the Second's younger Son, is delivered to King *Henry*, 55. with whom King *Henry* himſelf is thought to have unlawful familiarity, *ibid.* Is ſent back to her Father, 62.

Adjutators choſen in the Army, 687.

Adrian, the Emperour, repairs the Wall between *England* and *Scotland*, 2.

Adrian, once a bondman, choſen Pope, 58.

Adultery in a married Woman puniſhed with cutting off her Noſe and Ears, 16.

An Affront to the King, yet paſſed over, 91. 131. *Montford* tells King *Henry* the Third to his face, that he lied, 84.

Sir *Anthony Ancher* valiantly defends *Calice*, 324.

Ailmer, Biſhop of *London*, his work of Piety, 424.

Alanſon, Brother to the King of *France*, comes privately into *England*, a Suitor to Queen *Elizabeth*, who departing after a ſhort ſtay, the Queen commands the Lord *Burgley* and other Lords, to conſult with *Simyer*, the *French* Lieger, concerning the Marriage Covenants, 360. Being afterward Duke of *Anjou*, and coming again into *England*, is ſo kindly received, that in a private Conference with the Queen, ſhe drew a Ring off her Finger, and put it upon his; but the next Morning the caſe was altered, and the Duke goes away complaining of Womens inconſtancy, 361. He dieth of grief in *Holland*, 362.

Albania, the ancient Name of *Scotland*, and why, 1. S. *Alban* ſuffers Martyrdom at *Verulam*, 3. S. *Alban*'s Monaſtery founded by *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, 7.

Albertus Alaſco, a Palatine of *Poland*, comes into *England*, his carriage and entertainment, 363.

Duke of *Albemarle*, Gen. *Monk* created into that Dignity by Letters Patents, 715.

Albina, the eldeſt of the fifty two Daughters of *Diocleſian*, 1.

Albion, why *England* anciently ſo called, 1.

Aldermen of *London*, when firſt ordained, and changed yearly, 89. Seven died in two Months, and who they were,

were, 326. At another time seven died in ten Months, 399.

Divers Aldermen, and other Eminent Citizens of *London*, sent from the City to His Majesty, 707.

Aldersgate in *London* new builded, when, and by whom, 424.

Aldgate in *London* new builded, when, and by whom, *ibid.*

Aldred, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, his insulting over King *William* the Conqueror, 28.

Alexander, King of *Scots*, falls off his Horse and breaks his Neck, 96.

Pope *Alexander* the Sixth poysoned, and by what accident, 249.

Alured, King of *England*, and his Policy to repel the *Danes*, 8. who divided the day into three parts, in several Imployments, *ibid.* And divided the Kingdom into Shires and Hundreds, 9. His Vertues and Pious Works, *ibid.*

Alice Perers, her insolence, 127.

Allegiance sworn, by the Nobility, to *Maud* the Empress, 44. slighted again, and why, 46.

The Oath of Allegiance ministred to all sorts of Persons, 420.

Oaths of Allegiance little regarded, 46. See *Oath.*

All-Souls Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded, 178, 199.

Sir *John Allen*, Lord Mayor of *London*, his gifts of Piety, 297.

Edward Allen, an excellent Stage-Player, 402. His work of Piety, 423.

Cardinal *Allen* dieth, his Education and Course of Life, 387.

Sir *Giles Allington* fined, and made to do Penance for Marrying of his Neece, 450.

Allom, the price how raised, 251.

When first made in *England*, and by whom, 413.

Alphegus, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, stoned to death by the *Danes*, 13.

Alphredus, an Historian in the Conquerours time, 31.

Altars in Churches taken down, and Tables placed in their room, 304.

Alliance by Marriage small strengthning of friendship, 308. but light in the Scales of States, 137.

Duke *d' Alva* called home, and why, 351.

Col. *Alured*, one of the five Commissioners appointed by Act for the government of the Army. 657. He sollicites in vain Gen. *Monk*'s return to *White-hall*, *ibid.*

Ambassadours. *See* Ambassadour.

Ambergreese found in the *Bermudas*, and the price there, 427.

Amberisbury, of whom so called, 4.

The Abbey there, by whom founded, 12.

Ambrii, the ancient Name of *Salisbury*, 4.

Amyens in *France* recovered by *Baskervile*'s and Sir *Arthur Savage*'s Valour, 388.

Andrews, Lord Mayor in the room of Alderman *Reynoldson*, 588. The abolishment of Kingly Government, *ibid.*

St. *Andrews* taken, *&c.* 611.

Andrews, Bishop of *Winchester*, and his Commendation, 426.

Anger Castle in *Essex*, by whom founded, 58.

Angiers, a Town in *France* where King *John* was born, 70.

Guychard de Augouleſme, Schoolmaster to *Richard* the Second, 136.

Anne Bullen is made Marchioness of *Pembroke*, 281. Is Married secretly to King *Henry* the Eighth, *ibid.* Is Crowned in great state, 282. Is delivered of a Daughter, named *Elizabeth*, *ibid.* Is delivered of a second Child before her time, 283. Is committed to the *Tower*, *ibid.* Is arraigned and condemned, *ibid.* Is beheaded with the Sword of *Calice*, by the Hangman of the *Tower*, 284. Her Parentage, Alms-Deeds, and Innocency, *ibid.*

Anne of *Cleve*, her Parentage and Religion, 287. She is Married to King *Henry* the Eighth. *ibid.* She is divorced from him, 288. Was never carnally known of him in all the time of their lying together, *ibid.*

Anne of *Denmark*, Daughter of *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, Espoused to *James* the Sixth, King of *Scotland*, 379. Comes into *England*, how attended, 406. She dies, 418.

Anne Stanhope, Wife of the Duke of *Somerset*, Proctor, seeks to take place of *Katherine Parre*, the Queen Dowager of King *Henry* the Eighth, and out of envy to her, makes variance between her Husband the Proctor, and his Brother the Lord Admiral, who had Married Queen *Katherine*, which proved both their destructions, 360. Her death, 376.

Annats forbidden to be paid to the Pope, 279.

Annory, a fair House in *Devonshire*, anciently of Sir *John Hawkesford*, or *Hakford*, and afterward of Sir *John Stenuliger*, 209.

Duke of *Anjou* enters *Normandy*, 47.

A Princess of *Anjou*, a great Enchantress, and what became of her, 60.

Anselme, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in contention with King *William Rufus*, and why, 35. Is called from Exile by King *Henry* the First, 38.

Sir *Robert Anstruther* sent Ambassidour to the Emperour to treat about the Palatinate, 448.

Anticipation, a word used by Cardinal *Woolsey*, to draw the People to pay the Subsidy before the time, 272.

Don Antonio, driven out of *Portugal* is received by Queen *Elizabeth*, as being descended of *English* blood, and the House of *Lancaster*, 360. Goes with Sir *John Norris*, and Sir *Francis Drake* to recover his Kingdom, but without success, 378.

Marc. Antonius de Dominis, Arch-Bishop of *Spalato* comes into *England*, sets forth Books, and makes Sermons in defence of the *English* Church, is made Dean of *Windsor*, and Master of the Savoy; yet afterwards retracted all he had said, or written, and thereupon is expelled the Kingdom, 422. He goeth to *Rome*, and there inveigheth against Protestants; yet, as having relapsed, is censured there, and how, 423.

St. *Anthony*'s Church, with the Free-School, by whom builded, 250.

Antwerp pillaged, and the *English* Merchants Houses rifled, whereupon the States take up Arms, and send to Queen *Elizabeth* for Aid, 353.

Apothecaries made a Corporation, and when, 421.

Apparel appointed, what Men of every degree should wear, 128. Sumptuousness of Apparel, 237. Meanness of Apparel, 35.

Appeals to the Pope, when first used, 36. Forbidden, 279.

D. *Aquila*, with a great many *Spaniards*, landed at *Kingsale* in *Ireland*, with whom *Tirone* joins, 395. He requires a Parley, and the *Spaniards* yielding up all their Forts, depart with Life and goods, *ibid.*

Thomas Aquinas, when he lived and dyed, 103.

Lady *Arbella* secretly Marries, is committed to the *Tower*, and there dies, 417.

Arden and *Somerville* condemned, and why, 363.

Arden in *Kent* murdered, and the strange Circumstances of it, 312.

Marquess of *Argile* assists at the King's Coronation at *Scoon* in *Scotland*, carrying the Crown before him, 621. None of the *Scotch* Nobility so far complying with the *English* Common-wealth, 641. He and several others committed Prisoners to the *Tower* of *London*, 739.

Arlotte; the Mother of *William* the Conquerour, and what she was, 19.

Bishop of *Armagh*, his Death and Burial, 627.

Arminius his Doctrine examined and condemned by the Synod of *Dort*, and in what Points, 422.

Mr. *Armorer* sent by the Lord *Mordant* to the King at *Fontarabia*, to inform him how matters went in *England*, 681.

Armour of worthy Men hanged up in Churches, how it began, 16.

Army of King *John* worsted by the *French*, 71.

Great Armies defeated by small, 121, 170.

A supplemental Army necessary in War, 23.

The Parliaments Army new modelled, 549. Their Representation and Proposals, 550. They Impeach eleven Members, *ibid.* They march through the City, 541. Their Proposals to the King, 553. They Petition for Justice against the King. 564. Their Remonstrance to the same effect, *ibid.* They seclude divers Members of the Parliament, 545. They grow jealous of *Richard Cromwell*, 641. They force him to Dissolve the Parliament, and resign up his own Power, 642. The chief Officers of them meet and consult at *Derborow*'s House, *ibid.* The prevailing part of the Army force the young Protector to quit his Power, 643. Their Declaration to invite the remnant of the Long Parliament to sit again, *ibid.* Their humble Petition and Address to the Remnant Parliament, 644. They enter into new Counsels against the said Parliament, 654. Their Petition and Proposals to the said Parliament,

ment, 655. Their humble representation and Petition, 657. Their Propoſals, *ibid.* The prevailing party of them no great favourers of General *Monk* 659.

The Army in *Scotland* well ſatisfied with the Generals Actions, 675.

The Army draw up at *Black-heath*, welcome his Majeſty with loud acclamations into *England*, 711.

Sir *Nicholas Arnold* valiantly defends *Bulloin* againſt the *French*, 306.

Commiſſion of Array iſſued out by the King, 517.

King *Arthur*, the Son of *Uter Pendragon*, his Acts and his death, 4. &c. His bones found at *Glaſſenbury*, 66.67.

King *Arthur*'s and his Wife *Guinever*'s bones found, and where. 59.

Prince *Arthur*, Son of *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, Elder Brother to King *John*, marries the King of *France*'s Daughter, 69. Is taken Priſoner by King *John*, and ſoon after is made away, 70.

Prince *Arthur*, Son of King *Henry* the Seventh, marries the Lady *Katherine* of *Spain*, and lie together the firſt night, 245. Six months after his marriage he dieth at *Ludlow*, 246. His towardlineſs in Learning, *ibid.* Born in the eighth month after his conception, a cauſe perhaps of his ſhort life, 251.

Articles againſt King *Richard* the Second, 152.

Articles againſt Card. *Wolſey*, 278.

Articles agreed on between the Lord *Hopton* and General *Fairfax*, 545.

Articles againſt the Earl of *Briſtoll*, 437.

Articles againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, 432.

Articles againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, 477.

Articles of High Treaſon againſt the Queen, 526.

Articles of Peace between the King of *France* and the *Engliſh* Lord Protector, 627.

The Six Articles ſet forth by the Biſhops, and what they were, 296.

Robert d' Artois in a Battel wounded, whereof he died, and was buried in *Paris*, 120.

James d' Artois, his Loyalty to King *Richard*, 151.

The Earldom of *Arundel* always goes with the Caſtle of *Arundel*, 360.

Sir *John Arundal* with above a thouſand, are all drowned, 137.

His ſumptuouſneſs in Apparel, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Arundel* in King *Richard* the Second's time beheaded, 149. Of whom the Fame went, that his head was grown to his body again, but upon ſearch found to be a Fable, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Arundel*'s Commitment to the Tower gives offence to the Peers in Parliament, 434. He is made General of the Kings Forces, 466.

Arundel Steeple in the Church of *Canterbury*, by whom builded, 154.

Henry Earl of *Arundel* hopes to Marry Queen *Elizabeth*, 333.

Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of *Arundel* dieth, in whom was extinct the Sir-name of that Noble Family, which had continued three hundred years, and how the Earldom came to *Howard*, 360.

Philip Earl of *Arundel* committed to the Tower, and why, 366. condemned of divers Crimes, but his life ſpared, 378. He dieth in the Tower, 384.

Earl of *Arundel* ſent Ambaſſadour to the Emperour about the reſtitution of the Palatinate, 456.

Arundel Caſtle taken by Sir *William Waller*, 533.

Thomas Arundel of *Warder*, made an Earl of the Empire by the Emperour, for his ſervice in *Hungary*, but not ſuffered to enjoy it at home, 386. Is made Baron of *Warder*, 428.

Aſcham, an Agent of the Common-wealth of *England*, ſlain at *Madrid*, 613.

Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, one of thoſe Perſons that accompanied the King when he went diſguiſed to the *Scots* Army, 546.

Aſhdown Church in *Eſſex* built by King *Canutus*, 16.

Col. *Aſhfield*, *Cobbet*, and *Duckenfield*, attend upon the Houſe with the Armies Petition

Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, one of the ſeven Commiſſioners for the Management of the Army, 676. Nominated by the Long-Parliament for one of the new Council of State, 678. Created Baron *Winterton St. Giles*, 737.

The Lord *Aſhley* routed at *Stow* on the *Wold* by Sir *William Brereton* and Col. *Morgan*, 545.

Colonel *Edward Aſhton* and others Executed for a Plot, 633.

Roger Aſkam, who had been Queen *Elizabeth*'s School-Maſter, yet out of his delighting in Gaming and Cock-fighting, dieth a poor man, 401.

A General Aſſembly called by the *Scots*, 467. Diſſolved by the Kings Orders, *ibid.*

Another General Aſſembly meets at *Edenburgh*, and aboliſheth Epiſcopacy, &c. *ibid.*

Another General Aſſembly diſſolved by Colonel *Morgan*, 623.

An Aſſembly of Divines ſit at *Weſtminſter*, 549.

Aſſizes at *Oxford*, where of a ſodden ill favour there died all that were preſent; amongſt whom *Fell* and *Barkham*, Judges; but not a Woman nor a Child, 355.

Aſſociated Counties, which, 516. The Lord *Grey* of *Wark* Commands them as Major General, *ibid.*

An Aſſociation of Lords and others in defence of Q. *Elizabeth*, 365.

Sir *Arthur Aſton* Governour of *Tredagh*, with ſeveral others put to the Sword by *Cromwell* when he took the Town by ſtorm, 592.

Aſtronomers miſtaken 100 Years in their Computation, 272.

Famous Aſtronomers when living, 201.

Athelſton King of *England*, gets many Victories againſt the *Danes*, the *Scots*, the *Welſh*, and the *Iriſh*, 10.

He puniſhes his Brothers death, *ibid.* Preſents are ſent to him, *ibid.*

Doctor *Atkins* ſent into *Scotland*, to the Kings younger Son *Charles*, whom he recovered of his ſickneſs, and brings him to *London*, 406.

Mr. *Atkins* and Colloncl *Markham* ſent with a Letter by General *Monk* to the City of *London*, 672. Impriſoned upon pretence that the Letter was fictitious, 673.

Avarice of Commanders in War, occaſion of great defeats, 119.

The Lord *Aubigny*, why ſo called, 357. Made Duke of *Lenox*, *ibid.*

Aquem, *Averroes*, and *Meſue* contemporary with King *Stephen*, 51.

James Lord *Audley* his Valour and Bounty, 124.

Another Lord *Audley* beheaded, and why, 450.

Prince of *Aurange*. See *Orange*.

Aurelius Ambroſius beſiegeth the Caſtle *Vortigern*, and burnt it, 4.

He was poyſoned at *Wincheſter*, *ibid.*

Auricular Confeſſion, when firſt ordained, 73. When forbidden, 312.

Saint *Auſtin*'s Arms, bought by King *Canutus* at *Pavia* for one hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold, is alſo given by him to the Church of *Canterbury*, 16.

St. *Auſtins* in *Canterbury*, why ſo called, 5.

Auſtin-Fryers called Mendicant-Fryers, when and by whom begun, 66.

Auſtin-Fryers Church in *London* by whom re-edified, 131.

John d' Auſtria, natural Son of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, ſent Governour into the Low-Countries, 351. His practiſes againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, 354. He dieth, 355.

Albertus, Duke of *Auſtria*, and Cardinal, is made Governour of the *Netherlands*, and for his firſt piece takes *Calice*, 385.

Collonel *Axtell* excepted out of the Act of Oblivion, 721. is Executed for the Murther of King *Charles* the Firſt, 731.

Aid for marrying the Kings eldeſt Daughter, by whom firſt begun, 40.

For making the Kings eldeſt Son Knight, 413.

Sir *George Ayſcough* reduceth the *Engliſh* Plantations in *Virginia* and the *Caribie*-Iſlands, to the ſubjection of the *Engliſh* Common-wealth, 612. Beats the *Dutch* Fleet twice, 614.

B B

SIR *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Keeper dieth, to whom succeedeth Sir *Thomas Bromley* the Queens Sollicitor, 357. His Work of Piety, 398.

Sir *Francis Bacon* his Son, Lord Chancellour of *England*, Censured for Bribery, 418. His Elegancy of Writing, 416.

John Bacontorp, a great Writer in Divinity, and when he lived, 133.

Babram in *Norfolk* burnt, 250.

Bakers of *London* when first drawn upon hurdles, 101.

Baker, the Family in *Kent*, from whom descended, 43.

Sir *John Baker* of *Kent* refuseth to subscribe to the excluding of King *Edward*'s Sisters, 311. He dieth, having been a Privy Counsellour to King *Henry* the Eighth, to King *Edward* the Sixth, and to Queen *Mary*. 325.

Ralph Baldock, Bishop of *London*, writ a Chronicle of *England* in Latine, and when he lived, 114. His Work of Piety, 113.

Ralph Baldock writ a History, Entituled *Historia Anglica*, 114.

Baldred the last King in *Kent*, 5.

John Ball, Priest, a chief Incendiary of the Insurrection in *Kent*, 138. His Letters of Nonsense, 139.

Tennis Balls sent to King *Henry* 5. in derision, 169. 170.

Robert Bale, the elder, writ the Customs of *London*, and the Acts of King *Edward* the Third, 201.

Ballances. Look Weights.

Ballard and *Babington* with others hanged, 370.

Balliol crowned King of *Scotland*, 117.

Baliol College in *Oxford*, by whom founded, 101.

Robert Balsack writ *De re Militari*, 201.

Bamburgh Castle builded by *Ella* and *Ida* Kings of *Northumberland*, 7.

Banbury surrendred to the King, 523. re-taken for the Parliament. 547.

Sir *Ralph Sadler*, the last Banneret in *England*, 376.

Banishment the greatest punishment for Treason in King *Henry* the First's time, 59.

The ordinary punishment of great mens Delinquencies, 150.

Bannister, who betrayed the Duke of *Buckingham*, how by the Divine hand punished, in himself and in his Children, 230.

Banquetting-House at *White-Hall*, when, and by whom built. 423.

The *Barbadoes*, and other *English* Plantations, subdued by Sir *George Ayscough* to the subjection of the *English* Common-Wealth. 612.

Our Lady of *Barking* near the Tower by whom founded, 234.

The Abby of *Barking* founded by *Erkenwald* Bishop of *London*, 7.

Baron of *Barkly*, who made, 58.

Barkley Castle taken by Collonel *Rainsborough*, 531.

Sir *John Barnes*, Mayor of *London*, gave a Chest with a stock of Money to be lent to young men upon security. 131.

Sir *George Barnes* Mayor, his Works of Piety, 313.

Barnwell, with the Priory near to *Cambridge*, burnt, 58.

The Title of Baron, which had before been promiscuous to men of Estate, was first confined to such only as by the King now were called to have a voice in Parliament, 101.

Barons made by Summons to the Parliament. 153. When first made by Letters Patents, where before they were made by the Kings Writ, calling them to the Parliament, *ibid.*

Barons anciently made by the Earl of *Chester*, 24. Free from taking the Oath of Supremacy, 396.

The Barons refuse to serve the King out of the Realm, 69.

They demand of King *John* their ancient Liberties, 71.

Upon his granting and not performing they take up Arms, *ibid.*

They send for the King of *France* his Son, and receive him for their King, *ibid.*

They confederate against King *Henry* the Third, 79. 85.

They agree with King *Henry* upon a Peace, *ibid.*

They have all their ancient Priviledges restored by him, 80.

In Contention again with him, and why. *ibid.*

They Confederate against him, 80.

They being summoned to Parliament, refuse to come, *ibid.*

They threaten to chuse a new King, *ibid.*

They refuse to come to a Parliament to be holden in the Tower, *ibid.*

Upon grant of their Liberties, they consent to a Subsidie, *ibid.*

They come to the Parliament armed, 80.

Their Grievances against King *Edward* the Second, 106.

They Confederate for removing the *Spensers*, 109.

They justifie their taking up Arms, as not done against the King, but in defence of the Kingdom, *ibid.*

Many of them put to death, the first of this kind in *England*, 111.

They Confederate against King *Richard* the Second, and require to have delivered to them such as were Traytors about the King, 144.

They come to the King with forty thousand men, shewing his Letters which he had written to their destruction, 145.

Upon the Kings breach of promise, they threaten to chuse a new King, *ibid.*

They put divers Gentlemen to death, 146.

Baronets, when first instituted, and under what Laws, 416.

Henry Barrow executed for derogating from the Queens Ecclesiastical Authority, and his Sectaries punished, 398.

Dr. *Samuel Barrow*, Physician to General *Monk*'s Army, a person of great Trust and discretion about the General, and of loyal Principles, 651.

He adviseth the General in the Treaty between him and *Lambert*, 666.

He urges the danger of General *Monk*'s delaying to close with the City of *London*, 685.

St. *Bartholomew*'s Hospital in *Smithfield*, founded by a Minstrel, 42. By whom else in great part founded, 165.

Upon St. *Bartholomew*'s day at a Wrestling, a strife falling out between the Lord Mayor and the Prior of St. *John*'s, how appeased, 193.

St. *Bartholomew*'s *Spittle* given to the City, and by whom 297. By whom given for relief of diseased people, 312.

Elizabeth Barton, called the Holy Maid of *Kent*, her practice and Abettors, at last all hanged, 282.

Andreas Barton, a *Scottish* Pirate, wounded to death, 255.

Basing-House, how it was besieged by Sir *William Waller*, 535.

Taken by *Cromwell*, 544.

Peter Basset, he writ the Life of King *Henry* the Fifth, 201.

Bastardy no Bar at first to succession, 20.

Bastards and all Brothers, *Peter Lombard*, *Comestor*, and *Gratian*, 51.

Bastwick, *Pryn*, and *Burton* Censured, 457.

William Bateman, Bishop of *Norwich*, builded *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*, 166.

Henry of Bath, chief Justice, was fined for corruption, 83.

The City of Bath taken by the Parliament Forces, 546.

When it was first made a Bishops See, 36.

The Battel of *Bannocksborough* with the *Scots*, 107.

The Battel against the *Scots* at *Mitton*, called the White Battel, and why, 108.

The Battel of *Borough-bridge*, between the Barons and the Forces of King *Edward* the Second, where divers of the Earls Forces revolt to the King. 110.

The Battel of *Fonkirk* in *Scotland*, 97.

The Battel of St. *Johnstowne* in *Scotland*, 98.

The Battel of *Blackmore*, 112.

The Battel with the *Scots* at *Halydown-Hill*. 117.
The Battel at *Cressey* in *France*. 120.
The Battel at *Nevel-Cross* against the *Scots*, where their Army of sixty thousand was defeated, and *David* their King taken Prisoner. 121.
The Battel of *Poitiers*, where Prince *Edward* defeated the *French* Army, six times as many as his own, and took *John* King of *France* Prisoner. 123.
The Battel of King *Henry* the Fourth with his Lords at *Shrewsbury*. 162.
The Battel of *Agincourt*, where the *French* were six times as many as the *English*, yet defeated, and by what Policy. 171.
The Battel of *Verneuil* in *France*. 181.
The Battel of *Herrings* in *France*, why so called. 183.
The Battel of *Blorne-Heath*. 165.
The Battel at *Northampton*, between the Earl of *March* and the Queen. 196.
The Battel of St. *Albans*, between King *Henry* and the Duke of *York*. 193.
The Battel at *Wakefield*, between the Duke of *York* and the Kings Party, where the Duke of *York* was slain. 197.
The Battel at *Mortimers Cross*, between the Earl of *March* and the Kings Party, where the Earl prevailed. *ibid.*
The Battel at *Barnet-heath*. *ibid.*
The Battel between *Towton* and *Saxton*, between King *Edward* and King *Henry*, where 36 thousand slain. 203.
The Battel at *Examfield*, where King *Edward* defeated King *Henry* and the *Scots*. 204.
The Battel called *Banbery* Field. 227.
The Battel called *Loosecoate* field, and why. 208.
The Battel at *Barnet* between King *Edward* and the Earl of *Warwick*, where the Earl was slain. 211.
The Battel at *Flodden* field, where *James* King of *Scots* was slain. 260.
The Battel at *Tewksbury*, between King *Edward* and Queen *Margarets* Forces. 211.
The Battel near *Bosworth* in *Leicester-shire*, between King *Richard* and the Earl of *Richmond*. 232, 233.
The Battel of *Stoke* between King *Henry* the Seventh, and the Earl of *Lincoln*. 238.
The Battel of *Musklesborough* against the *Scots*, where was a great defeat with small loss. 301. Another. 600.
The famous Battel of *Newport* in *Flanders*. 391.
The Battel called of *Spurs*, and why. 259.
The Battel at *Edg-hill* between the Forces of King *Charles* and the Parliament. 512.
The Battel at *Newbury*. 528.
The Battel at *Marston-Moor*. 534.
The Battel at *Naseby*. 542.
The Battel at *Dunbar*, between the *Scots* and *Cromwell*. 601.
The Battel at *Fuentes* Fort between the *Spaniard* on the one side, and the *English* and *French* on the other. 633.
Battel Abbey in *Sussex* founded by *William* the Conqueror. 29.
Battelfield College in *Shropshire*, by whom founded. 165.
The Marquess of *Baydex* and his Lady perish at Sea in a Ship set on fire. 628. And two of his Sons and two Daughters taken Prisoners and brought into *England*. *ibid.*
Balliol is by King *Edward* the First adjudged to be King of *Scotland*, upon condition to do him Homage. 97. Is Cited to appear in *England*, and not suffered to answer by a Procurator, with which incensed he falls to rebell. *ibid.* Is once again forced to swear Fealty to King *Edward*, yet is sent Prisoner into *England*. *ibid.* He doth Homage to King *Edward* for his Realm of *Scotland*. 117.
Balliol College in *Oxford* built by *John Balliol* King of *Scots*, and when. 101. Increased with Fellowships, by whom. 424.
Baliol King of *Scots* assisted by *Edward* the Third. 117.
Bays, Says, and Serges, when and by whom first made in *England*. 399.
Old Bay-Trees withered, afterwards grew green again. 154.
Baywards Castle, used often for the Kings Lodging. 31.
By whom founded. 42. Of whom it took Name. 54. By whom new builded. 249.
Beauchampe Earl of *Warwick*, Protector to King *Richard* the Second. 137. Distresses the *French* 141.
Beauclark, why King *Henry* the First so called. 38. Why preferred before his Brother *Robert*. *ibid.*
The Family of *Beaufort*, why so called. 136.
Thomas Beaufort, a Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, by *Katherine Swinford* before Marriage, is by Parliament made Legitimate, and created Earl of *Somerset*. 147.
Thomas Beaufort Duke of *Exeter*, and Guardian of King *Henry*, dieth. 182.
Beauty without a good Portion serves not King *Henry* the Seventh's turn to Marriage. 245.
Beaumarish Castle in the Isle of *Anglesey*, by whom built. 101.
Thomas Becket, his Parentage and Education, his contention with King *Henry* the Second, and whereabouts, he retracts his former assent, and why, lives poorly in banishment, is called home from banishment, is murthered, where, and by whom, and how occasioned, his murtherers die miserably, his Tomb visited by many great Princes. 56, 57. King *Henry*'s voluntary Penance for his murther. 54.
Becket's bones burnt. 286.
Thomas Beckington Bishop of *Bath*, writ against the Law Salique of *France*. 201.
Bede, called Venerable, a Priest in the Monastery of *Wermouth*, dedicateth his English History to *Kedwolphe* King of *Northumberland*. 6
The Duke of *Bedford* appointed Regent of *France*. 180.
He marries *Anne* the Sister of the Duke of *Burgundy*. 181.
His valour. 200.
The difference between him and the Duke of *Burgundy* for place. 184.
He dieth. *ibid.*
His Titles and Commendation. *ibid.* and 185.
The Earls of *Bedford* and *Holland* fly to *Oxford* to the King, but soon return back to the Parliament. 533.
Bedford Free-School when, and by whom founded. 398.
Belvoir-Castle taken by Colonel *Pointz*. 545.
Julian Bennes writ of Hawking and Hunting, also of the Laws of Arms, and of Heraldry. 218.
Benefices forbidden to be confirmed by the Pope. 129. None to be held by an Alien. 177.
Plurality restrained by Parliament. 278. also 295. also 101.
Beer Castle in *Wales* the Seat of Prince *Lewin*. 56.
Beeston Castle by whom built. 89.
Robert de Bellesme Earl of *Shrewsbury*, rising against the King, is defeated and banished. 39.
Berengarius, who denyed the Real Presence, when he lived. 28.
Beverly Town, with the Church of St. *Johns* burnt. 59.
A Benevolence for raising of Money, used by King *Edward* the Fourth, and what a rich Widow gave him, and why. 213. & 216.
No Benevolence to be imposed upon the Subject. 234.
A Benevolence required by King *Henry* the Seventh, and granted. 240.
Also a second Benevolence. 249.
A Benevolence demanded by King *Henry* the Eighth. 292.
Bennet Colledge in *Cambridge*, endowed by Sir *Nicholas Bacon*. 398.
Sir *Henury Bennet* Negotiates for his Majesty at the Treaty of Peace between *France* and *Spain*. 653. Is honourably entertained by the *Spaniard*. *ibid.*
Sir *John Bennet* Judge of the Prerogative Court, fined for Bribery. 417.
Saint *Bennets* Abbey in *Norfolk*, built by King *Canutus*. 16.
Berengaria, Wife to King *Richard* the First. 62. Uncertain what became of her. 66.
Bernard Colledge in *Oxford*, founded by *Henry Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; Renewed by Sir *Thomas White*, and named Saint *John*'s Colledge. 178. 199.
Saint *Bernard* contemporary with King *Stephen*. 51.

Sir *Peregrine Bertie* made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*. 362.

Berwick betrayed to the *Scots*, and besieged by King *Edward* the Second. 108. Again taken by *Scots*. 140. Who sell it. *ibid.*

Berwick delivered to the King of *Scots* by King *Henry*. 204. After it had been held by the *Scots*, one and twenty years, is delivered back to the *English*. 216.

Berwick and *Roxborough* Castles sold by King *Richard* to the King of *Scots*. 62.

Berwick and *Carlisle* surprised by the Cavaliers. 561.

Beton, Archbishop of S. *Andrews*, hinders the Marriage betwixt Prince *Edward* and the Heir of *Scotland*. 290.

Bethlehem Monastery by *Richmond*, by whom founded. 178.

Bible translated into the Saxon Tongue. 10.

Bigot Hugh submits to King *Henry*. 54. Chief Justiciar to King *Henry* the Third. 86.

Bilson Bishop of *Winchester*, his learned Work of *Christ's descent into Hell*. 401.

The Bill for a Triennial Parliament assented to by the King. 477. The names of those that refused to pass it. 506.

The Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*. 509.

The Bill of Attainder, and the Bill for continuation of the Parliament passed by the Kings Commission. 509.

The Bill for the Militia the King denies to sign. 556.

Four Bills sent to the King to be signed, which he refuseth. *ibid.*

Viscount *Lindon*, who and when first made. 329.

Richard Bingham his severe Government causeth a Rebellion in *Ireland*. 367.

Colonel *Birch* takes *Hereford* for the Parliament by a Stratagem. 544.

King *Charles* the Second his Birth-day celebrated by the Scots. 605.

His Birth-day the day of his Triumphal entry into *London*. 712.

Bishops and Bishopricks, their Vacancies never made use of by King *William* the Conquerour. 26. Seised to find Souldiers. *ibid.* Restrained from exercising any Temporal Authority. 24. Their Sees translated. 28. In what awe the Conquerour stood of his Bishops. *ibid.* Their Vacancies made use of by King *William Rufus*. 33. And by King *Henry* the First. 40.

The Bishop of *London* is as Dean to all the Bishops of *England*, and his Prerogative thereby. 38.

Bishops not to be Imprisoned by the King. 50.

The Bishops threaten to excommunicate the King. 80. Vacancies of Bishopricks kept by King *Henry* the Second to his own use. 56.

A Bishop brought to the Bar, is taken away by other Bishops. 113.

Bishops not to be present where Sentence of Blood should pass. 148. 478.

Bishops restrained from alienating Lands, though to the King himself. 420. King *James* thinks them to be *Jure Divino*. 422.

Six new Bishopricks erected, and when. 286.

Bishopricks pared in their Revenues. 304.

Bishops made by Collation of the King under his Letters Patents, without any election preceding, or confirmation ensuing. *ibid.*

Bishops the old removed, and new put in their places, by Queen *Mary*. 316. The like by Queen *Elizabeth*. 331. In *England* cried down by divers, but upheld by Queen *Elizabeth*. 397. Restrained from letting their Lands but with limitation. 396.

Bishops sent out of *England* to the Council of *Ariminum*. 3.

The Bishops of *Ireland* consecrated by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 35.

The Bishop of St. *Andrews* appointed to be Metropolitan in *Scotland*, which before the Bishop of *York* was. 217.

Six new Bishopricks erected by King *Henry* the Eighth, and which. 286.

Bishops Jurisdiction abated. 95.

Bishops-Gate in *London* new built, when; and by whom. 217.

Bishop of *London* Lord Treasurer. 455.

Bishop *Wren* committed to the Tower, with the five Judges that were for *Ship-money*. 511.

Bishops Votes in Parliament voted down. 477.

Twelve Bishops absenting from the House, and protesting against their Actions, are charged with Treason, and committed to custody. 515.

Bishops Lands Ordered by the Parliament to be sequestred. 476.

Episcopacy abolished by Ordinance of Parliament, 512. Restored. 731.

George Bishop, Stationer, his Work of Piety. 424.

Blasphemy of King *William Rufus*. 35.
Of King *Henry* the second. 55.
Of King *John*. 73.

William Blackney a Carmelite Fryer, and a Necromancer. 252.

Black-Fryers Monastery founded by *Edward Kilwarby* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. 29. The Foundation when and by whom laid. 101.

Blackness taken by the *English*. 617.

General *Robert Blake* takes many rich Prizes upon the Coast of *Portugal*. 636. He lands Forces in the Isle of *Scilly*, for the taking of *Tresco* and *Bryers*. 630. He intercepts the *French* Fleet going to relieve *Dunkirk*; he beats the *Dutch* at Sea near *Goodwin Sands*. 613. His attempt before *Tunis*. 625. His Victory over the *Spanish* Fleet near *Cadiz*. 627 His successful Enterprize against the *Spaniard* at *Santa Cruc*. 629. His Death. 631.

Blank Charters made by King *Richard* the Second, which he compelled Men to seal, that he might afterwards charge them at his pleasure. 153.

Sir *Charles Blount* is sent Deputy into *Ireland*. 390. He takes *Alphonso O Campo*, the *Spaniard*'s chief Leader, prisoner. 395. he comes out of *Ireland*, and brings with him the Earl of *Tirone*. 406. Is made Earl of *Devonshire*. 428.

A Blazing Star seen, and what height. 425.

Bleeding of a dead body in presence of the Murtherer 60.

A shower of Blood, where. 58.

Sir *Thomas Bodley* his Work of Piety. 398.

Bodwin, the Abbey of St. *Petrocus*, and the Priory of *Piston* founded there by King *Athelstan*. 10.

Humphrey Bohun, Earl of *Hereford*, re-edified *Augustine-Fryers* Church in *London*. 131.

Edward Bohun Duke of *Buckingham*, the last high Constable of *England*. 267.

Bolton, Prior of St. *Bartholomews*, built his house upon *Harrow on the Hill*, and why. 272.

Sir *George Booth*, and others of the Secluded Members claim their Priviledge of Sitting, but are kept out. 644.

He raiseth Forces for the King in *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*. 649. His Declaration. *ibid.* His Rising aided by the Kings Friends from all Parts. *ibid.* The main of the Design prevented by discovery. 650. He appears in *Cheshire* with a Considerable Body. *ibid.* Possesseth *Chester*, and *Chirk*-Castle. *ibid.* Engageth with *Lambert*, and is defeated. 652. Taken Prisoner. *ibid.* Created by the King, Lord *de la Mere*. 737.

The Duke of *Bourbon*, after 18 years imprisonment in *England*, is set at liberty, and the same day dieth. 184.

General of the Emperours Army is slain before *Rome*. 275.

Sir *John Bourchier*, Translated the Chronicles of *Froyssard* into *English*. 299.

The Lord *Bourgh* sent Deputy into *Ireland*, and soon dieth. 388.

Bordesly Abby, founded by *Maud* the Empress. 58.

Boston, a Monk of *Bury*, writ a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church. 167.

Bow Church, and the Chyme there, by whom made. 424.

Bows and Arrows first in use in *England*, in the Conquerours time. 27.

Bowly Abby in the New-Forrest, founded by King *John*. 73.

Boxley Abbey in *Kent*, by whom founded. 50.

Henry Bracton who writ a Book of the Law, and when he lived. 91.

John Bradford burnt for Religion. 321.

Henry Bradshaw, writ the Life of St. *Werburgh*, and also a certain Chronicle. 199.

Thomas Bradwardyn, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, called *Doctor Profundus*. 137.

The *Brake*, a Rack in the *Tower* called the Duke of *Exeter*'s Daughter. 206.

Sir *William Brandon*, King *Henry* the Seventh's Standard-Bearer, slain. 233.

His Son *Charles Brandon*, is made first Viscount *Lisle*, and then Duke of *Suffolk*. 261. Is sent to fetch over the Queen Dowager of *France*, and by the way marries her. 263. He dyeth. 293. Look *Suffolk*. His three Daughters, how married. 311.

Brass, a rich Vein of it found in *Cumberland*, and when. 399.

Braybrook, Bishop of *London*, made Lord Chancellour. 140.

Brazen-Nose Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded. 250. Endowed by *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *Paul's*. 398.

Sir *Nicholas Brember* plots the murther of several Lords. 142.

Breakspear, a Bondman of St. *Albans*, comes to be Pope. 38. Is choaked with a Flie in his Drink. *ibid.*

Sir *Robert Brent* made a Viscount by King *Henry* the Fifth. 173.

Sir *William Brereton* takes *Ecclesshall* Town and Castle for the Parliament. 553. *Westchester*. 545. He and Colonel *Morgan* rout the Lord *Astley* at *Stow* on the *Wold*. *ibid.*

Breton a Lawyer, and when he lived. 103.

Bribes of what force, even with great ones. 214.

Bridewell, built out of the Ruines of the Kings house there. 29. By whom given for riotous and idle persons. 312.

Brideton Manner in *Dorsetshire*, given by King *Henry* the First to redeem some other Lands given by his Father. 29.

London Bridge finished of Stone, when and by whom. 74.

Begun of Stone by King *Henry* the Second, and by whom else. 58.

Stone-Bridges the first that were made in *England*, which. 42.

The *Tower* at the Draw-Bridge in *London*, when and by whom built. 199.

Master *Bridges*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, saves the Life of the Lady *Elizabeth*, and how. 320. Is created Baron *Chandos* of *Sudley*. 321.

Bridgwater besieged by *Fairfax*. 543. Surrendred by Col. *Windham*. *ibid.*

Bristol: The Scool there, by whom founded. 325. The Castle and Priory of St. *James* there, by whom founded. 42. The Cathedral Church there, founded by King *Henry* the Second. 58. The Monastery of St. *Augustine* there, by whom founded. *ibid.*

Bristol delivered up to Prince *Rupert*. 526. Besieged by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*. 543. Taken by storm. *ibid.*

The Earl of *Bristol*'s Answer to Secretary *Conway*'s Letter. 436. He petitioneth the House of Lords about his Liberty. *ibid.* His Petition incenseth the King. *ibid.* A Charge brought against him by the Attorney General. *ibid.* His Narration touching the proceedings of the Duke of *Buckingham* towards him. 437. His Articles against the Duke. *ibid.* His Articles against the Lord *Conway*. 458. His Answer to his Charge. 459. He labours to bring about an Accommodation between the King and Parliament. 535.

Britain, Why *England* anciently so called. 2.

Britain in *France*, why so called. *ibid.*

The style of *Great Britain* when first ordained. 410.

Britains Burse in the *Strand*, when and by whom built. 413.

Broad *Seal*, that is now used by our Kings, was first used by King *Edward* the Confessor. 19.

Sir *Peckital Brocas* censured for Adultery. 416.

John Bromley of *Bromley*, his valiant Act. 170.

Sir *Thomas Bromley*, the Queens Solliciter, made Lord Chancellour. 357.

George Brook beheaded. 407.

The Lord *Brooke* besieging *Lichfield-Close* is shot into the Eye and slain. 524.

Thomas of *Brotherton*, a Son of King *Edward* the First. 102.

Robert Brown, Author of the *Brownists*, and what his Doctrine was. 398.

Sir *Anthony Brown*, is created Viscount *Montacute*. 321. He dieth, and how he came to that honour. 382.

Woolfran Brown made Knight by the King of *Spain*, hath a Canton of Granado given him for augmentation of his Arms. 255.

Col. *Brown*, garrisons *Abington* against the King. 538.

Sir *John Brown*, defeated by M. Gen. *Lambert*. 605.

Sir *Richard Brown*, the Kings Resident at *Paris*, Knighted at St. *Germans*. 598. One of the Clerks of his Majesties Privy Council. 713.

Robert Bruce attempts for the Crown of *Scotland*. 97. Enters *England* with an Army, but through Treachery escapes. 116.

David Bruce, Prince of *Scotland*, not seven years old, marries *Jone*, King *Edward* the Thirds Sister, not so old. *ibid.*

Bruce King of *Scotland* enters *England*. 107. His Brother is Crowned King of *Ireland*, but in a Battel is taken and his head cut off. 108.

Bruce refuseth to accept the Crown of *Scotland*, upon condition to do homage to King *Edward*. 96.

Brent Island, and *Tachegarey* Castle, taken by *Cromwell*'s Forces. 605.

Brute's story fabulous. 1.

Buchanan, his Dialogue *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*. 339. He seeks to prove, that the People have power both to create and to depose their King. *ibid.* his Book prohibited. 365.

Sir *Thomas Buckoile* is created Baron of *Buckhurst*. 340. Is sent into *France* to congratulate the Kings Marriage 346 Is sent into *Flanders* to examine the Earl of *Leicester*'s doings there, but through *Leicester*'s greatness, at his return is confined. 375. Is charged with being the cause of the dearth of Corn, but cleareth himself. 391. He dieth suddenly, and the manner, and his Commendation. 412. Is made Earl of *Dorset*. 428.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Hastings*, seize upon the Lord *Rivers* in his Inn, and commit him to Custody. 220. He accuseth him to the King, whom the King excuseth, and at the Dukes hard dealing weeps. 221. He extenuates the priviledge of *Sanctuaries*. 222. He joins with the Duke of *Gloucester* to take away the two Princes lives. *ibid.* He propounds at *Guild-Hall* the Duke of *Gloucester* to be King and how he was heard. 224. He brings the Citizens to *Baynards* Castle, to perswade the Duke of *Gloucester* to take upon him the Crown. 225. Contention begins between him and the Duke of *Gloucester*. 228. He plots with *Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, against King *Richard*. *ibid.* He never contented to the Murther of the two young Princes. He plots with Bishop *Morton* to bring the Earl of *Richmond* to the Crown. 229. He refuseth to come to King *Richard*, as an inhumane Butcher; He raiseth Forces, but forsaken of all, flieth to the house of one *Bannister*, by whom betrayed, he is beheaded. 230.

Edward Bohun, Duke of *Buckingham*, and the last High Constable of *England*, upon *Woolsey*'s accusation beheaded. 267.

The Duke of *Buckingham* impeached by the House of Commons. 437. Chosen Chancellor of *Cambridge*. 482. His Expedition to the Isle of *Rhee*. 438. Which proves unsuccessful. 440. He undertakes another Expedition to the Relief of *Rochel*. *ibid.* He is stabbed to death by *John Felton*. 442.

George Bullen, Lord *Rochford*, writ divers Songs and Sonnets. 300.

Sir *Thomas Bullen* is created Viscount *Rochford*: Look *Anne Bullen*.

Sir *Edward Bulwer* repels the *Scots*. 260.

Bologn won by *Henry* the Eighth. 292. Restored to the *French* upon paying to King *Henry* eight hundred thousand Crowns. 293. To be delivered to the *French* upon paying four hundred thousand Crowns to King *Edward* the sixth. 308.

Peter Bunchet, his frantick Opinion and Fact. 551.

Nicholas Burgey wrote a History called *Adumbrationes Chronicorum*. 201.

The Countess of *Buquhan* strangely punished. 98.

Thomas Burdet of *Arrow* in *Warwick-shire*, for hasty speech

speech beheaded at *Tyburn*, and what the speech was. 215.

Hugh Burgh valiantly defends *Dover* Caſtle for King *John*. 72. His great Loyalty to King *John*. 75. Queſtioned by *Henry* the Third, and his goods ſeized. 79.

Burgundy, the Duke treacherouſly murthered by the Dauphin of *France*. 174.

Burleigh, ſee *Cecil*.

Walter Burley School-Maſter to the black Prince. 133.

Captain *Burley* executed, and why. 558.

Burning and Execution for Religion, when firſt put in practice. 164.

Burials within the Walls of Cities, firſt permitted by *Kenbred* King of the Weſt *Saxons*. 6.

A place of Burial without *Biſhopsgate*, by whom made. 398.

Sir *John Buſhie*, Speaker of the Parliament, chargeth the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with Treaſon, who is not ſuffered to anſwer. 148. He attributes to the Kings Titles of Honour, fitter for God, than for any earthly Prince. *ibid.*

Butchers, their meat to be ſold by weight. 295.

James Butler of *Ireland*, made Earl of *Ormond*, and when. 116.

Buildings in the Suburbs of *London* forbidden, and Inmates reſtrained. 396.

Foreſronts to be of Brick or Stone. 421.

Bibles and Books of Common-Prayer torn in pieces by Rebels. 343.

Births monſtrous and unnatural. 312. alſo 425.

Birth-days not fortunate. 22.

Sir *John Biron* removed from his Lieutenancy of the Tower, and Sir *J. Conyers* put in his room. 531. He takes *Worceſter* for the King. 521.

C C

Jack Cade, who he was, and what his purpoſe, 190. He is called Captain *Mend-all*, and marcheth with an Army to *Black-Heath*, *ibid.* His complaints of Grievances to the Parliament, *ibid.* He comes to *London*, commands Armour and Money, and is obeyed, 191. He cuts off the Lord *Says* head, *ibid.* At laſt flying, is taken at *Heathfield* in *Suſſex*, and making reſiſtance is ſlain. 192.

Cadwan ſucceedeth *Careticus* in the Kingdom. 4.

Cadwallo ſucceedeth his Father *Cadwan*, *ibid.* His Image placed upon *Ludgate*, for a terrour to the *Saxons*, *ibid.*

Cadwallador ſucceedeth *Cadwallo* in the Kingdom, and by reaſon of a Famine flieth into *France*, *ibid.* Purpoſing to return into *England*, is forbidden by an Angel, goes to *Rome*, and there dies a Monk, *ibid.* Foretells Prophetically, that ſome hundred years after his Offſpring ſhould reign in *England* again, which was accompliſhed in King *Henry* the Seventh, 236.

Caerlegion, the ancient name of *Weſt-Cheſter*, 6.

Caermarden informeth Queen *Elizabeth*, how much ſhe was deceived in her Cuſtoms, 379.

Julius Cæſar invading *England*, is reſiſted by *Caſſibelan*, 2.

Callice ſurrendred to King *Edward* the Third, how, and when. 122. Hath all its Natives turned out, and is ſupplyed with a Colony of *Engliſh*, *ibid.* Attempted to be betrayed, but with ill ſucceſs, *ibid.* Fourteen hundred Towns and three thouſand Villages offered for it, 127. The only place left to the *Engliſh* in *France*, 192. So much longed for by the *French*, that a *French* Lord wiſhed it were in their poſſeſſion again, upon condition that he lay ſeven Years in Hell, 240. Aſſaulted by the *French*, is by Coopers and other Artificers defended, 258. Is won by the *French*, after it had been above two hundred years in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, 324. Is won from the *French* by *Albertus* Duke of *Auſtria*, and Cardinal, 385.

Caſtleourn, the name of King *Arthur's* Sword. 4.

John Calthorp, his Work of Piety, 313.

Bernard Calvers of *Andover*, his Journey from S. *George's* Church in *Southwark* to *Callice* in *France*, and back again in one day. 418.

Camden, the Hoſpital there by whom founded, 424.

William Cambden, his Work of Piety, 423. His Commendation, 426.

Cambria, the ancient name of *Wales*, ſo called of *Cumber*, the third Son of *Brute*, 2.

Cambridge in great part burnt, 101. The Library there by whom erected, 325.

Cambridgeſhire is taken from the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, and appointed to *Ely*, 41.

Richard Earl of *Cambridge*, who, and why put to death, 170.

Campian the Jeſuite comes into *England*, his Education and Books, 358. Is arraigned and executed, 361.

The Camp of Cloth of Gold, what ſo called, 266.

Campeius Cardinal comes to *London*, and the baſe carriages he brought to make a ſhew, 263. Commiſſioner for the Pope to hear and determine the cauſe of Divorce between King *Henry* and Queen *Katherine*, 276. He adjourns the Court, 277. Is made Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, *ibid.*

Canonizing a Prince coſts more than to canonize a private perſon, 200.

Canons and Conſtitutions voted down. 476.

Canterbury given by King *Ethelbert* to *Auſtin* the Monk, 5. Holy Reliques brought thither, *ibid.* The Archbiſhops ſtyle is decreed to be *Primas totius Angliæ*, and he of *York* to be *Primas Angliæ*, 28. He conſecrates all the Biſhops of *Ireland*, 35. Contention between him and the Archbiſhop of *York*, 41. Hath the Conſtableſhip of *Rocheſter* Caſtle, 41. Challengeth the Crowning of the King to belong to his See, 43. Hath Juriſdiction over *York*, 57. The Town almoſt all burnt, 58. The Monaſtery of *Black-Fryers* there by whom founded, 89. In a great part, and the Church of Saint *Mildred* there, burnt, 90. The Weſt-Gate of the Town, by whom built, 154. The Alms-houſes there, by whom built, 399. The Archbiſhop decrees, That the Scriptures ought not to be Tranſlated into the *Engliſh* Tongue, and Gods Judgment upon him for it, 177. The Archbiſhop baniſhed the Realm. 149.

Canterbury Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded. 130.

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury's* Houſe at *Lambeth* beſet by Apprentices, 471. He is committed to the Black-Rod, 476. See *Laud*.

Canutus the *Dane* proſpers in *England*, 15. After the death of *Edmond Ironſide*, becometh ſole King of *England*, and the means he uſeth to eſtabliſh himſelf in it. *ibid.* He confuteth his flatterers, by not being obeyed of the Sea, 16. He renounceth the wearing of his Crown, but Crowneth with it the Picture of Chriſt. *ibid.* His Death, and where buried, and of his bones removed. *ibid.*

Caen in *Normandy* taken. 172.

King *Henry's* liberal dealing with the Citizens thereof. 173.

Sir *William Capell*, Mayor of *London*, his Work of Piety. 250.

Fined, and for what. 248.

Lord *Capell* Tried before a High Court of Juſtice. 589. His Speech at his Death. 590.

John Capgrave writ the Legend of the *Engliſh* Saints. 201.

A Cap of Maintenance ſent by the Pope to King *Henry* the Eighth. 262.

Cardinals, their Red Hats, when, and why firſt ordained. 89.

Caratacus ſucceeding *Vortiporus* in the Kingdom, is beaten by the *Saxons*, and flying into *Wales*, there dyeth. 4.

Sir *Nicholas Carew* of *Beddington* in *Surrey* beheaded, for ſeeking to advance *Reginald Poole* to the Crown. 286.

Sir *Alexander Carew* beheaded for his Loyalty. 538.

Carliſle, the City and Caſtle repaired by King *William Rufus*. 36. Made a Biſhoprick. 41. Conſumed with fire, 102. The Biſhops bold Speech in Parliament againſt King *Henry* the Fourth. 158.

Carliſle and *Berwick* ſurpriz'd by the Cavaliers. 561. Surrendred to the Parliament. 542.

Carnarvon Caſtle by *Snowden*, by whom built. 101.

Sir *Edward Carne*, the laſt Leiger that ever was ſent to the Pope from the Kings of *England*. 333.

Carps and Turkies when firſt brought into *England*. 298.

Alexander Carpenter writ a Book, called *Deſtructorium Viciorum*, againſt the Prelates of that time. 200.

Sir *Robert Carre* his firſt coming in favour with King *James*. 414. Made Earl of *Somerſet*, marries the Lady *Katherine Howard*, divorced from the Earl of *Eſſex ibid.* *Robert* and his Lady arraigned and condemned, but their Lives ſpared. *ibid.*

Sir *Robert Cary* carries the firſt news of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death to King *James*, and how rewarded. 404.

Sir *Henry Cary* is made Baron of *Hunſdon*. 529.

Sir *Alexander Cary* beheaded. 538.

Mr. *Caryl* and others ſent Commiſſioners to General *Monk* from the Independant Churches. 668.

Caſſibelan King of the *Trinovants*. 2.

Caſtles, four erected by the Conquerour, and where, 24. Allowed the Nobility to build. 47. Allowed by King *Stephen*, demoliſhed by King *Henry*. 52.

The Earl of *Caſtile-Haven* arraigned for Rape and Sodomy. 450.

The Earl of *Caſtles* his Speech to the King at *Breda*. 594.

Catesby a Lawyer of *Leiceſterſhire*, falſe to the Lord *Haſtings*. 223. Beheaded. 233.

Robert Catesby, a principal Contriver of the Powder Treaſon. 410. How ſlain. *ibid.*

Catholicks conceive good hope of Kings *James* his inclination, by reaſon of his taking ſome Catholicks to be of his Council. 404.

Cattigorn the Brother of *Vortimer*, and *Horſa* of *Hengiſt*, fight hand to hand, and ſlay each other, and the Monuments erected for them. 3.

The tryumphal *Cavalcade* of his Majeſty through the City of *London* at his return to *England*. 712. At his Coronation. 737.

Cavendiſh of *Suffolk*, having ſailed about the World, returns home with rich ſpoil. 375. Caſt away, and where. 381.

William Caxton writ a Chronicle called *Fruitus Temporum*, and an Appendix to *Treviſa*. 218.

William Cecil made King *Edward* the ſixth's Secretary. 310. Envied by divers great Lords, is accuſed to Queen *Elizabeth*, but ſhe defends him. 342. He and *Throgmorton* not of one Faction. *ibid.* He is a friend to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and gives him good counſel, but not followed. 344. Is made Baron of *Burghley*. 345.

Sir *Robert Cecil* his Son is made Secretary of State. 386. The Lord *Burghley*, Lord Treaſurer, dieth, and his Commendation. 389.

Sir *Robert Cecil* made Baron of *Eſſendon*. 406.

Maſter of the Ceremonies, who, and when firſt ordained, and his Fee. 406.

The Fatal Chair of *Scotland* brought into *England*, and placed near *Weſtminſter*, where it ſtill remains. 97.

Sir *Thomas Chaloner* writ five Books of the reſtoring of the *Engliſh* Common-wealth. 401.

King of *England* challengeth the *French* King. 123.

Duke of *Orleans* challengeth King *Henry* the Fourth. 162.

John a Chamber a Ring-leader of Rebellion. 239. Taken and hanged. *ibid.*

Sir *Roger Chamberlain* and others hanged, yet ſaved. 188.

Chancellour refuſeth to deliver the Great Seal to the King, as having received it from the Parliament. 80. Required to be choſen by Parliament 81. Alſo. 84. And granted and ſworn to, by the King, and the Prince. 85. Is made by conſent of Parliament. 141.

All Chanteries, Colledges, and Hoſpitals given by Parliament to King *Henry* the Eighth. 293. Alſo to King *Edward* the ſixth. 304.

Gentlemen of the Kings Chappel, their Fees enlarged. 423.

The Chappel of our *Lady of Peace*, why builded. 147.

Private Characters diſcovered by *Thomas Phillips*. 369.

Charity in King *Richard* the firſt, in a high degree. 67.

Charity rewarded from Heaven. 90.

Charles King of *Caſtile* elected Emperour. 161. He comes into *England*, and to what purpoſe. 266. 268. Is lodged at the *Black-Fryers*. 269. He ſends Preſents to King *Henry* the Eighth, and the Queen, and what they were. 272. Takes the *French* King Priſoner. 273.

Charles the Eighth King of *France*, ſlain with a ſhot at the Siege of Saint *John d' Angelo*. 344.

Charles the *French* King dieth, and the Duke of *Anjou* ſucceedeth. 352.

Charles, King *James* younger Son, is created Duke of *York*, and the ſolemn Rites of it. 409. Created Prince of *Wales*. 417.

Charles Prince of *Wales* goes into *Spain*, about marriage there. 419. His entertainment there. *ibid.* His return into *England*. *ibid.* His Treaty of Marriage with the Lady *Mary* Daughter to the King of *France*. *ibid.* To whom married. 431.

He is afterwards King of *Great Britain*, by the name of *Charles* the firſt. See his Story throughout. 431. He is Proclaimed. *ibid.* Sets up his Standard at *Nottingham*. 520. Diſguiſed leaves *Oxford*. 546. Comes to the *Scots* Camp before *Newark*. *ibid.* Carried to *Newcaſtle*. 547. Brought to *Hampton-Court*. 551. Brought to the Iſle of *Wight*. 555. In cloſe reſtraint 548. His Declaration. 558. 579. Private practices againſt his life. 555. and 565. Removed from *Hurſt* Caſtle to Saint *James*'s. 565. Murthered moſt barbarouſly. 580. His Character. 582.

Prince *Charles* (afterwards King *Charles* the Second) his Birth 448. A Regiment to be raiſed for his Guard, under the Command of the Earl of *Cumberland*. 544. He embarks for the Iſle of *Scilly* after the Fight of *Torrington*. 545. A part of the Navy revolt to him. 561.

King *Charles* the Second. See his ſtory throughout. 587. His wonderful eſcape from *Worceſter* Fight. 608. His miraculous preſervation, and the manner of it. 609. Arrives ſafely in *France*. 610. Removes from *France*. 612. He with his Brothers takes Shipping for *England*. 711. Lands at *Dover*, *ibid.* Comes to the Parliament. 713.

Magna Charta, and *Charta de Foreſta*, confirmed by King *Henry* the third. 88. But again revoked. 79. Again confirmed. 80. King *Edward* the firſt, confirmeth the Great Charter, and promiſeth never to charge his Subjects, but by conſent of Parliament. 99.

Magna Charta confirmed by King *Edward* the third. 128. Confirmed by King *Henry* the third in moſt ſolemn manner. 83.

Charter-houſe by *Smithfield*, by whom builded. 130.

Chartley-Caſtle, by whom built. 89.

Chaſtity, in *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York*. 41. In a high degree in the Nuns of *Coldingham*. 8. Alſo in *Cuthburg*. 7. Alſo in *Ethelbald*. *ibid.*

Sir *Geoffry Chaucer*, our Engliſh *Homer*, and when he lived. 134. He married the Daughter of *John* of *Gaunt*, 132. Where he died, and where buried. 167.

A Cheat of one *Daniel* to the Countels of *Eſſex*, and how puniſhed. 394.

Cheapſide, a Juſting holden there, where the Stage, on which the Queen ſate, fell down, but no hurt. 131.

A Colledge built at *Chelſey*. 424.

The Lord *Chandos*, Baron of *Sudeley*, from whom deſcended. 14.

Chepſtow in *Monmouthſhire* taken by Collonel *Morgan*. 563.

Sir *William Cheſter*, Alderman, his Work of Piety. 313.

The Earldom of *Cheſter*, given by the Conquerour to *Hugh Lupus*, by vertue whereof he made four Barons. 24.

Cheſter Abby built by *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter*. 36. Erected into a Principality by *King Richard*. 149.

Cheſter. See *Weſt-Cheſter*.

Duke of *Chevereux* King *Charles* Proxy in eſpouſing the King of *France* his Daughter. 431.

Henry Cheyney made a Baron. 348.

Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, his pulſe beat after he was dead. 399.

Richard Chicheſter, a Monk of *Weſtminſter*, writ an excellent Chronicle, from the year 449. to the year 1348. 137.

The Town burnt by the *Saxons* by a wile. 4. Founded by

by Ciſſa King of *Suſſex* and *Surry*. 5. Burnt down to the ground. 43. All burnt. 58.
Robert Chicheley Mayor of *London*, his Works of Piety. 178.
Alwyn Childe, a Citizen of *London*, founder of Saint *Saviours* at *Bermondſey* in *Southwark*. 29.
Childham Caſtle, by whom built. 80.
Kings Children drowned. 42.
Children born with Horſes tails, and why. 57.
Chriſtianus King of *Denmark*, the Queens Brother, comes into *England*, and his entertainment. 411. He comes the ſecond time into *England*. 416.
Chriſtianiſſmo, the Title transferred from the King of *France*, upon the King of *England*. 262.
Chriſt's Colledge in *Cambridge*, by whom founded. 250.
Chriſt-Church Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded. 297.
Chriſt-Church in *London*, by whom founded. *ibid.*
Chriſt's Hoſpital by whom given for relief of poor Children. 312. Singing School there, by whom given. 424. The Library there, by whom erected. 165.
Chriſt counterfeited, and puniſhed. 89.
Chriſt's ſeemleſs Coat, and a part of *Aaron's* Rod, brought to *Canterbury*. 5.
Chriſt's Church within *Aldgate*, founded by *Maud* Wife of King *Henry* the firſt. 42.
Sir *George Chudleighs* declaration for the King. 525.
The Church ſervice changed, from the uſe of *Paul's* to the uſe of *Saliſbury*. 177.
The ſtrict Diſcipline of the Church. *ibid.*
Ordinances of the Church not to be queſtioned. 422.
Church Lands firſt freed from Tribute. 8.
King *Henry* the Eighth, firſt called Supreme Head of the Church. 280. Confirmed to Queen *Elizabeth*. 330.
Cecily, the Siſter of *Erick* King of *Sweden*, comes into *England*, to ſee Queen *Eliz.* for the great fame ſhe had heard of her wiſdom. 337.
Cinque-Ports, Lord Warden there firſt ordained by the Conqueror. 27.
Ciceſter Abby founded by King *Henry* the firſt. 41.
Cirencester taken for the King by Prince *Rupert*. 524. Retaken by *Eſſex*, 528.
The *Ciſtertian* Order, founded by *Stephen Harding*, a *Benedictine* Monk. 45.
Richard de Clare Earl of *Glouceſter*, his valorous act. 91.
Clarence what Dukedom it was. 132.
The Duke of *Clarence* marries *Iſabel* the Earl of *Warwick's* Daughter. 206. He falls off from the Earl of *Warwick*. 210. Is fully reconciled to his Brother King *Edward*, *ibid.* Drowned in a Butt of Malmeſey. 215.
The Duke of *Clarence* King *Henry's* Brother, after many Victories, is by Treachery drawn into an Ambuſh, and with many other Lords ſlain. 203.
Clarencieux King at Arms, why ſo called. 132.
Clare hall in *Cambridge* new built. 570.
Mr *Thomas Clarges* made choice of to be ſent into *Scotland*, to acquaint Gen. *Monk* with *Richard Cromwel's* Advancement. 636. He returns from *Scotland* to the Protector, *ibid.* He takes care for the tranſportation of Mr. *Monk* into *Scotland* to his Brother the General. 651. He and Colonel *Talbot* ſent by the Grandees of the Army into *Scotland*, to ſollicit Gen. *Monk* to a Treaty. 663. They are well receiv'd at *Edenburgh* by the General. 688. The General diſcovers to him ſome glimmering of his intentions. *ibid.* He is ſent to *Fairfax*, *Roſſiter*, and others, to engage them to ſide with Gen. *Monk*. 668. He excuſes Major Gen. *Morgan* to *Lambert*. 669. His Conference with Mr. *Bowles*. *ibid.* His negotiation retarded by a miſchance that befell them. *ibid.* He deals with the Members of the late Council of State, to abet *Monk's* Deſigns againſt *Lambert*. 670. He gives Gen. *Monk* an account how Affairs ſtood at *London*. 679. He gives his advice touching the Regiments quarter'd in *London*. *ibid.* He counſels the General to endeavour the ſpeedy regaining of the Cities good opinion. 685. He is ſent into the City to acquaint the Lord Mayor with the General's intentions. 686. He finding the Lord Mayor diſtruſtful, applies himſelf to Alderman *Robinſon*. *ibid.* He is appointed, with ſome others, to Treat with the Secluded Members. 688. He is made Commiſſary General of the Muſters. 692. His Conference with a Nobleman concerning the Sitting of the Lords Houſe. *ib.* He acquaints the Council of State with ſome deſigns of the Common-wealth Faction. 693. His Anſwer to *Okey's* Speech at the Council of Officers. 694. The Conference between him and the *French* Ambaſſadour. 695. He draws up an *Engagement* to be ſubſcribed by the Officers. 697. Is appointed by Gen. *Monk* to wait upon the King with the Armies Addreſs. 706. The Generals inſtructions to him when he took his Journey. 707. Arrives at *Breda*, and is graciouſly received by his Majeſty. 709. Is Knighted by his Majeſty. *ibid.* Preſents himſelf to the two Dukes, the Princeſs Royal, and others of the moſt eminent of the Court. *ibid.* He returns with intimation of his Majeſties Reſolution. 710.
Saint *Clemens Danes* in *London*, why ſo called. 17.
Clergy-Men, not ſubject to temporal Magiſtrates. 50. Subject. 55. But whether Subject or not Subject, was the contention between King *Henry* and *Thomas Becket* *ib.* Not fit to meddle in ſecular matters. *ib.* The Clergy curbed by King *Edward* the firſt. 95. Excluded from ſitting in Parliament. *ibid.* Put out of the Kings Protection. 100. None to have any more than one Benefice with cure of Souls 101. All the great Offices of the Kingdom in King *Edward* the thirds time in their hands. 119. No Clergy-Man to poſſeſs Lands, or Houſes without the Kings Licenſe, and the chief Lords 154. Being convict of Murther or Theft, to be puniſhed as Lay-men, 249. The whole Clergy found in a Premunire, purchaſeth their Pardon for a thouſand Pounds. 280. Allowed to marry. 312. Married, are put from their Benefices by Q. *Mary*. 316. The Clergy complained againſt by the Parliament in many points. 277.
Mrs. *Elizabeth Claypole*, *Cromwel's* ſecond Daughter, her Death. 634. Her Charity. *ibid.*
Sir *John Clifford* by a device takes *Pontheis*. 186.
Sir *Nicholas Clifford*, and Sir *Anthony Shirley* made Knights of the Order of Saint *Michael* in *France*, and coming home, are committed to priſon, and made to reſign their Order. 386.
Sir *Conyers Clifford* ſlain in *Ireland*. 389. Look *Cumberland*.
Cloath-workers, King *James* made Free of that Company. 412.
Colonel *Cloberry*, one of the three Commiſſiones appointed by General *Monk* to Treat with *Lambert*. 667. He and Col. *Lydcot* ſent with a Letter from Gen. *Monk* to the Long Parliament. 686. He and Col. *Bridges* ſharply upbraid *Scot* and *Robinſon*. *ibid.*
Hugh Clopton, Mayor of *London*, his Works of Piety. 250.
Clun, in *Shropſhire*, the Alms-houſes there, by whom founded. 424.
Sea-Coals forbidden to be burnt in *London* and the Suburbs, and why. 101.
Col. *Cobbet*, *Aſhfield*, and *Duckenfield*, attend upon the *Junto* with the Armys Petition. 655. He is detained at *Berwick*, and ſent to *Edenburgh* Caſtle by the Generals order. 665. He and *Lambert* taken Priſoners at *Daventry*, and ſent to the *Tower*. 699.
Cobham Colledge in *Kent* founded by Sir *John Cobham*. 131.
The Lord *Cobham* and others arraigned and condemned. 406.
In him ended the noble Family of the *Brooks*. *ibid.* Is ſet at liberty, but lived and died in great penury. 407.
Captain *Cobler* a Monk, ring-leader of the Rebells in *Lincolnſhire*. 285.
A ſtrange Cock coming out of the Sea. 199.
Coggeſhall in *Eſſex*, the Abby there founded by King *Stephen*. 50.
Colcheſter Abby of St. *Johns*, by whom founded. 42.
Colcheſter beſieg'd by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and taken. 551.
Coldingham, the Nuns there, to avoid raviſhing, deform their Faces, with cutting off their upper Lips. 8.
John Colet Dean of *Paul's*, founded the Free-School there. 292.
Colledges to have their rent paid, part in Corn, when firſt ordained. 296.
The Coller of Gold wore by the Mayor of *London*, by whom given. 297.
Collingborn, for making a Libel againſt King *Richard* the third, hanged and quartered. 231.
Commiſſion of Array. *See* Array.
High Commiſſion Court. *See* Court.
Commiſſioners appointed to manage the State during the Minority of King *Richard*. 2. 137.

Commissioners appointed by the Parliament for a Treaty. 524. The Kings Directions to his Commissioners at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. 539. Their Offers concerning Religion, the Militia, and *Ireland*. *ibid.*

Commissioners sent with Propositions to the King at *Newcastle*. 547. At the Isle of *Wight*. 556.

The *Scots* Commissioners require that the King may be admitted to a personal Treaty. 589. They are call'd in question by the *English* Junto. *ibid.* Commissioners sent to treat with the King at *Breda*. 645.

A Commission from the King at *Brussels* to several Persons that acted for him in *England*. 640.

All Commissions to the Officers of the Army, ordered to be signed and given by the Speaker. 647. Commissioners appointed for the Government of *Ireland*. 649. The Kings Commissioners endeavour to raise the Country for him. *ibid.* The Commissions of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, and others voted void. 660. Commissioners appointed for the Government of the Army by an Act of the Junto. *ibid.* Commissioners appointed by the General to Treat with *Lambert*. 677. Commissioners sent from the Independent Churches to *Monk*. 670. Commissioners from the several Shires and Boroughs of *Scotland*, wait upon Gen. *Monk* at *Berwick*. 674. Seven Commissioners appointed by the Junto for the Management of the Army. 676. Commissioners from the City of *London*, meet General *Monk* at *Hamborow*. 681. Commissioners sent from the City of *London*, to wait upon his Majesty at *Breda*. 707. From both Houses of Parliament. *ibid.* They have audience of his Majesty at the *Hague*. 710.

A Committee of Safety appointed for the Government of the Nation. 662.

A Commitee of Estates conven'd in *Scotland*. 717.

The Committee of *Derby-House* new impowered, 558.

New Commotions in *Scotland*. 458, &c.

The Common-wealth Faction desire the General rather to take the Government upon himself, than bring in the King, 693. They Treat with him about it. *ibid.* The General refuseth the offer. *ibid.* *Clarges* gives intimation of their proceedings to the Council of State. *ibid.*

Henry Compton made a Baron. 348.

The Prince of *Conde* taken Prisoner by the Duke of *Guise*. 334.

The great Conduit in Cheap, when begun to be built. 101.

The Conduit in *Fleetstreet*, when and by whom built. 199.

The great Conduit in *Cheapside*, when and by whom built. *ibid.* and 250.

The Conduit in *Gracestreet*, when and by whom built. *ibid.*

The Conduit in *Bishopsgate*, by whom built. *ibid.*

The Conduit at *Walbrook*, when and by whom built. 398.

The Conduit in *Cornhill*, when begun to be built. 165.

Confession Auricular, and Transubstantiation, when first ordained. 73.

Confirmation in ancient times, never used but by Bishops. 421.

Sir *J. Conyers* made Lieutenant of the *Tower* in the room of Sir *John Byron*. 531.

Conscience, a guilty Conscience, how it frights it self. 365.

Conspiracy against *Henry* the fourth. 159. 160. 161. But defeated. 162.

Sir *Robert Constable*, hanged in Chains at *Hull*, and why. 285.

The High Constable of *England*, of what great Authority. 267.

The Emperour died at *York*. 3.

Constantine the Great, first saluted Emperour at *York*. *ibid.*

Constantine King *Arthurs* Cousin, succeedeth him in the Kingdom. 4.

Constantinople, when won by the Turks: 199.

Controversie about the Sabbath. 568.

Convocation of Bishops to consult about Church Affairs. 459.

They Grant the King a Benevolence. *ibid.*

Sir *Thomas Cook* of *Giddy-Hall* in *Essex*, how and why fined, 206.

Sir *Anthony Cook* of *Giddy-Hall* dieth, and how his four learned Daughters were married. 354.

Sir *Edward Coke* Chief Justice of the Kings Bench put from his place. 417. His Commendation. 420.

Mr. *Clement Coke's* Expression in Parliament. 435.

Sir *Edward Coke*, one of those that contend for the Privileges of the Subject against the illegality of the Loans, 470. His death. 482.

Sir *John Cook*, Secretary of State, argues for the King in the business of Supply. 460.

Copenhagen having been long besiged by the *Swede*, is relieved by the *Dutch*. 638.

Sir *Charles Coot*, a Commander against the *Irish* Rebels, 513.

His success in *Ireland*, under the *English* Commonwealth. 622. He reduceth *Connaught* to a complyance with General *Monk's* design. 677. Is created Earl of *Mountrath*. 728.

John Copland taking the King of *Scots* Prisoner, how rewarded. 121.

Copper, a rich Veign found in *Northumberland*, and when. 399.

Anne Corbet a Concubine of King *Henry* the first. 43.

Cor de lyon, the firname of King *Richard* the first, and why. 67.

Corn, when first sold by weight. 101. When it may be transported. 198.

Cornhill, the Ton there converted to a Prison, and by whom. 101.

Cornwall, so called of *Corineus*, for overcoming the Gyant *Gogmagog*. 2. This and five other Shires adjoyning, made the third Kingdom of the *Saxons*. 3. When first erected into a Dutchy. 128.

Richard Earl of *Cornwall* his great Riches, 85. Crowned King of the *Romans*, but through his violent Exactions driven out. *ibid.* Returns into *England* meanly accompanied. 86. Sweareth to assist the Lords. *ibid.*

Coronation, a Solemnity so great, that a Knight was crowded to death. 105. To carry the Crown of St. *Edward*, at a Coronation, the greatest honour can be to a Subject. *ibid.* The manner of King *Richards* Coronation. 61. A Coronation, where King *Henry* the fourth is anointed with a Prophetical Oyl. 156. Coronation Solemnity. 95. King *Richard* the thirds Coronation performed with great Solemnity. 226.

Coronation of King *Charles* the first, the solemn manner of it, 434. &c. Of King *Charles* the second at *Scone* by the Estates of *Scotland*. 603. At *Westminster*. 738. *ad finem*.

Corpus Christi Feast, when first instituted, and by whom, 113.

Corpus Christi Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded, 250. 297. Endowed by *Matthew Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 398.

Corineus, *Brutes* Cousin, 2.

The Lord *Cottington* sent Ambassador from King *Charles* the second, to the King of *Spain*, 618.

The *Scotch* Covenant taken by both Houses, 540.

Coventry, the *Carmelite* Fryers Church there, by whom founded, 130.

Coventry Lord Keeper dies, 470.

Coverfew ordained by King *William* the Conqueror, 24.

The Council of *Trent*, why and by whom called, 296. Never received in *France*, *ibid.* In a Council at *Constance*, *England* ranked before *Spain*, 177. To a Council holden at *Arimimum* against the *Arrians*, three Bishops were sent out of *England*, 3. The *Lateran* Council holden in King *John's* time, 73.

Common Council of *London* when first ordained, 74.

A Council of State erected by the *English* Commonwealth, 618. A new Council of State nominated by the Long Parliament, 678. A new Council of State after the admission of the Secluded Members, 690. They set forth a Proclamation for preventing disturbances, 696. The Names of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, 713.

Woodstreet Counter when first made, 325.

Counterfeiters of Money punished by pulling out their Eyes, or cutting off their Privy Members, 41.

Henry Courtney Earl of *Devonshire*, is created Marquess of *Exeter*, 274. is beheaded for seeking to advance Cardinal *Pool* to the Crown, 286.

Courts of Justice ordained by the Conquerour, 26.

Suit of Court to mean Lords, when and by whom first brought up, 89. Exchequer and Courts of Justice remove to *York*, 97. The Dutchy Court of *Lancaster*, by whom instituted, and why, 164. The Courts of Exchequer, Wards, and Liveries, kept at *Richmond*, 407. Courtesie oftentimes prevaileth more than force, 94.

High Commission Court voted down, 511.

Court of Wards voted down, *ibid.*

A High Court of Justice erected for the Tryal of the King. 565. Of the Lord *Capel*, Duke *Hamilton*, &c. 589.

The abolishing of the Court of Wards and Liveries confirmed by Act of Parliament, 731.

New Coins created, 128.

Coins inhanced, to prevent the carrying them over, 295. made baser to raise money for King *Edward* the sixth, 312. Base Coins called in, *ibid.* New Coins of Gold and Silver, and what they were, 315. Of base Metal called in, 396. New Coins ordained, 421. New Coins and half-pence of Silver when first made, 101. Base moneys coined to serve the King in his Wars, 128. A coin called a Salute, 175. New coins of Gold and Silver ordained, 216. Base coins, and when called in, 295.

Cranmer takes upon him to prove King *Henry*'s Marriage unlawful, and is thereupon sent by the King to prove it before the Pope, who having a day of audience was hindred, and by what accident, and after went to the Emperour, and there made it good to *Cornelius Agrippa*, and then returned, 281. Is made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 282. Is sent to the Tower, 317. Upon hope of life he recants, but brought to the Stake he there acknowledgeth his infirmity, and for a punishment thereof he first burns his right hand, 321. His heart remained whole and untouched, when all his body was consumed with fire, *ibid.*

Credulity oftentimes dangerous, 175.

Cromutius a Cardinal coming into *England* to restrain Priests marriage, is himself found in Bed with a common Harlot, 41.

Crideton in *Devonshire*, anciently the Bishops See, which was afterwards removed to *Exeter*, by *Edward* the Confessor, 11.

De la Cressy Abby, by whom built, 89.

Cripplegate in *London*, the Hospital there by whom founded, 29. Formerly a Prison, re-edified when and by whom, 217.

Elizabeth Croft suborned to counterfeit to be a spirit in a Wall, and her punishment, 321.

The Lord *Croft* Embassadour for his Majesty at the Court of the King of *Poland*, 607. The Lord *Wentworth* and Duke *Hamilton*'s Letters to him a little before the Fight at *Worcester*, 606. He takes his place as a Baron of the Realm in the House of Peers, 712.

Sir *James Cromer*, high Sheriff of *Kent*, his head chopp'd off by *Jack Cade*, 191.

Cromwell defendeth *Woolsey* in the Parliament, 277.

Thomas Cromwell, made Master of the Jewel-house, 282. Is made Lord *Cromwell*, and Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Master of the Rolls, 283. And Vicar-general over the Spiritualty, 284. Is made Earl of *Essex*. 287. Is committed to the Tower, *ibid.* Is beheaded, *ibid.* His Parentage, Education, and Rising, *ibid.*

Colonel *Oliver Cromwell* made Governour of the Isle of *Ely* for the Parliament, 527. He routs the Kings Forces at *Ispi*-Bridge, and takes *Blechingdon*, 541. He routs the Club-men, 556. He takes the *Devises*, *Winchester*, and *Basing-House*, 544. He takes *Pembroke*-Castle by surrender, 560. Defeats Duke *Hamilton*'s Army, 562. Enters *Scotland*, *ibid.* Is sent with an Army to subdue *Ireland*, 592. Takes *Tredagh* by storm. *ibid.* Returns out of *Ireland*, is made General of the Parliaments Forces in the room of *Fairfax*, 600. He marcheth again into *Scotland* with an Army, *ibid.* He vanquisheth the *Scots* at *Dunbar*, 601. Takes *Edenburgh* Castle, 603. He dissolves the Long Parliament, and takes upon himself the Government, with the Title of *Lord Protector*, 620. Falls sick and dyes, 634. 635. His descent, *ibid.*

Richard Cromwell, eldest Son of *Oliver*, installed Chancellour of *Oxford*, 630. He is proclaimed Lord Protector of the Three Nations, 636. Congratulated by Addresses from all parts of the Nation, *ibid.* From every Regiment of the Army, *ibid.* He endeavours to new Model his Council, 639. The Army grow jealous and censorious of him, *ibid.* He is perswaded by *Desborow* to resign the Command of the Army to *Fleetwood*, *ibid.* Refuseth, *ibid.* Calls a Parliament, *ibid.* He is forced by *Desborough* to sign a Commission for the Dissolving of his Parliament, 641. The form of his submission to the Common-wealth Power, 647.

Henry Cromwell, second Son of *Oliver*, made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the room of *Fleetwood*, recalled from thence by the Common-wealth Parliament, *ibid.*

Frances Cromwell, the Protectors third Daughter, marries Mr. *Robert Rich*, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Grandchild, 630.

Mary Cromwell, the Protectors youngest Daughter, married to the Lord *Falconbridge*, *ibid.*

King *Henry* the third undertakes the Cross, 83. So do divers Lords, 153. The like doth King *Henry* the fourth, 164.

St. *Cross* Hospital near *Winchester*, by whom founded, 42.

The Cross taken by many *English* Lords. 56.

Crosses erected in memory of Queen *Elianor*, and where 102.

The Cross in Baptism used ever since the Apostles time. 421.

Sir *John Crosby* Knight, his works of Piety. 217.

Crouchback, who and why so called, 90.

Crutches Fryers, when they first came into *England*, 113.

Crowland Abby, by whom founded, 7.

Crown Lands resumed, 52, 56.

The Crown once gain'd, takes away all defects, 230. 350. Succession in the Crown appointed by King *Edward* the sixth, 311.

Cruelty extream by King *Harold* upon Prince *Alfred*, 17.

Henry Cuffe a chief Incendiary of the Earl of *Essex* practices, 391. Arraigned of Treason, and his pleading for himself, 394. Is hanged at *Tyburn*, and his description, *ibid.*

Cumberland granted by King *William* the Conquerour to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, 24. Held by the King of *Scots* as his Inheritance, 47. The King of *Scots* renounceth his claim to it, 116.

Sir *Henry Clifford* created Earl of *Cumberland*, 274. *George* Earl of *Cumberland*, his Voyage to the *Indies*, 380. His second Voyage, but with little success, 389.

Cumbreberg Abby founded by *Sigebert* King of the *East-Angles*. 7.

Cumbermere Abby in *Cheshire*, by whom founded. 42.

Robert Curtois the Conquerours eldest Son, why so called. 29.

A Custom in *Scotland* that the Lord should lie the first night with the Bride, abrogated, and by whom. 33.

Customs of Merchandizes in *England*, raised from 13 thousand pounds a year, to two and forty thousand pounds, by Queen *Elizabeth*. 380. Both outward and inward raised by King *James*. 420.

Cuthburga Wife of King *Osred*, out of a loathing weariness of marriage, sues a Divorce, and becomes a Nun, 7.

Cyprus conquered by King *Richard* the first, who puts the King of it in bands of Silver. 63.

D D

THE Lord *Dacres* of the North arraigned of High Treason, but acquitted. 283. Lord *Dacres* hanged at *Tyburn*, and why. 288.

Leonard Dacre rebels, and is put to flight. 343.

Dagger added to the City of *London* Arms, 140.

Dunstory in *Essex*, where the Devil appeared in likeness of a Gray Fryer, and what hurt he did. 165.

Thomas Dauda writ the Life of *Alfred*, King of the *West-Saxons*. 201.

The *Danes* begin to infeſt *England*, 8. They demoliſh divers Monaſteries, *ibid.* They infeſt *England* a ſecond time, 13. At *Canterbury* they Maſſacre 43 thouſand, *ibid.* *Swain* the *Dane* becometh abſolute Lord of *England*, *ibid.* The *Danes* with their King *Canutus* once again driven out of *England*, 14. He returns again, and proſpers, *ibid.*

Canutus poſſeſſed of the whole Kingdom, 15. Marries Q. *Emma*, 16. Makes good Laws, *ibid.* Takes a Journey to *Rome*, *ibid.* Builds divers Monaſteries, *ibid.* How he convinces his Flatterers, *ibid.*

Danegilt being forty thouſand pounds a year, remitted by King *Edward* the Confeſſor, 18. Releaſed by King *Henry* the firſt, 38.

Edmond Earl of *Darby* dieth, famous for his skill in Surgery and bone-ſetting, 350.

Dartford Nunnery in *Kent*, by whom founded, 130.

The Lord *Darby*, Son to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, gets leave of Queen *Elizabeth* to go into *Scotland*, 336. The Queen of *Scots* falls in love with him, *ibid.* Is made Duke of *Rothſay*, *ibid.* Marries the Queen of *Scots*, *ibid.* He murthers *David Rizio* the Queens Favourite, 338. Is ſtrangled in his bed, *ibid.*

Dartmouth taken by General *Fairfax*, 545.

Dauphin of *France*, whence and when firſt ſo named, 123. Sends to King *Henry* the Fifth a tun of Tennis-Balls, and King *Henry*'s anſwer, 170. Dieth with griet, 171. The new *Dauphin* differs with the Duke of *Burgundy*, which was for King *Henry*'s advantage, 173. Baniſhed the Realm of *France*, 175. Crowned King at *Poytiers*, 180. Reconciled to the next *Dauphin*, 186. *Dauphin* of *France* marries *Mary Stewart* heir of *Scotland*, 324.

David King of *Scots* doth homage to King *Henry* for the County of *Huntington*, 53.

David Prince *Lewlin*'s Brother, beheaded and quartered, 96.

David King of *Scots* enters *England* with an Army, 119. Is taken Priſoner, 121.

David King of *Scots* after eleven years impriſonment is ſet at liberty, 124.

Saint *Davids*, anciently called *Carleyn*, 3.

John Davies finds out a new way to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 368.

Lady *Eleanor Davies* her Character, Predictions, and death, 617.

Daviſon, Secretary, exceeds his Commiſſion about the Queen of *Scots*, 373. Is convented in the Star-Chamber, his anſwer, and cenſure, 374.

Days, ſome fortunate, and ſome unfortunate, 238. 304.

General *Dean* ſlain, 618.

A ſtrange Death, a great Lord devoured by Mice, though removed from place to place, 29. A Pope choaked with a Fly in his drink, 58. Sudden death of *William Vfford* Earl of *Suffolk*. 140.

Many noble perſonages dye. 383. Strange death of the Earl of *Derby*. *ibid.*

A Dearth four years together. 66. 67. Another ſo great that Horſes and Dogs were eaten, and continued three years, 117. 199.

Debtors taking Sanctuary, had their perſons ſecured, but their goods were liable, 153.

The Declaration of the *Iriſh* Rebels, 508.

The Kings Declaration to the Peers at *York*, 518.

A Declaration of the Parliament, repreſenting the cauſes of their fears and jealouſies, 520. Brought to *Royſton* to the King by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Holland*, *ibid.* Another Declaration publiſhed by the Parliament, 525. Anſwered by the King, *ibid.*

The Kings general Declaration, 555. The ſubſtance of the Kings grand Declaration, 559.

The Parliaments Declaration ſent by *W. Strickland* into *Holland*, 536. The Declaration of the Commonwealth Parliament for the juſtifying of their proceedings, 588. Of the Army, to invite the Remnant of the Long Parliament to ſit again, 643. The Declaration of the ſaid Parliament, 644.

The Declaration of Sir *George Booth* at the time of his Riſing, 649. The ſubſtance of the Committee of Safety's Declaration, 662. The Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry about *London*, 700.

The Kings Declaration from *Breda*, 702.

Deer, killing them, or Fowl, reſtrained by Proclamation, 420.

Weſt-Derham in *Norfolk*, the Monaſtery there by whom founded, 74.

The Family of the *Derham*'s in *Norfolk*, *ibid.*

Francis Derham charged with familiarity with the Queen, is hanged and diſmembred, 188.

Defender of the Faith, Title given to King *Henry* the Eighth, for writing a Book againſt *Luther*, 268.

Degrading from the Order of Knighthood, in what manner done, 204. 205.

Delay in preparations oft hinders great actions, 138.

Delinquents againſt the Long Parliament made to compound for their Eſtates, 582.

The King of *Denmark* his Tranſactions with the State of *England*, 621. Warlike actions between him and the King of *Sweden*, 638.

Dennington Caſtle attempted by three parties, but in vain, 537. Relieved, 538.

Deptford in *Kent*, the Abbey of Nuns by whom founded, 130.

The Earl of *Derby* raiſeth Forces for King *Charles* the Second, 607.

He is routed by Colonel *Lilburn*, *ibid.*

He is taken Priſoner in the fight at *Worceſter*, 608.

He is Beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, 612.

Counteſs of *Derby* defends *Latham-houſe* 18 Weeks, 533.

London Derry, and *Colerain* in *Ireland* granted to the City of *London*, 417.

Colonel *Jubbrow* perſwades *Richard Cromwell* to reſign the Command of the Army to *Fleetwood*, 639. Several factious Officers of the Army meet and conſult at his Houſe, *ibid.* He forceth *Richard* to ſign a Commiſſion for the diſſolving of the Parliament, 641. He and *Fleetwood* promiſe him the continuance of his Power, 642. His words to the *Junto* upon the delivery of the Army's humble Repreſentation and Petition, 657.

Earl of *Deſmond* ſlain, and by whom, 363.

Deſpair, the greateſt ſpur to valour, 290.

Deſtiny hath its way beyond mans reach, 36.

The Family of *Devereux*, how came to be Earls of *Eſſex*, 287. Look *Eſſex*.

Walter Devereux, brother to the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſlain, 380.

The *Deviſes* in *Wiltſhire*, by whom built, 42.

The *Deviſes* taken by *Cromwell*, 591.

Devotion in King *Edred*, 11.

Devotion of *Eleanor* the Conquerours eldeſt Daughter; her knees were brawned with continual praying, 29.

The Devotion of Queen *Mathild*, 43.

The Devotion of King *Henry* the Fifth after a Victory, 170.

Diet appointed to Labourers, but one meal a day, and what meats they ſhould eat, 118.

Sir *Everard Digby*, a principal Leader in the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Army, 271.

Sir *Everard Digby*, and the other Conſpirators of the Powder Treaſon, hanged and quartered, 411.

Sir *John Digby* ſlain, 543.

The Lord *Digby* flies beyond Sea, 544. His Letters intercepted, *ibid.*

He and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* routed near *Sherbourn*, by *Coply* and *Lilburn*, 544.

Sir *Dudly Digges* his Prologue to the Articles againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, 466. He is ſent to the Tower, *ibid.* His Apology after his Releaſement, 472.

Sir *John Dimmock*, for his Mannor of *Scriveling*, claims to be the Kings Champion at his Coronation, 136.

Sir *Robert Dimmock*, King *Richards* Champion at his Coronation, 227.

Diſcipline in War neceſſary, 170. The ſtrict Diſcipline of the Church, 177.

Diſobedience of Children, though pardoned of Parents, is not ſo eaſily pardoned of God, 25.

Diſſembling well rewarded, 208. A Diſſimulation ſtrangely cloaked, 247.

Diſtruſtfulneſs the ſinew of Wiſdom, 347.

Divinity School in *Oxford* by whom built, 199.

Doleman's Book, ſeeking to prove *Iſabella* Infant of *Spain*, to have right to the Crown of *England*, by what Titles, 383.

A Dolphin 10 foot long taken at *London-Bridge*. 154.
Dolphins taken in the *Thames*, 178.
Dolphins taken at *Quinborough* and at *Black-wall*, 312.
Saint *Dominick*, Founder of the Fryers Preachers, 66.
Doctor *Donne*, and his Commendation, 427.
Donnington-Caſtle, the Hoſpital there by whom founded, 199.
Dooms-day Book, why ſo called 26.
Dorcheſter given by *Kenegils* King of the *Weſt-Saxons* to *Berjam* who converted him, and made an Epiſcopal See, 1.
It is conſumed with fire, 421.
Dr. *Doriſlaus*, an Agent for the *Engliſh* Commonwealth, ſlain by Aſſaſſinates in *Holland*, 613.
Sir *Marmaduke Dornel*, his Work of Piety, 424.
Robert Earl of *Dorſet*, his Work of Piety, 423.
The Synod holden at *Dort*, by whom, and what points it determined, 422.
Dover Caſtle had a Conſtable firſt appointed by *William* the Conqueror, 27.
The Priories there founded by King *Henry* the Second, 58.
Robert Dowes, Merchant Taylor, his Work of Piety, 424.
A Dragon, the Warlike *Enſign* of *England*, firſt by *Uter Pendragon*, who thereof took his name, 4.
A Dragon of marvellous bigneſs, burning houſes, 58.
Captain *Drake* return from his Voyage about the World, his Parentage and Education, and the paſſages of his Voyage, 359.
He is ſent with Captain *Carliſle* by the Queen to the *Weſt-Indies*, and what they did, 367.
He is ſent once again to moleſt *Spain*, and what he performed, 375.
He is ſent to *Port Rico*, and in the Voyage dieth, 384 His Perſonage, 401.
At *Drayton* in *Shropſhire*, a Free-School by whom builded, 313.
Dreams not always vain, 424. Sometimes preſagious, 36, 237.
Dreghlab. See *Tredagh*.
Drought of weather, ſo extream, that ſmall Rivers were clean dried up, and the River of *Thames* well near alſo, 238.
A great Drought, and what the effects were. 400.
Drunkenneſs firſt learnt by the *Engliſh*, 360.
William Drury is ſent with Forces into *Scotland*, to aid *Morton*, 351.
Sir *William Drury*, Deputy of *Ireland* dieth, 317.
Sir *William Drury* ſlain by Mr. *Boroughs* in ſingle Combat, 379.
Dublin in *Ireland*, a ſtately Palace built there by King *Henry* the Second, 58.
An Univerſity erected in *Dublin* by Queen *Elizabeth*, 381.
Dublin in danger of ſurpriſal by the *Iriſh* Rebels, 512. It is beſieged by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, 592.
Dublin Caſtle ſurprized by Captain *Joyce* and Captain *Boud*, being of the Party that adhered to General *Monk*, 677.
Dudley and *Empſon*, King *Henry* the Seventh's Agents for taking forfeitures of penal Statutes, 247. He writ a Book entituled, *Arbor Reipublicæ*, 252. Is committed to the Tower, 254. Is arraigned and beheaded, *ibid.*
His Son Sir *John Dudley* is made Viſcount *Liſle*, and by what means, 289. Is arraigned and beheaded, 310. Look *Northumberland*.
Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of *Leiceſter*, is arraigned and condemned, 318.
Is made firſt Baron of *Denbigh*, and after Earl of *Leiceſter*, 315.
Queen *Elizabeth* ſeeks to match him with the Queen of *Scots*, 336.
He ſtays the proceedings, in hope to marry Queen *Elizabeth* her ſelf, *ibid.* Look *Leiceſter*. His death, 378.
Of Duels: Of *Carnigero* and *Horſa*, 4.
A Duel between *Edmund Ironſide* and *Canute* the *Dane*, 15.
A Duel between *Kerrington*, a mighty man of ſtature, and *Annefley* a little man, yet *Annefley* prevailed, 138.
A Duel between King *Edward* the Third, and the King of *France*, propounded but not performed. 119.
King *Edward* fights hand to hand with *Riſcumont*, and takes him Priſoner. 123.
A Duel allowed between *Thomas Mowbrey* Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, but not performed, and why. 149.
King *Henry* the Fifth fights hand to hand with *Parkinſon* a *Gaſcoign*. 175.
King *Richard* and the Earl of *Richmond* fight hand to hand, 233.
A Duel between Sir *William Drury* and Mr. *Boroughs*. 379.
Due's reſtrained. 421.
King *Charles* the Second his Proclamations againſt Duels. 718.
Dukes, When and by whom firſt erected 118. A creation of Dukes and Earls. 141. Another creation. 149. Another, 168. 187. 204. 236. 261. 274. 310.
Dukes made by King *James*, *Lewis Stewart* made Duke of *Richmond*, 429. And *George Villiers* made Duke of *Buckingham*, *ibid.*
Dulwich in *Surrey*, an Hoſpital there, by whom founded, 423.
Dundee taken by ſtorm, 611.
Earl of *Dunfermling* ſent Ambaſſidour from the King into *Holland*, 607.
Dunkirk beſieged by the joint Forces of the *French* and *Engliſh*. 633.
It is ſurrendred to the *French*, and reſigned into the hands of the *Engliſh*. 634.
The *Engliſh* Governour thereof ſubmits to the Commonwealth Government, 648.
John Duns, called *Doctor Subtilis*, when he lived, 114.
Duns River ſwelling to an incredible height, 298.
Dunſtable, ſo called of one *Dun* a famous Robber, 40. The Priory there founded by King *Henry* the firſt, 43.
John Dynham, an Eſquire of *Devonſhire*, doth the Duke of *York* good ſervice, 196. Is made Lord Treaſurer of *England*, 237.
The Biſhop of *Durham*, *Hugh Pudſey*, buyes the Earldom, 62.
Ralph Biſhop of *Durham* inceneſeth Duke *Robert* to claim the Crown. 38. 39.

E E

Edmerus a Monk of *Canterbury* writ the Hiſtory of his own time, under the two *Williams*, and King *Henry* the firſt, 45.
Earls created, with what Ceremonies, and firſt ordained by King *John*, 74.
An Earthquake that continued 40 days, 43. Another great Earthquake, where and when, 58. One of a ſtrange nature, *ibid.*
An Earthquake in which the Earth removed, 399.
Another the like in *York ſhire*, 400. Another the like in *Dorſetſhire*, *ibid.*
Eaſt-Minſter Abby near the Tower, by whom founded, 130.
Eaton-Colledge near *Windſor*, by whom founded, 199.
Edenborough Caſtle-wall falls down, 469.
Edendon Monaſtery of *Benhemonts*, by whom founded, 130.
Edgar King of *England* ſirnamed the Peaceable, 11. Made a Law to ſuppreſs Drunkenneſs, by ſizing of Pots, *ibid.* Though he did many pious Works, yet was very laſcivious, *ibid.* His Navy Royal, *ibid.*
Edgar Etheling is made Earl of *Oxford*, 19.
Edgar Etheling his Father, 15.
Edmund the fifteenth King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, ſcourged and ſhot to death by the *Saxons*, for continuing a Chriſtian, 7.
Edmund Son of *Athelſtone* makes the *Danes* receive Baptiſm, 10. His good Laws, *ibid.* His unfortunate end, *ibid.*

Edmund Ironside discomfiteth the *Danes*. 14. By the treachery of *Edrick* is overthrown by the *Danes*. *ibid.* Fights a single Combat with *Canutus* the *Dane*, but at last divides the Kingdom with him. 15. Is treacherously slain by *Edrick* his Brother in Law, as he sate at the draught. *ibid.* Whose Son, and why called *Ironside*. 14. St. *Edmundsbury* in *Suffolk* built by King *Canutus*. 17. Why so called. 7. 180 houses burnt there. 425.

Edmund Earl of *Kent* flood four hours upon the Scaffold before any could be got to cut off his Head. 116.

Edmund surnamed *Crouchback* the first Ancestor of the House of *Lancaster*. 90.

King *Edreds* Devotion. 10.

Edrick the Son in law, and great Favourite of King *Ethelred*, yet proveth treacherous, and complyeth with the *Danes*. 13. 14. Is beheaded by King *Canutus* for treachery, though in his behalf. 15.

Edwin, the Nephew of King *Edred*, succeeding at 14 years of Age, the very day of his Coronation, shamefully abuseth a Lady of great Estate, in the sight of all his Lords. 11.

Edward, Son of King *Alfred*, overcomes the *Danes* and *Welsh*. 9. Out of his love to his second Son *Alfred*, hath him Crowned with himself. *ibid.*

Edward called the Martyr, and why. 12.

Edward the Confessor succeeds *Hardicknute*. 18. Permits Danegilt. *ibid.* Reforms the Law. *ibid.* His defects. *ibid.*

Edward, eldest Son of *Henry* the third, marries *Eleanor* Sister to the King of *Spain*. 82. He with his Brother *Edmund* undertakes the Holy War. 88. Takes his Fathers death heavily. 94. Reciprocal courtesies between him and the *French* King. *ibid.* Gives content to his Lords upon coming to the Crown. 95. Dyes in *Scotland*. 98. His Admonitions to his Son. 102.

Edward Plantagenet, Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, is by King *Henry* the seventh shut up in the *Tower*. 136. For confederating with *Perkin* in the *Tower*, is condemned, and on the *Tower-hill* beheaded: the last Heir Male of the name of *Plantagenet*, and of his simplicity through strait imprisonment from his youth. 245.

Edward the first, King of *England*, see his story throughout. 94.

Edward the second, King of *England*, see his story throughout. 105. Summoned into *France*. 111. The fear of his Queen made him fly to the Isle of *Landy*. *ibid.* Driven thence into *Wales*. *ibid.* Taken prisoner, deposed, inhumanely used. 112. And murthered. 114.

Edward the third, King of *England*, see his story throughout. 116. Marries *Philippa* of *Heynault*. *ibid.* And surrenders his Title to the Crown of *Scotland*. *ibid.* Lying on his Death-bed forsaken of all. 137.

Edward the fourth, King of *England*, see his story throughout. 203. Proclaimed King. *ibid.* An Army rais'd against him in the North, but defeated. *ibid.* He is Crowned. 204. Sits three days together in the Kings-bench. 205. Passeth into *France* with an Army. 213. Which produceth a Peace. 214. Quarrels with the *Scots*, and why. 216. His discontents. *ibid.* A merry passage between him and a Widow. *ibid.* His Death. 218.

Edward the fifth, never Crowned, Murthered in the *Tower*. 220. 226. 227.

Edward the sixth, King of *England*. see his story throughout. 301. He is Crowned. *ibid.* His Death. 313.

Edward the Black Prince, why so called, uncertain. 140. Carried to the Wars in *France* at 15 years of age, and the valour he shewed at that age. 110. He takes *John* King of *France* Prisoner. 123. Whom he brings into *England* with most noble usage. 124. He goes into *Spain* and sets *Peter* of *Aragon* in his Kingdom. from whence he returns not well in health. 125. He falleth into a Dropsie. *ibid.* He dieth at *Bardeaux*. 126. He had married *Joan* the Daughter of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, who had been twice a Widow before, and died in the 46. year of his age. 125. 131.

Egbert King of the *West-Saxons*, becomes absolute Lord of all *England*. 6.

Thomas Eggerton made Lord Keeper after *Puckering*. 387. Is made Baron of *Ellesmere*. 428. Hath the Great Seal taken from him, and delivered to Sir *Francis Bacon*. 417.

Earl of *Eglington* taken by *Crook*. 601.

Sir *John Egremont* made Captain of the Rebels in the North. 239. Flyeth into *Flanders*. *ibid.*

Elianor the Conquerours eldest Daughter, her Devotion. 29.

Queen *Elianor* King *Edwards* Wife dieth. 96.

Elianor King *Henry* the seconds Wife, who. 52. A very licentious liver. 59.

Ella and *Ida* the first Kings of *Northumberland*. 7.

Elephants, when first brought into *England*. 90.

Sir *John Elliot* seconds Sir. *Wil. Walters* Speech in Parliament. 416. He aggravates the Articles against the D. of *Buckingham*. 437. Is sent to the *Tower*. 444 His Apology after his releasment. 446. Imprisoned for opposing the Loan, and his Petition to the King. 438. Questioned with other refractory Members at the Council-Table. 445.

The Lady *Elizabeth* born. 455 Dieth at *Carisbrook-Castle* in the Isle of *Wight*. 571.

William Elsing Mayor of *London*, made the New Hospital by *Cripplegate*, and became the first Prior there. 130.

Sir *Fergis Elyot* Lieutenant of the Tower, Executed, and why. 414.

Ely Abby made a Bishops See. 41.

Ely House in *Holborn*, the great Gatehouse there, by whom built. 154.

Elfred perjuring himself, falleth suddenly down, and dyeth. 9. 10.

Elizabeth, younger Daughter of King *Henry* the eighth, is mentioned to a match with the King of *Denmark's* eldest Son, but she refuseth it. 309. She is committed to the *Tower*, but soon released, and then confined to *Woodstock*, under the custody of Sir *John Bridgefield*. 320. Her discreet answer being, asked what she thought of the words of Christ, *This is my body*. *ibid.* She is Crowned Queen. 329. Look her story throughout.

Elfleda, a valorous woman. 9.

Embassadours sent to *France* to demand the surrender of that Crown. 169.

An Embassadour of *Poland*, his bold Speech, and Queen *Elizabeth's* witty checking him, and his excuse. 388.

An Embassadour of *France*, comes into *England*, with twelve hundred in his Train. 265. *French* Embassadour commanded to keep his house and why. 269.

An Embassadour being a Delinquent against the State, what may be done with him, whereof divers points resolved by the Civilians. 347.

The Bishop of *Rosse*, though an Embassadour, is committed to the *Tower*. *ibid.*

Mendoza the *Spanish* Embassadour thrust out of *England*, and why. 365.

Embassadour from the *French* King to mediate between the King and Parliament. 529.

Embassadours from King *Charles* the second, to the Duke of *Muscovy*, the great Prince of *Turky*, and others. 601.

The Lord *Cottingtons* Embassage to the King of *Spain*. *ibid.*

Embassadours from the Queen of *Sweden* to the *English* Common-wealth, And from *France* and *Portugal*. 621.

The Dutch Embassadour Courts the new restored Common-wealth Parliament. 648.

King *Charles* the second Complemented by the Embassadours and Agents of Foreign Princes. 718.

The Encounter between the *French* and *Spanish* Embassadours, at the landing of the *Swedish* Embassadour. 279.

Queen *Emma* passeth Fire Ordeal, in proof of her Chastity. 18.

Emanuel Colledge in *Cambridge* founded. 398.

The Emperour *Henry* the Fourth, the first Christian Prince that was ever excommunicated by any Pope. 35.

The Emperour defeated by the *Swedes* and *French*. 568.

Empson the Son of a Sicre-maker. 247. King *Henry* the seventh Agent for exacting forfeitures of Penal Statutes. *ibid.* Is committed to the *Tower*. 254. Is condemned and beheaded. *ibid.*

A Form of Engagement to be true and faithful to the *Common-wealth*, &c. Imposed upon the People by the Com-

Commonwealth-Parliament. 613. Abrogated by the Secluded Members. 693. An Engagement drawn up by Commissary *Clarges*, to be subscribed by the Army Officers. 697. The form of this Engagement. *ibid.* It is signed by most of the Officers in *England*. 698.

Presented to General *Monk* by Colonel *Howard*. *ibid.* Sent into *Scotland* to Major General *Morgan*. *ibid.*

Enemies kill'd in cold Blood, when excusable. 358.

The Entertainment of the King at *Guild-hall*, by the City of *London*. 714.

England when first so called. 7. Holden of the See of *Rome*, by the annual tribute of a thousand marks, granted by K. *John*. 73. Remains interdicted by the Pope 6 years together. *ibid.*

The Kings of *England* stiled Kings of *Jerusalem*, and why. 63. Their eldest Son always Duke of *Normandy*. 40.

King of *England* and *France* fall out, and why. 98. A Truce between them upon a Marriage. 99. *English* decline in *France*. 183.

An Enterview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, and the solemn manner of it. 147.

Another appointed to treat of a Reconciliation. 174.

An enterview agreed upon between them at *Guysnes*. 266.

Another at *Picquency*, and the manner of it. 214.

Escuage taken by King *Henry* the Second. 56.

Essex and *Middlesex* make the fourth Kingdom of the *Saxons*. 6.

Walter Devereux Viscount *Hereford*, is made Earl of *Essex*. 348. He hath leave to go into *Ireland*, and takes his Patent of being Governour of *Ulster*, from Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Deputy of *Ireland*. 351. He goes the second time into *Ireland*, where to disgrace him, he is appointed only to be an ordinary Commander over 300 Souldiers. 353. He is sent again into *Ireland*, with the empty Title of Earl Marshal of *Ireland*, with the grief whereof he fell into a Bloody-Flux, and died. 354. At the time of his death he admonished his Son scarce ten years old, to have always before his eyes the six and thirtieth year of his age, which neither himself nor his Father before him could outlive. *ibid.*

Henry Earl of *Essex*, for letting the Kings Standard fall to the ground, how punished. 53.

Robert Earl of *Essex*, in great favour now with Queen *Elizabeth*, is sent with an Army into *France*. 380. Where he challengeth Monsieur *Villiers* Governour of *Roan* to a single Combat, but is refused. 382.

Is pretended by some to have right to the Crown, and by what Title. 383. Is sent with Forces against *Spain*, who take *Cales*, and the passages of it. 385. Incenses the Queen to give him a box on the Ear. 389. Is made Earl Marshal of *England*, and why. 388. He is sent Deputy of *Ireland*, and of his carriage there, and of his returning and Commitment. 390. Of his carriage afterward. 391. He is condemned and beheaded. 391. 394.

The Earl of *Essex* is divorc'd from the Lady *Frances Howard*, marries Sir *William Paulet*'s Daughter, and in a while parts also from her, refusing to come to the King when sent for, he is put out of his place at Court. 502. He is made General of the Parliaments Army. 519. Proclaimed Traytor by the King. 520. He takes *Reading* for the Parliament. 524. Is block'd up by the Kings Forces in *Cornwall*. 536. He and other Lords deliver up their Commissions to the Parliament. 541. He dies of an Apoplexy. 547.

An Estrich Feather Prince *Edward*'s Livery. 210.

Ethelbald the Tenth, King of *Mercia*, founded the Abby of *Crowland*. 7.

Ethelbald King of *England* marries *Judeth* his Fathers Widow. 8.

Ethelbert the first Christian *Saxon* King of *England*. 5.

Ethelfryd King of *Northumberland* slaughters 12 hundred Christian Monks at *West-Chester*, and was afterwards slain himself. 6.

Ethelbert invited by King *Offa* to marry his Daughter, is treacherously murthered by him. 7.

Ethelburgh, the Wife of King *Brithrick* flyeth into *France*, and is thrust into a Monastery, and why. 6.

Etheldred, Daughter of *Anna*, King of the *East-Angles*, twice married, yet continued a Virgin still, canonized by the name of Saint *Audre*. 7.

Ethelbred, the seventh King of *Mercia* leaves his Crown, and becomes a Monk. 7. He dieth, and is buried in *Paul's* Church near to King *Sebba*. 14.

Mr. *Evelin* attempts to bring over Col. *Morley* to the King. 661. His Letter to the said Col. *ibid.* His Apology for the Royal Party. 752. He is commanded by the King to draw up a Narrative of the Encounter between the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadours 719.

The Lord *Evers* descended from the valiant *John Eure*. 133.

Sir *Ralph Evers* his memorable carriage in defending of *Scarborough* Castle. 285.

John Eversden a Monk of *Bury*, a Historiographer. 138.

Eoyland, the Manner of *Eoyland* given to *Exeter* by King *Edward* the sixth, for its Loyalty. 305.

Ewelme, the Parish there, by whom built. 199.

Col. *Ewer*, to whom *Hammond* is order'd to resign his Charge, conveys the King from the Isle of *Wight* to *Hurst*-Castle. 564.

Exeter new walled and beautified by King *Athelstan*. 10. Demolished by the *Danes*. 14. Made the fifth ps See by *Edward* the Confessor, which was before at *Crediton*. 11.

The Cathedral Church there, when founded. 42.

Exeter-College, and *Hart*-Hall in *Oxford*, by whom founded. 130. Endowed by Sir *William Peter*. 398.

Exeter useth policy in resisting the Rebels. 305. Hath the Manner of *Eoyland* given it for its Loyalty. *ibid.*

Exeter yielded to Prince *Maurice*. 529. To General *Fairfax*. 546.

A Duke of *Exeter* flying into *Essex*, is there apprehended, and shortly after beheaded. 160.

The Duke of *Exeters* Daughter, what is meant by it. 206.

The Royal Exchange built by Sir *Thomas Gresham*, so named by Queen *Elizabeth*. 398.

Exchequer and Courts of Justice removed to *York*, where they continued six years. 97.

Excise laid upon several Commodities by the Parliament. 450.

Excise a Tax laid upon Beer, Ale, Wine, &c. 751.

Excommunication by the Pope upon any Christian Prince, was first laid upon the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth. 35.

Richard Exton Mayor, hinders a Plot, to murther several Lords. 142.

Sir *Pierce* of *Exton* murthers King *Richard*. 155.

F F

Robert Fabian a Sheriff of *London* an Historiographer 252.

Fagnanus and *Damianus* sent by Pope *Eleutherius* to preach the Gospel in *England*. 3.

The Lord *Fairfax* defeated at *Adderton-Moor* by the Earl of *Newcastle*. 527.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* takes *Leeds* for the Parliament. 553. He is proclaimed Traytor by the Earl of *Newcastle*, with his Father the Lord *Fairfax*. *ibid.* Made General of the Parliaments Army. 541. Besieges *Oxford*. *ibid.* He takes *Leicester*. 542. He brings the Cluemen to Terms, *ibid.* Routs *Goring* near *Langport*. *ibid.* Takes *Bridgwater*. *ibid.* He takes *Sherborn* Castle. *ibid.* *Bristow*. 543. *Dartmouth*. 545. Defeats the Lord *Hopton* in *Cornwall*, and forceth him to disband. *ibid.* Takes *Exeter*, *Barnstable*, and *Oxford*. 546. Routs the *Kentish* men at *Maidstone*. 561. Besiegeth *Colchester*, and takes it by Surrender. 563. He resigns up his Commission. 600. He and several of General *Monk*'s Party joining with him, rise in *York-shire*. 677. He visits General *Monk* at *York*. 678.

Family of Love, when and where it began. 397.

A Famine in *England* eleven years together. 4. Another so great, that Men eat Horses and Dogs. 25.

A great Famine in *Roan*. 174.

Major *Farmer* being sent by the General to possess *Carlisle*, is kept out by the Souldiers. 665.

A Fathers Will broken seldom prospers. 105. 108.

Favourites not always loyal. 11.

Thomas Bastard *Fauconbridge*, with an Army of 17000 comes

comes to *London*, imperiously requiring the releasment of King *Henry* the sixth, but is repelled. 212. And executed. *ibid.*

A stratagem of the Lord *Fauconbridge*. 203.

Thomas Fauconer, Mayor of *London*, builds *Moor-gate*. 178.

Felons that stole above twelve pence, when first ordained to be attached. 10.

Felt-makers when made a Corporation. 420.

Felton, who set up the Popes Bull against Queen *Eliz.* hanged. 344.

Feast of *Corpus Christi* first ordained. 113.

The Earl of *Feria* in *Spain*, solicites the Pope to excommunicate Queen *Elizabeth*, and why. 333.

Robert Ferrar Bishop of *Man*, burnt at *Carmarden*. 321.

George Ferrars, a Gentleman of *Lincolns-Inn*, appointed in a *Christmas* to be Lord of Misrule to make King *Edw.* the 6th. merry. 311.

Sir *Timothy Fetherston Hugh*, Beheaded at *Westchester*, 612.

Fetherston, a Millers Son, takes upon him to be King *Edward* the sixth, and his punishment. 322.

Feversham Abby founded by King *Stephen*. 50.

John Field a *Londoner*, writ a Treatise of *Man's Free-Will*, and *Collections* of the *Common-Laws* of *England*. 300.

John Fisher, Bishop of *Rochester*, excuseth himself of an inconsiderate Speech, concerning the Parliament. 278. Beheaded, and why. 282. was elected Cardinal by the Pope, and had the Hat sent, but his Head was off before it came. *ibid.*

Fifth of *August* kept holy, for the Kings Deliverance from the *Gowries*. 408.

Fifth of *November* kept holy, in memory of the Powder-Treason. 411.

A Fish in the shape of a Man, taken and kept at *Oxford*, till it stole away to Sea. 58. a Fish of monstrous length. 399.

Fishing upon the Coasts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* forbidden to foreign Nations. 413.

The Fight at *Brainford* between the King and the Parliaments Forces. 523. At *Stratton* in *Cornwall*. 545. At *Newark*. 531. 532. The Fight at *Landsdown*. 526. *Newberry* second fight, 537. *Rowton-heath* fight. 544. The Fight at *Warrington-bridge*. 606. At *Worcester*. 608.

A Sea-fight between the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards*. 468. Between the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*. 638.

Sir *John Finch* Lord Keeper. 470. Voted a Traitor and flies. 476.

Finchamsted in *Bark-shire*, where a Well cast out blood. 36.

Fines for concluding of mens Rights, when first ordained. 249.

A great Fire upon *London-bridge*. 571. The Fire-crosses, &c. 303.

Several great Fires, and where. 43. 250.

The Fire-Crosses in *Scotland*, what it was. 303.

Fire Ordeal, the Tryal for Adultry, executed upon Queen *Emma*, which she escaped, and what it was. 18. abrogated by the Conquerour. 26.

First-fruits and Tenths, when given to the King. 296. Restored to the Clergy, but soon revoked. 325. Restored to the Crown. 331.

Geoffry-Fitz Peter dieth, who he was. 70.

Henry-Fitz Alan, Earl of *Arundel*, dieth, in whom was extinct the Surname of that Noble Family, which had continued 300 years. 360.

Henry Fitz Alan, the first Mayor of *London*. 66. 76.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald is created Earl of *Kildare*. 285. The miserable dissolution of the Family of the *Geraldines*. *ibid.*

Fitz-Herbert, Lord Chamberlain to King *Henry* the first. 45.

Anthony Fitz-Herbert a Judge, writ an Abridgment of the Law 300.

Richard Fitz-Ralfe a learned Writer, when he lived. 137.

Henry Fitz Roy, King *Henry* the 8ths. Son by *Elizabeth Blunt*, is created Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*. 298.

Robert Fitzwalter, a most valiant Man. 75.

Viscount *Fitzwalters* is made Earl of *Essex*. 278.

The Lord *Fitz-Warren* is created Earl of *Bath*. 284.

Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, Lord Admiral, is created Earl of *Southampton*. 286.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald the great Earl of *Desmond* slain. 353.

Flaggs in Ships ordained how to be born. 420.

Flamock a Lawyer, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith, by reason of a Tax, begin a Rebellion in *Cornwall*. 245 executed. *ibid.*

Flattery, confuted by an Act of King *Canutus*. 16.

A Fleet set out under the Earl of *Lindsey* to scour the Seas. 455. Another under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland* *ibid.*

The Kings Fleet, under Prince *Rupert*, ruin'd by several misfortunes. 617.

A Fleet sent towards *Hispaniola*. 625. Toward the *Sound* under General *Montague*. 638.

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* made Deputy of *Ireland*, in the room of *Ireton* deceast. 612. He is recalled, and *Henry Cromwell* sent Deputy in his room. 630 He promised *Richard Cromwell* the continuance of his Power. 642. Is voted Commander in Chief of all the Common-wealth Forces. 647. Receives his Commission in the House from the Speaker. 648. He endeavours to justifie the Officers of the Army, but in vain. 653. He is removed from the chief Command of the Army, by an Act of the *Junto*. 660. He submits to the *Junto*, and desires the Members to sit again. 676.

Richard Flemming Bishop of *Lincoln*, wrote a Book of the *Etymology* of *England*. 201.

Flemmings inhansing the *English* Coin, causeth much Money to be carried away. 258.

Banished out of the Realm. 52.

Robert Flemming writ a Dictionary in Greek and Latin. 201.

Flint Castle in *Wales*, by whom built. 101.

Flies in so great abundance, that they were swept away with Brooms, by heaps. 154. Also Beetles in a strange abundance. 400.

Florinus a learned Man, when he lived. 179.

Fodringhay Castle in *Northampton-shire*, by whom built. 165.

John Fogge Knighted. 255.

A Fool saves Duke *Williams* life. 21.

Sir *Martin Forbisher*, is sent to find a Passage to *Cathais*, but hindred by Snow and Ice. 354. is wounded to death at Sea. 533.

Forgery of King *Edward* 2. his birth. 113.

New Forrest in *Hampshire* made by the Conqueror. 17.

Miles Forrest, and *James Dighton*, murther the two young Princes in the *Tower*. 217.

Friar Forrest hang'd in a strange manner. 286.

Fortescue a Judge, writ divers Treatises of the Law, 218.

The *Fortune* a Play-house near *Golding-lane*, burnt to the ground, and by what chance. 425.

Fox Bishop of *Winchester*, how he came first in favour with King *Henry* the 7th. 231. is made Keeper of the Privy Seal. 237. his *Dilemma* to the *Clergy*, to move them to a liberal Contribution. 248. his Work of Piety. *ibid.*

Fourly that slept 14 days together. 298.

France and *England* make Peace. 69. *Henry* 3. makes a Voyage into *France*. 81. in which he spent seven and twenty hundred thousand Pounds. 84. King of *France* made Arbiter of the difference between *Henry* 3. and his Barons. 86. A Peace concluded. *ibid.* Crown of *France* claimed by King *Edward* 3. 117. he doth Homage to the *French* King for the Dutchy of *Guienne*. *ibid.* makes War in *France*. 118.

Francis King of *France* taken Prisoner by the *Spaniards*. 273.

The King of *France* hath a new War with *England*, and how occasioned. 435. A Peace concluded between *France* and *England*. 446. *France* and the *United Provinces*, mediate a Peace between King and Parliament. 519. The *French* Fleet intercepted by Gen. *Blake*. 543.

Francis the young King of *France* dieth. 332. 352. St. *Francis* the Founder of the *Friers Minors*, and when. 89.

Francis, Prince of *Vaudemont*, comes into *England*, and his entertainment. 412.

A great Fray in *Fleet-street*, and for what. 447.

The *French* enter *England* and burn divers Towns. 138. They buy a Peace. 141.

A Frost, which lasted from the midst of *September* to *April*. 131. another 197. A great Frost soon thawed. 399.

A Frost

A Froſt continuing from *Decemb.* to *April*, and what hurt it did, 425. A Froſt and Snow that continued four Months, 165.

Black-Fryers Monaſtery founded by *Edward Kilwarby*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, 29. the Foundation by whom built, 101.

Grey Fryars, when firſt came into *England*, 41. *Fryers Minors*, when and by whom begun, 66. *Auguſtine Fryers* called *Mendicant Fryers*, when and by whom begun, *ibid.*

Fryers Preachers, when and by whom begun, *ibid.* *Fryers Minors*, and where firſt in *England*, *ibid.* & 89.

Grey Fryers Quire begun to be built, and by whom, 113.

The *Carmelite Fryers* Church in *Coventry*, by whom founded, 130.

The *White Fryers* Church in *London*, by whom firſt founded, and by whom re-edified, 165.

The *Grey Fryers* Church by whom founded, 297. Priory of *Fryers Minors*, in St. *Nicholas Shambles*, when and by whom founded, 89.

Fryeries and Nunneries all ſuppreſſed, 286.

Fulmer the Church there by whom built, 424.

Furneys Abby in *Lancaſhire* founded by King *Stephen*, 50.

Funeral of King *James*, 431.

G G

Sebaſtian Gabato perſwades King *Henry* to ſet forth Ships for the diſcovery of foreign Countries, 245. Imployed to diſcover a paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, 311.

Games, as Dancing, Cards, and Bowling forbidden; but doing more hurt than good, was ſoon revoked, 295.

Stephen Gardiner made Biſhop of *Winchester*, 283. Sent Leiger into *France*, *ibid.* Is made Chancellour of *England*, 316. he procured a Warrant to put the Lady *Elizabeth* to death, and how prevented, 320. his miſerable death, and the cauſe, 323.

Sir *Thomas Gardiner* Recorder of *London*, impeached by the Parliament, flies to the King at *York*, 455.

Garlick-hithe Church in *London*, when and by whom built, 113.

Garnet a Jeſuit executed, and why, 411.

The Order of the Garter how it firſt began, 62. Inſtituted and upon what occaſion, 118.

Garter King at Arms over the *Engliſh*, when firſt inſtituted, 175.

Gaveſton his advancement, 105. Is baniſhed, *ibid.* Is called home from Exile, and exceeds in bravery, *ibid.* Is made Earl of *Cornwall*, Lord of *Man*, and Lord Chamberlain, *ibid.* Gets the honour of the day at a Turnament, 106. Caſts Scoffs upon divers Lords, *ibid.* Is ſent to *Ireland*, where he doth great acts, *ibid.* Marries the Earl of *Gloucester*'s Siſter, *ibid.* Is again baniſhed the Realm, *ibid.* Goes into *France*, but is not received, *ibid.* Returns into *England*, whom the King received as an Angel, *ibid.* Is taken by the Lords at *Scarborough*, and beheaded, 107. his Parentage.

Gawen, Siſter's Son of King *Arthur* found, and his body 14 foot long. 29.

Genoa relieved by Queen *Elizabeth*, 396.

Geoffry of *Monmouth*, the fabulous Writer of *Brutes* ſtory, 1.

Geraldines, or *Fitz Geralds*, Earls of *Kildare*, and their diſaſtrous deſolation, 363.

Gerenden Monaſtery, by whom founded, 58.

A Generals Commiſſion in War not fit to be limited, 315.

Saint *Germans* in *Cornwall* founded by King *Athelſtan*, 11. Ordained by King *Edred* to be a Biſhops See, but afterward annexed to the See of *Kirton* in *Devonſhire*, and at laſt, both of them tranſlated to *Exeter*, *ibid.*

Colonel *Gerald* and others tryed before a high Court of Juſtice, 611. he and *Vowel* executed, *ib.*

Nicholas Gilſon Sheriff of *London*, his Work of Piety, 297.

Gifford the chief Diſcoverer of the conſpiracy of *Babington*, and others: and who he was, 369.

Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* caſt away at Sea, 363.

Saint *Giles* Hoſpital in the Fields, founded by *Maude*, Wife of King *Henry* the firſt, 42.

Saint *Giles* brotherhood without *Cripplegate*, by whom founded, 178.

Glanvile ſometimes Earls of *Suffolk*, 133.

Glaſtenbury Abby new builded by *Ina* King of the Weſt Saxons, 6. burnt, 58.

Glencarn and *Middleton* defeated in the Highlands, 622.

Glencarn's Arguments to Gen. *Monk*, for arming the *Scots* to his Aſſiſtance, 675. he is made Lord Chancellour of *Scotland*, 717.

Letter to Sir *Thomas Glenham*, 530. Sir *Thomas Glenham* Governour of *York* for the King, 534. Afterwards of *Carliſle*, which he ſurrenders to the Parliaments Forces, 542. afterwards of *Oxford*, which he ſurrenders to the General *Fairfax*, 547. he and Sir *Philip Muſgrave* raiſe Forces for the King in *Weſtmerland* and *Cumberland*, 561.

Owen Glendour, an Eſquire of *Wales*, draws many into Rebellion, and takes *Edmund Mortimer* priſoner, 160. Is aided with 12 thouſand *French*; but with no ſucceſs, 161. Flying into the Woods, is there famiſhed to death, 162.

The *Globe* a Play-houſe upon the Banck-ſide, conſumed with Fire, and by what chance, 415.

Gloucester Monaſtery of Saint *Peter*, founded by *Elfleda*, and her Husband, 10. The Monaſtery of *Benedictine* Monks there, by whom founded, 58. Burnt to the ground, 101.

The Duke of *Gloucester* his unadviſed Speech to the King, 147. incited by a Viſion of the Abbot of Saint *Albanes*, confederates with divers Lords to ſeize upon King *Richard*, 148. his Plot is diſcovered, and by a wile apprehended, is ſent to *Calis*, where he is ſoon after diſpatched of his life, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Gloucester* taken and beheaded at *Briſtol*, 160.

Humphrey Duke of *Gloucester*, generally called the good Duke, he writ a Book of Aſtrology, intituled, *Tabula Directionum*, 201.

The Duke of *Gloucester* Protector, marries *Jaqueline*, who was married before to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, yet living, 182. after great conteſtations he deſerted her, and marries his old Love *Eleanor*, Daughter to the Lord *Cobham*, *ibid.* who is accuſed of Sorcery, and doth Penance, 187. The Duke of *Gloucesters* pregnancy, in convincing a Beggar pretending blindneſs, 188. he ſends a Defiance to the Duke of *Burgain*, 185.

Richard Duke of *Gloucester*, plots his way to the Crown: firſt, by cauſing his elder Brother the Duke of *Clarence* to be drown'd in a Butt of Malmſey, 215. he perſwades the Queen, that young King *Edward* ſhould diſmiſs his great Train, and why, 220. he gets the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Haſtings* to joyn with him, to remove the Queens Kindred from about the King, 220. he ſends to the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard Gray* the Queens Son to *Pomfret-Caſtle*, where they were both beheaded, 221. A fiction of his to blind the People, *ibid.* By his diſſembling carriage, he obtains to be made Protector of the King and Kingdom, *ibid.* he receives the young Son out of the Sanctuary, with great complement of kindneſs, and ſends both him and the King his Brother to the *Tower*, there to ſtay till the Coronation, for which there is great ſhew of preparation made, 222. he takes upon him the Crown, by the name of *Richard* the Third: See the reſt of him in his ſtory throughout, 226. 227. &c.

Henry Duke of *Gloucester* diſmiſt out of *England* by the Parliament, and ſent to his Siſter in *Holland*, 615. he goeth into *France*, and is honourably received by the King, *ibid.* remov'd out of the Jeſuits Colledge, by the King his Brothers order, 629. he goeth to *Cullen* to the King his Brother, *ibid.* 636. his Death, 730.

Gloucester, *Briſtoll*, and other places, garriſoned for the Parliament, 522. Beſieged for the King, 527. Relieved by the Earl of *Eſſex*. 528. Infeſted by Sir *John Winter*, and the Lord *Herbert*, 529.

Matthew Gouch an old Souldier is ſent againſt *Jack Cade*, and much diſtreſſeth him, 191.

Gogmagog a Gyant overcome by *Corineus*. 1.

Godfrey of *Bulloign* goes to recover *Hieruſalem*. 35.

Godmanchester Town preſents King *James* with 70. Teams of Horſe, and why, 405.

Gold and Silver forbidden to be tranſported, 396.

Three millions of Crowns of Gold paid to King *Edward* 3d. by the King of *France*, 134. No Gold to be offered in payment unleſs it were weight, 177.

Earl *Goodwin* discomfiteth the *Vandals* in *Denmark*, 17. Punished by the Divine Hand, 18.

Goodwin Sands in *Kent*, first beake in, in *Will. Rufus* time, 35.

Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* sets the Lords in *Essex* house at liberty, 393.

Col. *Goring* possesseth *Portsmouth* for the King, 518. he is forced to surrender the Town to the Parliaments Forces, 521. he lands with men, and Ammunition for the King, 524. Routed by Gen. *Fairfax*, near *Langport*, 542.

The Government of the Nation alter'd from a Monarchy to a Free State, 588. Committed to a certain number of men call'd a Committee of Safety, 662.

Gower the famous Poet, his work of Piety, 165. where he died, and where buried, 167.

The Earl *Gowry* in *Scotland* takes the King, and keeps him Prisoner, 362. Beheaded, 364.

Granado won by the King of *Spain* from the Moors, who is intituled the Catholick King, 240.

The Lord *Grandison* created Baron *Limbercourt*, 467.

Sir *John Greenvile* secretly negotiated his Majesties Affairs in *England*, 640. The Kings Letter to him, 651. The manner of his application to Gen. *Monk*, 691. his Reception, *ibid.* The Generals Answer to his Message, with the discourse between them, 796. he takes his Journey to *Bruxels*, and gives his Majesty an account of his Negotiation, *ibid.* he presents Gen. *Monk* with a Commission from his Majesty, and a Letter for the *Council of State*, 701. he is created Earl of *Bathe*.

Sir *Richard Greenvile* dieth of his wounds, not without commendation of the *Spaniards* themselves, 381.

Greenwich enlarged by King *Henry* the seventh, which *Humphrey* Duke of *Glocester* had formerly built, calling it *Placentia*, 249. The Tower there by whom builded, 297. An Alms-house there built by *William Lambert*, 399. The Brick-wall about the Park there, by whom made, 423.

Sir *John Gresham* his Works of Piety, 313.

Gresham Colledge in *London*, when made, 398.

Thomas Grey, Earl of *Northumberland*, put to death, and why, 170.

Sir *Ralph Grey*, for revolting, degraded from his Order of Knighthood, and in what manner it was, and then beheaded. 205.

Leonard Grey, Deputy of *Ireland*, beheaded, and why, 288.

The Lord *Grey* obeyeth a Message by word of mouth from the King, before his Letter, and is rewarded for it, 294.

The Lord *Thomas Grey*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Brother, beheaded. 320.

The Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, oppress with multitude, delivers up *Guysnes*. 324.

Reynold Grey of a private man, made Earl of *Kent*, after 50 years the Earldom had been vacant. 351.

Arthur Lord *Grey* Deputy of *Ireland*, 358. dieth in the Tower, and in him is extinct the Barony, 407.

Prince *Griffith*, so nick-named, his ridiculous Expedition, 546.

A Groat wanting in a payment of seven hundred Marks, made a thousand Marks more to be paid, 16.

Groats and half Groats when first coyned, 128.

Grocers Hall in *Conneyhope* Lane, by whom built, 165.

Robert Grosshead, Bishop of *Lincoln*, translated the Testament, and the twelve Patriarchs, out of Greek into Latine, 91.

Ground bare of grass where Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Charles Lucas* were shot to death, 563.

Edmund Grindal, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, dieth, 363. his Works of Piety, 398.

William Gryffant, named *Anglicus*, a notable Physician, whose Son came to be Pope, and was called *Urban* the Fifth, 133.

Yeomen of the Guard, when first ordained, 237. 249. encreased in number, and in pension, 423.

Guernsey Island attempted by the Kings Frigats, 602.

Henry Guldeford made Knight by the King of *Spain*, hath a Canton of *Granado* given him, for an augmentation of his Arms, 255. Is the Kings Standard-Bearer, 258.

Guild-hall, a great part of the West-end, by whom builded, 165. Of a little Cottage made a goodly house, and when, *ibid.* When the Feast kept there, 249.

Gondomar his Answer to King *James* about the Palatinate, 419. his Character, *ibid.*

Guns, when first used by the *English*, when first invented, where and by what means, and by whom first used, 122.

Cast Pieces of Iron, when and by whom first made, 298. The noyse of Ordnance heard an hundred miles off, 324.

Gun-powder, when first made in *England*, 424.

The Gun-powder Treason, by whom contrived, 409. and how discovered, 410.

Doctor *Gumble*, Mr. *Clarges*, and Col. *Glenberry*, appointed to Treat with some of the Secluded Members, about their admission to sit, 688.

Guymond, *Henry* the First's Chaplain, his coming to preferment by a ridiculous reading, 41.

Guynhilda the Empress, being accused of Adultery, is defended in a Duel by an *English* Page, against a Gyant-like Combatant, 17.

Guyon, the Name of the King at Arms for *Guscoigne*, 134.

The Duke of *Guyse*, Head of the Holy League in *France*, murthered in the very Court, and why, 319.

Guysnes delivered up to the *French*, 324.

Captain *Guillim* endeavouring to betray two Companies of the Generals men, is discovered, and prevented, 669.

Gerald fitz Geralds the great Earl of *Desmond* slain, and 500 of his Family within the space of three years, 363.

Gyth, King *Harolds* Brother, his counsel slighted, 23.

H H

Hacket takes upon him to be Christ, 381. is hanged, *ibid.*

Alice Hackneys body taken up entire, having been buried 174 years, 250.

The Earl of *Haddington* slain by accident, 491. 591.

Long Hair forbidden, 40.

Sir *James Hales*, a Judge of the Common Pleas, refuseth to subscribe to the excluding of King *Edward*'s Sister, 311. He drowneth himself, and why, 316.

Alexander de Hales, a Fryer Minor a great Schoolman, 91.

Hales Owen Monastery in *Shropshire*, founded by King *John*, 73.

Hales in a Libel affirmeth the Crown to belong to the House of *Suffolk*, in case Queen *Elizabeth* should die without issue, 337.

Edward Hall writ a Chronicle of the Union of the two houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, 314.

Hail-stones as big as Goose-eggs, 74. Of eighteen Inches about, 250. At another time Hail-stones of fifteen Inches about, 326.

Hales Abbey in *Glocestershire*, by whom founded, 89.

Halstead, a Chappel there, by whom founded, 424.

Thomas Halsewood wrote a book called *Chronicum Compendiarum*, when he lived, 114.

Mr. *Hambden*, one of the five Members, demanded to Justice by the King, 516. he is slain in the fight near *Tame*, 525.

Duke *Hamilton* procures the office of High Commissioner for the *Scotch* Affairs, 461. he is sent Prisoner to *Pendennis* Castle, 530. he enters *England* with an Army, 562. is defeated by Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, 562. is taken Prisoner at *Uxeter* by the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, *ibid.* is tryed and condemned to death before a High Court of Justice, 589. his Speech before his Execution, 590.

Colonel *Hammond* secures the King in the Isle of *Wight*, 563.

Hampton-Court, by whom built, 297. The King retires thither from the tumults of the City, 516. his Escape from thence when he was in the hands of the Army, 555.

Hanging of a strange kind, 285.

Knights of the Hare, who, and why so called, 118.

Hardicnute the last *Danish* King, his intemperance in Diet, 17. his sudden death, 18.

John Harding writ a Chronicle in *English* Verse, 218.

Stephen Harding, a Benedictine Monk, founder of the *Cistertian* Order, 45.

The Lord *Harrington* dieth at *Worms*, 415.

Harfleet besieged by the Earl of *Arminiacke*, 172. Relieved by the Duke of *Bedford*, *ibid.*

Sir *Robert Harlow* appointed to pull down Superstitious Pictures, 535.

Harold the Son of *Canutus* murders his Father, 17.

Harold called *Harefoot*, for his swiftness in running, 17. his policy to secure himself against Competitors, *ibid.*

Harold the Son of Earl *Godwin*, making himself King of *England*. 19. is slain by Duke *William* of *Normandy*. 23.

Sir *George Harper*, *Wyat*'s intimate Friend, forsakes him. 318.

M. Gen. *Harrison* and others secur'd. 629. he is try'd about the Kings Murther, hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd. 731.

The Earl of *Hartford*, Protector, is made Duke of *Somerset*. 302.

Hart-Hall in *Oxford*, by whom founded. 130.

Dr. *Harvey* writ a Treatise concerning the Circulation of the blood. 497.

Richard Hacket executed for Treason, for perswading *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby*, to assume the Title of the Crown, and upon what ground. 382.

Sir *Arthur Hasterigge*, one of the five Members of the House of Commons, whom the King demanded to Justice. 516. He opposeth the Armies Proceedings after the Restoration of the Commonwealth Parliament. 654. and possesseth the House against them. *ibid.* having promised aid against *Lambert*, he withdraws for fear of incouraging the Kings Party. 670. he is appointed by Act one of the five Commissioners for the Government of the Army. 687. he clears himself to General *Monk*, of having been assistant to *Lamberts* Insurrection. 701. Pardon'd upon the Mediation of the Duke of *Albemarle*. 717. he dies of a Feaver in the *Tower*. 735.

The Family of the *Hastings*, from whence descended. 146. In this Family it is memorable, that for many Generations together, no Son ever saw his Father, the Father always dying before the Son was born. *ibid.*

In whom the Family ended. *ibid.*

The Lord *Hastings* true to the young Princes, how made away. 212 213.

The Lord *Hastings* is made Earl of *Huntington*. 278.

Hatfield in *Hertfordshire*, by whom inlarged. 249.

Captain *Hart* and Captain *Dennis* bring off Col. *Cobbets* Regiment to the General. 664.

Sir *Christopher Hatton* made Lord Chancellour of *England*. 376. he dieth. 381.

Richard Hawkins sent to Sea, is taken Prisoner by the *Spaniards*. 383.

Hawsford, or *Hankford*, a Knight and a Judge of that name, his strange melancholly. 209.

Sir *John Hawkwood*, a Taylor in *England*, but so famous for his valorous acts in *Italy*, that a Statue is there erected for him. 133.

Richard Haydock his strange imposture of preaching in his sleep, and how discovered by King *James*. 408.

Higham-house of black Nuns in *Kent*, found by King *Stephen*. 50.

Hell Kettles in the County of *Durham*, why so called. 58.

Saint *Helens* in *London*, an Alms-house there, by whom founded. 297.

Hengist and *Horsa*, *Saxons*, are called over, and inhabit the Isle of *Thanet*. 3. They are beaten out of *England*. 3.

Hengist returns again. 4. at a Treaty at *Salisbury*, he fraudulently slays 300 of the *English* Nobility. *ibid.* Begins the Kingdom of *Kent*. 5.

The Princess *Henrietta Maria* born at *Exeter*. 534. Conveyed into *France*. 546.

Henry King of *France* running at Tilt, is wounded, whereof he dieth. 331. Another *Henry* King of *France* killed by a Monk. 399.

Henry King of *Navarre* marries *Margaret*, the *French* Kings Sister. 349. is Crowned King of *France*. 379. aided by Queen *Elizabeth*, he besiegeth *Roan*. 380. he turns Papist. 382. is killed by *Ravillack*. 413.

Henry the first, King of *England*. 38. See his Story throughout.

Henry the second, King of *England*. 52. See his Story throughout.

He causes his Son *Henry* to be Crowned King with him. 53. Who grows insolent. *ibid.* He rebels against his Father. 54. Leaves behind him nine hundred thousand pounds in money. 56.

Henry the third, King of *England*. 77. See his Story throughout. His Indigence forces him to borrow money of particular persons. 82. 88.

Henry Duke of *Hereford*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, appointed to Combat, but stayed. 149. he is banished for six years. 150. he with only three Ships lands at *Ravenspurre* in *Yorkshire*. *ibid.* he is Crowned King of *England*, by the name of *Henry* the fourth. See his Story throughout. 157. his Son the Prince his disorderly courses. 163. his submission to his Father. *ibid.*

Henry the fifth, King of *England*. See his Story in all. 169. his Reformation upon coming to the Crown. *ibid.* Passes with an Army into *France*. 170. his Devotion. *ibid.* Goes with another Army into *France*. 176. Affianced to the Lady *Katherine*, and proclaimed Heir and Regent of *France*. 175. Marches against the *Dauphin* with 60000 men. *ibid.* His Death. 176.

Henry the sixth, King of *England*. See his Story in all. 180. But eight Months old when he came to the Crown. 180. Proclaimed King of *France* in *Paris*. *ibid.* Crowned in *England*. 183. Crowned in *France*. 184. Affianceth the Earl of *Arminiacks* Daughter. 187. But by the Earl of *Suffolks* advice marries the Daughter of *Rayner*, Duke of *Anjou*. 187. His weakness of judgment appears. 188. Seeks an accommodation between him and the Duke of *York*. 194. 195. No Enterprize of War ever prospered where he was present. 197. His Death. 200. The manner of his Death. 212.

Henry the seventh, King of *England*. See his Story throughout. 236. Marries the Lady *Elizabeth*. 237. What Treasure he left behind him. 248. His Death. 252.

Henry the eighth, King of *England*. See his Story throughout. 254. Marries *Katherine* of *Spain*. *ibid.* like to be drowned. 264. made Arbitrator between the Emperour and *French* King. 274. His Death. 294.

Henry, eldest Son of King *James*, is made free of the Merchane-Taylors. 412. is created Prince of *Wales*, in most solemn manner, and keeps Court by himself. 413. he is Godfather to Sir *Robert Shirley*'s Son. 415. he falls sick. *ibid.* and dieth. *ibid.*

Henry, eldest Son to King *Henry* the second, is by his Fathers appointment Crowned King in his own life-time, and the disturbance that grew of it. 53. he dieth. 54.

Heptarchy, a division of *England* into seven Kingdoms. 5. &c.

Heraclius, Patriarch of *Hierusalem*, comes into *England*, and invites King *Henry* the second to undertake the Holy War; the Kings Excuse, and the Patriarchs insolent Reply. 58. and upon what ground. 60.

William Herbert, a *Welshman*, a Fryer, writ much in Divinity. 133.

Sir *William Herbert*, of a mean Gentleman, made Earl of *Pembroke*. 207. is put to death. *ibid.*

Sir *William Herbert*, Lord of *Cardiffe*, is made Earl of *Pembroke*. 310.

Hereford Cathedral Church, by whom founded. 7.

Hereford besieged by the *Scots*. 538. Taken by Colonel *Birch*. 542.

Hereticks in *Germany* burned in the Forehead with a hot Iron, and their patience. 58.

Two Hereticks immured by King *Henry* 3. and why. 89.

Richard Herring claims to be Usher of the Kings Chamber at a Coronation. 136.

A Counterfeit Herald sent by the King of *France* to King *Edward* the fourth, and why. 214.

Gaspar Heywood, the great Epigramaticks Son, the first Jesuite that ever set foot in *England*. 364.

Sir *Baptist Hicks*, afterward Viscount *Cambden*, builds the Sessions-House, called *Hick's-Hall* in Saint *John's* Street. 424. his Works of Piety. *ibid.*

Sir *Edward Hide* made Lord High Chancellour of *England*. 713. Created Earl of *Clarendon*. 770.

Sir *Henry Hide* the Kings Lieger at *Constantinople*, beheaded over against the Old *Exchange* at *London*. 607.

Sir *Nicholas Hide* made Lord Chief Justice in the room of Sir *Randolph Crew*. 465.

A High Court of Justice erected for the Tryal of the King. See Court.

Radulph Higden, a Monk of *Chester*, an Historiographer. 138.

Sir *Thomas Hill*, Mayor of *London*, his Work of Piety. 249.

Sir *Rowland Hill*, his Work of Piety. 313.

Hispaniola, an Island belonging to the King of *Spain*, the *English* landing there, are vanquish'd, and driven out of the Island. 625.

The History Professor in *Oxford*, by whom erected. 423.

The Marshal of *Hocquincourt* slain at the Siege of *Dunkirk*. 634.

Hocktide, a holy day so called, and why. 18.

Lawrence Holbeck, a Monk of *Ramsey*, writ an Hebrew Dictionary. 167.

Robert

Robert Holcot, a black Fryer, and a learned Schoolman, 133.

Henry Holland Duke of *Exeter*, fain in *France* to beg his bread, and how found dead, 213.

The Earl of *Holland* refusing to come to the King when sent for, is put out of his place at Court. 530. Takes up Armes for the King, 561. he is routed by Col. *Rich*, and the Lord *Francis* slain, *ibid.* he is taken prisoner at St. *Neots*. *ibid.* he is try'd and condemn'd to death at a high Court of Justice. 589. his Speech at his Execution, 590.

Mr. *Holles*, one of the Members taxed by the King, 516. justified by the Parliament, *ibid.* he is created Baron, 756.

Holmby-house, the King brought thither from the *Scots* Army, 548. Taken away from thence by Cornet *Joyce*, 550.

Holt in *Norfolk*, a Free-School there, by whom founded, 325.

Holy Land, King *Richard* the first makes great preparation to go thither, 62.

Homilies when first appointed to be read in Churches, 304.

Richard Hooker hath written notably of Ecclesiastical Discipline, 401.

John Hooper, late Bishop of *Worcester*, burnt at *Gloucester*, 321.

John Hopkins Translated divers of *Davids* Psalms into *English Metre*, 327.

Hops, when first brought into *England*, 198.

Sir *Ralph Hopton*, the Action between him and the Parliaments *Devonshire* Forces, 525. he defeated Sir *Will. Waller* at *Landsdown*, 526. he is routed at *Torrington*, by *Fairfax*, 545. and blocked up at *Truro*, and forced to disband, *ibid.*

Sir *John Hotham* sent down to keep *Hull* for the Parliament, 517. proclaimed Traytor by the King, *ibid.* repulseth the Kings Forces, 519. he and his Son sent up Prisoners to the Parliament, 524. they are beheaded together with Sir *Alexander Carew*, 538.

Hotspur, why so called, 161. slain, 162.

Houndsditch, when and by whom first paved, 250.

Houses in *England* very mean, till after *Cesars* coming, 2.

The House of Peers voted down by the Commonwealth Parliament, 588.

Householders appointed what meat they should eat, 128.

Sir *Edward Howard*, Lord Admiral, with 25 co defeats 10000 *Britains*, 256. afterward by his own policy drowned, 257.

The Lord *Thomas Howard* without the Kings assent, affianced the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, the Kings Neice, for which attainted, and died in the *Tower*. 284.

The Lady *Katharine Howard*, married to King *Henry* 8. 288. beheaded, and why, *ibid.*

The Lord *William Howard* is created Baron of *Effingham*, 321.

Thomas Howard Duke of *Norfolk* is condemned, and for what crimes, 248. is beheaded, *ibid.*

The Lord *Henry Howard*, thought to be designed by the Papists to marry the Queen of *Scots*, 395. is made a privy Counsellour, and the Earl of *Northampton*, 387. he dieth, and his works of Piety, 424.

Henry Howard Earl of *Surrey*, writ divers Treatises in *English Metre*, 300.

Justice *Howard* stab'd in *Westminster-Hall*, 515.

Robert Huggan writ certain vain Prophesies, 218.

Doctor *Hewet* tryed before the high Court of Justice, refuseth to plead, 633. is beheaded, *ibid.*

William Hugh, wrote a Treatise called the troubled Mans Medicine, 201.

Hull, the King demandeth entrance into it, and is denyed, 517. his Forces repulsed from thence by *Hotham* and *Meldrum*, 519. besieged by the Kings Forces, *ibid.*

Hume and *Timptallon* Castles surrendred to the *English*, 616.

Hungar and *Hubba*, *Danes*, infest *England*, 9.

Sir *Walter Hungerford*, made Lord *Hungerford*, 284.

Baron of *Hunsdon*, who and when first made, 329.

Hunsdon house in the *Black-Fryers* at a Sermon, falling down, killed 100 persons, 425.

Walter Hunt a Carmelite Fryer, in a general Council at *Ferrara*, defended the Ceremonies of the Latin Church against the *Greeks*, 218.

Col. *Hunt*, Mr. *Nichols*, and Mr. *Mackworth*, proclaimed Traytors by the King. 520.

Hunting of Deer restrained by the Conquerour, 27. allowed to Gentlemen in their own Woods, 46.

The County of *Huntingdon* forfeited by the *Scots*, 55.

The Earl of *Huntingdon*, when created, 278.

Huntingdon taken by the King, 540.

The Marquess of *Huntly*, and other *Scotch* Lords, proclaimed Traytors by the Council at *Edenburgh*, flie into *England*, 456.

Hurst-Castle, the King convey'd thither from the Isle of *Wight* 564.

John Husse and *Hierome* of *Prague*, condemned of Heresie, and burnt, 177.

A Hyde of Land, how much it containeth, 26. A hundred Acres, 70.

J J

Jackman and *Pet*, set forth by the *Londoners*, to find a shorter cut to the *East-Indies* by the North-west passage, return without success, 360.

Jamaica, an Island belonging to the King of *Spain*, the *English* take possession of it, 625. 632.

James, Son and Heir of *Robert* King of *Scotland*, a Child of nine years old, sailing into *France*, is taken at Sea, and sent to the *Tower*, 163. released after 18 years, 181.

James King of *Scots* murthered, 185.

James the third in a Battel against his Son is slain, 240.

James King of *Scotland*, with a hundred thousand takes *Norham* Castle, 259. Is slain at *Flodden-field*, with divers Lords and Bishops, 260. had been forewarned by an apparition, 261. his ill fate after he was buried, *ibid.*

King *James* the sixth, Crowned, 319. though but 12 years old, is admitted to take upon him the government, but hath Counsellors appointed him, 355. Is crowned King of *England*, 404. See the rest of him in his story throughout

Saint *James* a house of the Kings when built, 297.

Jasper, Earl of *Pembroke*, is created Duke of *Bedford*, 236.

The Lady *Jane* proclaimed Queen, 314. her willingness to resign, 315. Arraigned and Condemned, 317. though condemned, is allowed the liberty of the *Tower*, *ibid.* beheaded and her carriage in it, 320.

Judge *Jenkins* tryed by the Parliament, 583.

Anthony Jenkinson, the first of the *English*, that sailed through the *Caspian* Sea, 340.

Judge *Jenkins* and Sir *John Stowell*, tryed at the Kings-Bench Bar, 595.

The Isles of *Jersey* and *Man*, reduced by the Parliaments Forces, 612.

The Kings Jester gives him notice of an overthrow of the *French*, and in what sort, 119.

Jesuites and secular Priests bitterly inveigh against one another, but are commanded to avoid the Realm 395. Laws made against them, 366. The first Jesuite that ever set foot in *England*, who, 364.

Contests between them and the secular Priests, 471. 568.

Jesus Colledge in *Cambridge*, by whom founded, 250.

Jesus Colledge in *Oxford*, 570.

John *Jewel* Bishop of *Salisbury*, writ an Apology for the Protestant Doctrine, 401.

A Jewel worth as much as the revenues of *England*, 16.

Jews first brought into *England* by the Conquerour, 27. Much favoured by King *William Rufus*. 35. Restrained from burying any where but in *London*, are by King *Henry* the second allowed to bury where they dwelled, 56. Slain at the Coronation of King *Richard* the first, and why, 61. 62. A *Jew* refusing to pay his Taxation, hath his Teeth pulled out, till at last he consented, 72. Made to give Money to King *Henry* the Third, 82. The Jews let out to farm by King *Henry*, 84. Two hundred ninety seven executed at *London*. 100. Banished out of *England* by King *Edward* the first, *ibid.* Appointed to wear a Cognisance, whereby to be known, 101. *Jews* converted, had a Church builded for them in *London*,

by King *Henry* the Third, 89. Massacred, and upon what occasion, 65. a *Jew* falling into a Privy, would not be taken out that day, because it was their Sabbath, and was not suffered the next day, because it was the Christians Sabbath, and the third day he was found dead, 90.

A debate held at *Whitehall*, about the admission of the *Jews*, 627.

Igren, the beautiful Wife of the Duke of *Cornwall*, enjoyed by *Uter Pendragon*, in the likeness of her husband, by *Merlin*'s art, 4.

Thomas Ilam Alderman, new built the great Conduit in *Cheapside*, 250.

Ilay a *Scottish* Pursuivant, 270.

Images removed out of Churches, 286.

An Image of Wax made by Necromancy, at an hour appointed, spake certain words, 154.

An Imbargo upon the Goods of *English* Merchants in *Spain*, 627.

Feoffees for Impropriations condemned, and why, 451.

Inclosures pulled down by Parliament, 295.

Inclosures in *Northamptonshire* thrown down by Captain *Pouch*, 412.

Commanded to be laid open, 295. 304.

A new way to the *East-Indies*, found out by *John Davis*, 368.

Ina King of the *West-Saxons*, and his pious Works, 56.

Informers restrained, 355.

Ingerston's Alms-Houses built by Sir *Will. Porter*. 398.

Col. *Ingoldsby* and several others, counsel *Richard Cromwell* to suppress the meetings at *Desborow*'s House, 639. He is removed from his Regiment, which is conferred upon Col. *Rich*, 642. He and Col. *Streater* march against *Lambert*, 699. Defeats his party, and takes him Prisoner, *ib.*

Installation of *Oliver Cromwell* Protector, 630. Of *Richard Cromwell* Chancellour of *Oxford*, *ibid.* Of the Knights of the Garter, 736.

An Insurrection in *Kent* about Pole-Money, and the cause of it, 142. the like in several other places, 142. 143.

An Insurrection in *London* against Strangers, 364.

An Insurrection made by *Bluebeard* soon pacified, 189. by the Prentices of *London*, 194.

An Insurrection in *Leicester-shire*, by reason of Innovation in Religion, to which the King went in person, 285.

An Insurrection in the *North*, called the *Holy Pilgrimage*, in which were 40 thousand, and how pacified, *ibid.*

Six several Insurrections upon the Innovation of Religion, 285.

Another in *Somersetshire*, 305. Another in *Norfolk* about Inclosures, *ibid.* Another in *York-shire*, 305. 307.

An Insurrection of *Venner* the Wine-Cooper, a Fifth-Monarchy-man, 734

Intemperance of Diet used by King *Hardicknute*, 16. The like used by King *John*. 74.

Interest for Money, Twelve in the hundred paid by Queen *Mary* to the City, 315.

An Inundation called the *Duke of Buckingham*'s water, 234.

An Inundation in *Somersetshire* to what height, 425.

Another at *Coventry*, *ibid.*

Inundations in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, *ibid.*

Duke *John* takes upon him to be King, 68.

John King of *France*, taken Prisoner by the Black Prince, 123.

Is brought over into *England*, and lodged at the *Savoy*, 124. After five years Imprisonment is released, 125. He returns into *England*, and why, and there dieth, *ibid.*

John the fourth Son of King *Henry* the second, called *John without Land*, and why, 59. He comes to be King of *England*, 68. see his story throughout.

Why preferred before his Nephew *Arthur*, 68. divorced from his Wife *Avis*, 69. Married another, and who, *ib.* dies, and how, 72. surrenders his Crown to the Pope, 73.

John Earl of *Warren* resists the Kings way for raising of money by *Quo Warranto*, 100.

John of *Gaunt*, the fourth Son of King *Edward* the third, and his three Wives, 132. styled King of *Castile* and *Leon*, and why, 133. hated of the Commons, *ibid.* He dyeth at *Ely-house* in *Holbourn*, is intombed in the Quire of *Paul*'s, *ibid.* is confessed by Queen *Philip* King *Edward* the third's Wife, to be neither hers, nor King *Edwards* Son, 167.

None to be King that were called *John*, 137.

Saint *John* of *Hierusalem* near to *Smithfield*, by whom founded, 42.

Saint *John*'s Colledge in *Oxford*, called before *Bernard* Colledge, by whom founded, 178. 199. Enlarged and by whom, *ibid.* 325. 570.

Saint *John*'s Colledge in *Cambridge*, by whom founded, 250.

Benjamin Johnson, an excellent Writer of Stage-Plays, 402. 585.

St. *Johnstons* in *Scotland*, a grand Convention held there, 602. The Town taken by *Cromwell*'s Forces, 606. The Cittadel thereof seised on for the General by Captain *Witter*, 664.

Captain *Johnson* secures *Berwick* for Gen. *Monk*. *ibid.*

Mr *Jollyes* prudent Speech to General *Monk*. 684.

Will. Jones of *London* Merchant, his Work of Piety 114.

Colonel *Michael Jones* defeats the Marquess of *Ormond*'s Army before *Dublin*, 591.

Joppa, a City of *Palestine*, built before the Flood, 63.

Joseph of *Arimathea*. first planted the Christian Faith at *Thornet*, now called *Glastenbury*, 3.

Sam Joseph an *Italian* with 700 Souldiers landed in *Ireland*, and makes a Fort, calling it *Fort del Or*. 358. He renders himself without any conditions, *ibid.* His Souldiers are all put to the Sword in cold blood, and why, *ib.*

The Kings Journey into *Scotland* to be crowned, 453.

His second Journey into *Scotland*, 512.

His Journey into *Nottinghamshire* and *Lincolnshire*, to win those places to his Party. 519.

Ireland, by what *English* man first entred, 55. Submits it self to King *Henry* the Second, *ibid.* Reduced by King *John*, 71. Lord of *Ireland*, a Title first given to King *John*, 72. Laws of *England* when first executed in *Ireland*, 74. *Irish* men commanded to avoid the Realm, and why, 147. *Ireland* afforded to King *Edward* the third Thirty thousand pounds yearly, *ibid.*

The Tax in *Ireland* called the *Cesse*, what it was, 354.

King of *Ireland*, who had the Title first, 289. The Governours of *Ireland*, what Titles they had, 357. Many Rebellions, but soon suppressed, 351. A Rebellion through the severe Government of *Richard Bingham*, 367.

In *Ireland* nine pence to go for twenty Pence, 396. *English* Laws first planted in *Ireland* by King *John*. 72.

Colonel *Ireland* and several others appear in Sir *George Booth*'s Rising, 652.

Henry Ireton made Commissary General of the Army, 547. Deputy of *Ireland* in the room of his Father-in-law Gen. *Cromwell*, 612. his death, *ibid.*

Queen *Isabel* the Daughter of a King, the Wife of a King, the Sister of a King, and the Mother of a King; and yet a miserable Woman in the end, 116.

Another *Isabel* of *France* married to King *Richard* the second, 154.

The Fields about *Islington* and *Hogsdon*, laid open, and the Inclosures thrown down, which have ever since continued, 262.

Sir *Henry Isly* a Conspirator with *Wiat*, taken in disguise, is hanged at *Maidstone*. 326.

Islip in *Oxfordshire*, the place where King *Edward* the Confessor was born, 17.

Simon Islip Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford*. 130. He writ many Treatises, 134.

Sir *Andrew Jude* his Work of Piety, 313.

The *Jubilee* for 50 years, brought to be every 25 years, when and by whom, 217.

Judges carefully looked to by King *Edgar*, 12. Their Circuits appointed by King *Henry* the Second, 56. The Lord Chief Justice required to be chosen by Parliament, 81. and also, 85. 86.

The Judges fined for corruption, 100. The Circuits of Justices Itinerants, when first begun, 101. They give Sentence as the King would have them, 143. All the Justices banished the Realm, and their goods confiscate, 149. 150. The Chief Justice committed the Prince to the *Fleet*, and why, 163. When they first had allowance for their Circuits, 396. Their number increased by King *James*, 420. Their Debate about Ship-money, 456.

Junto. See *Common-wealth Parliament*.

A Jury questioned and fined for acquitting Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, 44.

Lord Justices manage the Affairs of *Ireland*, 478. They issue out Commissions of Martial Law, 602. They send an account of the *Irish* Affairs to the Earl of *Leicester*, 513. Their Message to the Lords of the Pale, 161. They desire men out of *Scotland*, *ibid.*

A Just

A Juſt at *Richmond* that continued a month, 240.
A Juſt in *Smithfield*, to which reſorted many great Lords out of forreign Nations, and the manner of the Solemnity, 146. another ſolemn Juſt, 259. 263.

K K

SAint *Katherine's* Hoſpital by the Tower, by whom founded, 50.
Queen *Katherine* is cited to appear in Court, and her carriage there. 276. She appeals from the Cardinals to the Pope, *ibid.* ſhe is confined, 281. her marriage is by Parliament diſſolved, *ibid.* ſhe dieth at *Kimbolton*, 285.
Katherine-hall in *Cambridge*, by whom founded, 217.
Keeper of the Privy ſeal, the fourth degree of honour in *England*, 351.
Kenelworth Priory by whom founded. 42.
Kenred the eighth King of *Mercia* left his Crown and became a Monk, 7.
Kent at *Cæſars* coming had four Kings in it, 2. The firſt Kingdom of the *Saxons*, 5. Divided into Pariſhes, *ibid.* The *Kentiſh* Men are of due placed in the forefront of the Battail, 23. They procure of the Conquerour the continuance of their Laws, and by what device, 27.
The *Kentiſh* Men take up arms in the behalf of the King, 560. Routed at *Maidſtone*, by General *Fairfax*, 561.
Kenwolph the 13 King of *Mercia*, founded the Monaſtery of *Winchcombe* in *Glouceſter-ſhire*. 7.
Col. *Kerr* defeated M. Gen. *Lambert*, 603.
Kerry in *Ireland* made a County Palatine, and by whom, 354.
Kett, his Inſurrection in *Norfolk* about incloſures 305. how pacified, 306. he is taken and hanged in Chains upon *Norwich*-Caſtle, *ibid.*
Morgan Kidwelly informeth the Earl of *Richmond*, of King *Richards* purpoſe to marry one of his Brother King *Edwards* daughters, 232.
Kilkenny in *Ireland* with ſeveral other Towns taken by the *Engliſh* Forces, 618.
John Killingworth a Phyſitian, Aſtronomer and Philoſopher, when lived, 233.
Kimbolton with five Members of the Common-houſe, accuſed of Treaſon by the King, 516.
Kings-hall in *Cambridge* by whom founded, 130.
Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, by whom founded, 199.
The *Kings-evill* firſt cured by *Edward* the Confeſſor, 28.
The Kings grant not always of force, 50.
Kingſton, the uſual place where the Kings of *England* anciently were crowned, 10. 11. &c.
Sir *William Kingſton* his bloody Jeſt with the Mayor of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, 305. alſo with a Millers Man, *ib.*
Kitts-Cotty houſe by *Aleſford* in *Kent*, a Monument erected in memory of *Colligern* there ſlain. 4.
Knees brawned with continual praying, whoſe, 29.
Thomas Knevſworth Mayor of *London*, his Work of Piety, 267. Fined and why, 250.
Sir *Thomas Knevet*, and the ſhip called the *Regent*, with 700 men in it, all drowned, 257
Sir *Edward Knevet* adjudged to loſe his right hand, and the ſolemn manner of it, and how he was pardoned. 288.
Knighthood conferred in an extraordinary manner, 9.
The Order of the Knights *Templars*, when begun, 41.
The Order of Knighthood impoſed upon men of a certain Eſtate, 98.
Knighthood anciently more ſolemnly conferred then now a-days, *ibid.*
Knights Templars accuſed of Hereſie, and committed to priſon all *Chriſtendome* over, 113.
Knights of the *Hare*, who, and why ſo called, 118.
Degrading of a Knight, in what manner done, 204. 205.
Knighthood impoſed upon all men of 40 pound Lands, 282. 449.
The Order of Saint *John* of *Hieruſalem*, commonly called *Knights* of the *Rhodes*, when diſſolved, 296.
What multitude made by K. *James* at his firſt coming, 405.
Major *Knight* being ſent with a party to ſeize *Newcaſtle* is prevented, 665. he, Col. *Glanberry*, and Col. *Wilkes*, the three Commiſſioners ſent by the Gen. to treat with *Lambert*, 667. his Speech to the Army Officers, to encourage them to ſubſcribe the Engagement which the General had cauſed to be drawn up, 697.
Henry Knighton writ a hiſtory, Intituled, *De geſtis Anglorum*, 134.
Knol in *Kent*, a houſe of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and by him enlarged, 249.
Sir *Robert Knolls*, how otherwiſe called, and his firſt act, 126. ſcorned, as riſen from a mean Eſtate, *ibid.* he daunteth the Rebels, 142. his Work of Piety, 165.
Sir *Francis Knolls*, a Counſellor of great age dyeth, 387.
John Knox in *Scotland*, perſwades the Lords that it belonged to them to take away Idolatry, and by force to reduce the Prince to the preſcript of the Laws, 532.
Kickers, or Adventurers, Souldiers ſo called, what they were, 272. All defeated, *ibid.*

L L

LAcock Abby in *Wiltſhire*, by whom founded. 89.
Sir *John Lamb*, and Doctor *Sibthorp*, inform againſt the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, 457.
Major Gen. *Lambert* defeats Col. *Kerr*, and takes him priſoner, 603. he defeats Sir *John Brown* in *Fife*, 605. takes the Pals at *Upſam*, 607. his words to the Speaker of the Remnant of Parliament. at the delivery of the Armies Petition, and Addreſs, 646. he receives his Commiſſion in the houſe from the Speaker, 648. he is ſent againſt Sir *George Booth*, 652. defeats him, *ibid.* he promotes ſeveral conſultations among the Army Officers in prejudice of the Juncto's power 654 is thereupon cenſured by them, *ibid.* is removed from his Regiment, and the Officers under him ſucceſſively advanced 661. he diſſolves the Remnant Parliament, by ſtopping up the paſſages to the Parliament houſe, *ibid.* his Army in great want of Money, 666. a Treaty agreed on, between him and General *Monk*, *ibid.* his party dayly decreaſes, upon the appearance of the *Portſmouth* Commiſſioners. 676 he makes an eſcape out of the *Tower*, 608. the Generals care to ſuppreſs him, *ibid.* Col. *Ingoldſby*, and Col *Stratter*, march againſt him. *ibid.* his party defeated, and he taken Priſoner. 699. *Cobbet*, ſent again to the *Tower*, *ibid.*
William Lambert, his work of Piety, 399.
Lambeth, the Collegiate Church there, by whom founded, 66.
The E. of *Lancaſter* withdrew from K. *Edward* 2. 108.
The Earl of *Lancaſters* Wife claimed by a lame Dwarfe, and avowed by her, 109.
John Duke of *Lancaſter*, bears divers Offices at the Coronation, quarrels with the Biſhop of *London*, and why, 136. he bears a ſpleen to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and why, 140. Accuſed by a Fryer of intending to kill the King, and how the Fryer was made away, *ibid.*
Thomas Earl of *Lancaſter* poſſeſt of five ſtately manſions, 105. Is beheaded, 111. his death bemoaned by the King, 115. Duke of *Lancaſter* goes to *Spain* with an Army, 140. is canonized for a ſaint, 153.
James Lancaſter with three Ships takes nine and thirty *Spaniſh* Ships, and his other Acts, 383.
Peter Landois the Duke of *Britains* Treaſurer bribed by King *Richard*, promiſeth to keep the Earl of *Richmond* in perpetual priſon, 231. Is hanged for it by the Duke of *Britain*, *ibid.*
Ralph Lane, the firſt that brought Tobacco into *England*, 368.
Lanfranke Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* builds two Hoſpitals about *Canterbury*, and procures 25 Mannors to be reſtored to that See, 29. he dies, 32.
Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and the Lord *Digby* routed near *Sherborn*, by *Copley* and *Lilburn*, 544. he joyns with Sir *Tho. Glenham*, and *Phil Musgrave* 561. he joyns with the *Scottiſh* Army under Duke *Hamilton*, *ibid.* defeated by *Cromwell*, 562.
Thomas Lanquet writ an Epitome of Chronicles, and alſo of the winning of *Bulogn*, 300.
Lapis Calaminaris, the ſtone ſo called, when firſt brought into *England*, 390.
Langley, a Monaſtery builded there by King *Edward* the ſecond, to pray for the ſoul of *Gaveſton*, 111.
Latham-houſe relieved by Prince *Rupert*, 553. ſurrendred to the Parliaments forces, 585.
The Lord *Latimers* Family, as for heirs Male, extinct, 355. how his four Daughters were beſtowed. *ibid.*
Hugh Latimer, late Biſhop of *Worceſter*, ſent to the Tower, 317. burnt at *Oxford*, 321.
Doctor *Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, his pious

Work, 423. His dream concerning the Bishop of *Lincoln*. 486. He is advanced to the Bishoprick of *London*, 487. Libels found against him and the Lord Treasurer. *ibid.* is made Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the room of *George Abbot* deceast. 489 his house at *Lambeth* beset in a tumultuous manner by Apprentices. 471. he is committed to the Black rod. 476. accused by the Commons of high Treason, and ordered to the *Tower*, 477. he is brought to his Tryal. 539. beheaded at *Tower-hill*. *ibid.*

The Earl of *Lauderdale* accompanies his Majesty to *White-Ladies*, after the fight at *Worcester*. 607. taken neer *Newport* by some of Col. *Lilburns* Troops. 608 kept prisoner at *Windsor* Castle till his Majesties Restauration. 610.

Laws made by *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*. 5.

Excellent Laws made by King *Alfred*. 9.

A Law ordained by the *West-Saxon* Kings, that no Kings Wife should have the Title or Majesty of a Queen, and why. 6.

Laws made by King *Athelstan* of excellent use. 10.

Laws made by King *Edmund*, translated into Latine by Master *Lambert*. 1.

A Law made by King *Edgar* to suppress drunkenness, by sizing of Pots. 11.

Laws made by King *Canutus* of excellent use. 16.

Laws, as now they are called the Common Laws of *England*, composed for the most part by *Edward* the Confessor, 18.

Laws of *Normandy* brought in by the Conquerour, 26.

Laws commanded by the Conquerour to be written in *French*, and all pleadings to be in *French*. *ibid.*

The Law of *Ne exeat Regno*, first imposed by King *William Rufus*. 34.

Laws reformed by K *Henry* the second. 52.

English Laws, when first planted in *Ireland*. 74.

The Laws of *England*, written by *Randolph* Earl of *Chester* and also by *Bracton*. 91.

A Law made by King *Henry* the fourth, that no person should alledge for his excuse any constraint of his Prince, for doing of an unlawful Act. 164.

Lawyers not suffered by the King to be chosen Burgesses of the Parliament. *ibid.*

Law for admission of poor in *Forma Pauperis*, when first ordained. 249.

A Law that none assisting the King for the time being, should afterwards be impeached for it, by an Act of Parliament to be made. *ibid.*

A Law against Murtherers and Thieves. *ibid.*

Laws of *England*, when first executed in *Ireland*. 309.

Lawyers in *Westminster*-hall plead in harness, for fear of *Wyats* coming. 318.

Laws for punishment of Heresie, revived. 325.

Laws more strict then before made against Papists. 361.

Laws made against Jesuits and Popish Priests. 366.

Lawyers famous when living. 218.

A League Tripartite, between the Emperour and the Kings of *France* and *England*. 266. Leagues of Princes of small validity. 267. A League offensive and defensive between King *Henry* the eighth and the Emperour. 269. broken and why. 275.

A League between *France* and *England*. 349.

The holy League in *France*, and to what it tended. 379.

Solemn League and Covenant entred into by the *Scots*, and taken in *England*. 561. Urged by the Parliament to all the Countries in *England* and *Wales*. *ibid.*

Learning so much esteemed by King *Alfred*, that he made a Law that all freemen possessing two hides of Land should bring up their Sons in Learning, till fifteen years of age at least. 8.

The Marquess of *Leda* sent Embassadour from *Spain* to the *English* L. Protector. 614. Governour of *Dunkirk*, and slain in a sally out of that Town. 634.

Leaden-hall in *London*, when and by whom built, and for what use. 199.

Leeds Castle in *Kent*, by whom first built. 29. to whom it anciently belonged. 110. Besieged and taken by King *Richard* the second, and why. *ibid.*

Leeds in the North taken by Sir *Tho. Fairfax*. 527.

Bartholomew Legat, and *Edward Wigton* two *Arrian* Hereticks burnt in *Smithfield*, 423.

Hugh Legat a Monk of St. *Albans* writ *Scholias* upon *Boetius de Consolatione*. 167.

The Legend of *English* Saints, written by *John Capgrave*, 201.

Leicester Abby, called Saint *Mary de Prato*, by whom founded. 42.

The City defended by the scite of the place. 54.

The new Hospital at *Leicester*, by whom founded. 131.

Earls of *Leicester*, Look *Montford* and *Dudley*

The Earl of *Leicester*, made Lord Deputy of *Ireland* in the room of *Strafford*. 513. an account of the *Irish* affairs, sent to him by the Lords Justices, with his answer, *ibid.*

Leicester taken by the King. 541. taken again by *Fairfax*, 541.

Leith in *Scotland* taken by the Earl of *Hertford*, 290.

John Leland writ divers Treatises, for instruction of Grammarians, 200. 201.

Lent first commanded to be kept by *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, 5. so observed by King *Henry* the fifth, that at the Coronation of his Queen, the Feast was only of fish, 175. Divers Lords imprisoned for eating of flesh in Lent. 291.

Matthew Earl of *Lenox* Regent of *Scotland*. 336. murthered. 338.

Leo King of *Armenia*, comes into *England*, and why. 141.

Leolyn Prince of *Wales*, rebels against King *Edward* the first, afterwards submits himself, and afterwards rebels again. 95. Is slain, and his head set upon the *Tower* of *London*, crowned with Ivie. 96.

St. *Leonards* Hospital at *York*, founded by *William Rufus*. 36.

Leopold Duke of *Austria* takes King *Richard* prisoner. 63.

The Letany and Procession, when first set forth in *English*. 304.

Alexander Lesly made General of the Rebel *Scots*. 466.

David Lesly defeats *Montrose*, at the fight at *Philiphaugh*. 567. He is taken prisoner in the pursuit after the Fight at *Worcester*. 610.

Old General *Lesly* and divers others are taken Ejis in *Perth*. 611.

A Letter of dangerous importance written by a Jesuite to the Father Rector at *Brussels*. 488.

A Letter to the House of Commons, called, *A speech without Doors*. 490. The *Scots* Letter to the King of *France* to implore his assistance. 469. The *Scots* Commissioners Letter to the Speaker. 546. The Kings Letters to the Parliament, 556. The Parliament of *Scotlands* Letter to the *English* Junto, protesting against the Kings Murther. 589. Kings *Charles* the seconds Letter to *Montrose*. 593. to the Committee of Estates. 594 another concerning their severe proceedings against *Montrose*. 599. The Earl of *Lauderdales* intercepted Letters. 606. Duke *Hamiltons* Letter to *Crofts*. *ibid.* The Kings Letter to *Mackworth*. 607.

His Majesties first Letter to General *Monk*. 651. his Majesties Letter to Sir *John Greenvile*. *ibid.* A Letter from the Committee of the Council of Officers to Gen. *Monk*, concerning the Armies representation, 659. Gen. *Monks* Letter to the City of *London*, 672. Of several Members of the *Council of State* to Gen. *Monk*. 673. Of *Lamberts* Officers, *ibid.* A Letter of advice from Gen. *Monk* to *Lambert*, 678. Gen. *Monks* Letter to the Long Parliament, 679. another Letter from him to the said House, 686. his Letter to all the Regiments to acquaint them what he had done, 688. 689.

Overton's Letter to some of *Monks* General Officers, 691.

Gen. *Monks* Letter to Col. *Overton*, 692.

The Kings Letter to the House of Lords, 702. to the House of Commons, 703. to Gen. *Monk*, 704. to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, 706. to the Officers of the Fleet, 707. his Letter to the General, to be communicated to the Officers of the Army. 710.

Matthew Earl of *Lenox* Regent of *Scotland*, 336. murthered, 338.

Leo King of *Armenia*, comes into *England*, and why, 141.

Leolyn Prince of *Wales*, rebels against King *Edward* the first, afterwards submits himself, and afterwards rebels again. 95. Is slain, and his head set upon the Tower of *London*, crowned with Ivie. 96.

St. *Leonards* Hospital at *York*, founded by *Will. Rufus* 36.

Leopold Duke of *Austria* takes King *Richard* Prisoner, 63.

Letters for secrecy sent in Bottles. 343.

The Levellers defeated at *Burford*, 591.

Dr. *Leveret* hanged, and for what, 600.

Mr. *Levinston's* Speech to the King at *Breda*, 595.

Sir *Richard Levison* and Sir *William Monson*, set out to attempt something against *Spain*, and what they did, 395.

Sir

Sir *Lewis Lukenor* the Master of the Ceremonies, and his Fee. 406.

Lewis Abbey in *Sussex*, founded by *William Warren* Earl of *Surrey*. 36.

King *Lewis* of *France* his policy to get *Vermoil*. 54.

Prince *Lewis* of *France* is sent for by the Barons of *England*. 71. he landeth at *Sandwich* with a Fleet of 600 Sail. 72. Prince *Lewis* the Fair, why so called. 78. He abjures his claim to any interest in *England*, and departs. 78.

King *Lewis* of *France* his noblenes of mind, towards the Duke of *Bedfords* Monument at *Rouen*. 185. *Lewis* the twelfth King of *France* marries *Mary* sister of King *Henry* the eighth, and dies within 82. days after his marriage. 262. 262.

Lord of *Libberton*, see *Windram*.

A Libeller hanged and quartered. 231. Libellers have their right hands cut off. 382.

Libels found against Bishop *Land*, and the Lord Treasurer *Weston*. 497.

Liberty of the Subject. 35. 85. 85.

A Library erected at *York* by the Archbishop there. 6.

The Library at *Oxford* burnt. 13. The Library in *York* burnt by the *Normans*. 24.

The Publick Library at *Oxford*, built by Sir *Thomas Bodley*. 398. 418.

Lidington the *Scotchman*, for his variable disposition, called by *Buchanan*, the *Camelion*. 351.

A Lightning that burned a man to death. 425.

John Lilburn a great Champion of the Levellers. 595. he is banisht. 613. he comes over into *England* out of Exile. 636. tryed for his life, and quitted by the Jury, yet sent back to Prison. *ibid.*

Col. *Lilburn* defeats the Earl of *Derby* at *Wiggen* in *Lancashire*. 607. he makes all possible opposition against General *Monk* in *Yorkshire*. 666. he endeavours to seduce the Generals Secretary from his service, but prevails not. *ibid.* he intercepts the Gen. Letter to Major Gen. *Morgan*. *ibid.*

Alanus de Lin, a great Writer when he lived. 179.

Lincoln, The Cathedral Church there, builded by *Remigius* Bishop of *Dorchester*. 36.

The City thought disastrous, for any King to enter into it with his Crown on his head. 51.

The Cathedral Church there rent to pieces with an Earthquake. 58.

The Earl of *Lincoln* brings *Martin Swart*, with a power of *Almains*, to assist *Lambert Symnel* in *Ireland*. 238.

The Bishop of *Lincoln* informed against by Sir *John Lamb*, and Dr. *Sibthorp*. 457. he is fined and imprisoned for certain misdemeanours. *ibid.* Released out of the *Tower* by the Parliament. 442.

The Earl of *Lindseys* expedition to *Rochel*. 442. successless. *ibid.* He is sent with a Fleet to scour the Seas. 455. he flies with others of the Peers to the King at *York*. 519. General of all the Kings Army. 521. he is slain at the Battle of *Edgehil*. 475.

John Litester a Dyer, a Captain of the Rebels in *Cambridgshire*, *Norfolk*, &c. 139. his insolence. *ibid.* defeated by the Bishop of *Norwich*, and beheaded. *ibid.*

Lyons when first appointed to be kept in the *Tower* of *London*. 56.

All the Lyons in the *Tower* die. 199.

Their nature discovered before King *James*, in killing a Cock, and sparing a Lamb. 409.

Sir *George Lisle*, shot to death at *Colchester*. 563. the ground bare of grass for a good while after, where he fell. 578.

Litchfield the *Hospital* by whom Founded. 149.

The Town besieged by the Lord *Brook*. 524. The Close taken after his death by his *Souldiers*. *ibid.* Retaken by Prince *Rupert*. *ibid.*

Littleton, a Judge of the Common Pleas, made a Knight of the *Bath*, was Author of *Littleton's* Tenures. 219.

The Lord Keeper flies with the Great Seal to the King at *York*. 518.

Sir *Henry Littleton* and others committed to the *Tower*. 623.

Titus Livius de Foro Livisius, an *Italian*, writ the Life of King *Henry* the fifth. 179.

Loan, taken by King *Henry* the eighth. 284.

A general *Loan* resolved on, and Commissioners appointed to gather it. 438. Divers Gentlemen imprisoned for opposing it. *ibid.* They brought their *Habeas Corpus*, and came to a tryal. 440. their case debated. 441. *Loan* granted to the King, and by whom. 469.

Col. *William Lockart*, one of the *Iusticiers* Judges of *Scotland*. 631. sent by *Oliver Cromwel* Ambassadour to the *French* King. 653. Married to a *Niece* of *Cromwel's*. *ib.* he is made Commander in Chief of the *English* abroad in the room of *Reynolds*. 633. Afterwards Governour of *Dunkirk*. 634. he submits to the change of Government made by the Army. 648. he Negotiates for the *English* Commonwealth, at the Treaty of Peace between *France* and *Spain*. 653.

Logria, all the part on this side *Humber*, so called of *Locrine* eldest Son of *Brute*. 2.

Lollards, who so called. 129.

Peter Lombard, *Comester*, and *Gratian*, all three Brothers, and all three Bastards. 51.

Great Fire in *London*. 29. 250.

The Mayor upon solemn days walks to a Grave-stone in *Pauls* Church of a Bishop of *London*, who procured the Conqueror to confirm that Charter of Liberties. 27. The Mayor committed to the Castle of *Windsor*, and a Warden appointed to govern the City. 147.

The Mayor when first begun to go by water to take his Oath. 198. He swears Allegiance to the Lady *Jane*. 314. A great part of *London* overthrown with Tempests. 36. The Streets not paved in *William Rufus* time. *ibid.*

Franchises granted to it, by King *Richard* the first. 66. The Wall of the City of *London*, from *Cripplegate* to *Bishopsgate*, by whom built. 217. a great part of it burnt. 29. another time. 43.

The Bridge new made of Timber, by whom. 58. begun to be builded of Stone, when and by whom. *ibid.* when *London* first governed by a Mayor and Sheriffs. 66. 74.

The Mayor anciently continued many years in the place. *ibid.* Their Corporations and Fellowships when first granted. *ibid.* The Bridge finished of stone, when and by whom. 74. Their Common Council, when first ordained. *ibid.* The Mayor and Sheriffs ordained to be chosen every year. 74. *London* obtains of King *Henry* the third, to pass Toll-free thorow all *England*, and to have free Warren about *London*, and to use a common Seal. 88. 89. Sheriffs of *London* to stay in their places but one year. *ibid.* The Mayor ordained to be sworn before the Barons of the Exchequer, when first. *ibid.* First Aldermen there. *ibid.* Franchises granted to the City of *London*. 129. Liberties of *London* seized, and why. 147. Mayor of *London* offended that the Lord Treasurer was placed before him. 205. *London*-wall repaired. 217. *London*-Bridge burnt. 571.

London-Derry the Siege raised by Sir *Charles Coot*. 638. 591.

Mr. *Long* sentenced in the Star-Chamber. 446.

William Longchampe, Bishop of *Ely*, left Governour of the Realm in King *Richards* absence, his insolent carriage. 62. 64. He disguiseth himself in Womans apparel, to flee the Realm, but discovered, is beaten by the Women. 64.

Longshanks, the Surname of King *Edward* the first, and why. 102.

William Long Espe, or *Longsword*, a base Son of King *Henry* the second, by *Rosamond*, made Earl of *Salisbury*. 59.

Roderick Lopes a Jew, and Physician to Queen *Elizabeth*, corrupted to kill her, is hanged and quartered. 383.

Lords seize *Castles* upon report of King *Stephen*: death. 47.

Their demands to King *John* refused. 71. they take Arms, and send for *Lewis* of *France*. 71. confederate against King *H.* 3. 79. the King proclaims them Outlaws, and seizes their Estates. 80. They come armed to the Parliament. *ibid.* The King upbraideth them. 81. several committed to the *Tower*. 129. several put to death. 204. several created. 216. 428. The Lords acquit the King from any design of making War against the Parliament. 519.

A Lottery holden in *London* for the Plantation of *Virginia*, and who got the best Prize, and what it was. 415.

Love unspeakable of a Wife. 94. Love yields to any conditions. 95.

The Family of *Love*, when and where begun. 397.

Mr.

Mr. *Christopher Love* and others tryed for their lives about a Plot, 605. *Love* and *Gibbons* beheaded. *ibid.*

John Lookin, four times Mayor of *London*, his Pious Works. 131.

Low Countries, The War there, how it first began. 341. The means by which it hath so long been able to hold out against the King of *Spain*. 349. send to Qu. *Eliz.* to undertake their Protection, and her Answer 353. also 367. They are aided by Qu. *Eliz.* with 4000 Souldiers. *ibid.* She undertakes their Protection, and hath *Flushing* and *Brill* delivered to her. 368. They complain of the Earl of *Leicesters* carriage. *ibid.* whereupon he is called home. 375.

Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, shot to death at *Colchester*. 563. The ground bare of grass where he fell. 592.

Ludgate, the Image placed there, is of *Cadwallader*. 5

The Lord *Lumley*, from whom descended. 217.

Colonel *Lunsford* apprehended for endeavouring to raise forces about *Kingstone*. 529.

Martin Luther begins a Reformation of Religion. 295.

Lutherans and *Protestants* how they differ, 296.

Colonel *Lydcot* preferr'd by General *Monk* to the Command of *Cobbets* Regiment. 672. He is called by the General to advise with in his Treaty with *Lambert*. *ibid.* He is sent with General *Monks* Letter to the Long Parliament, about the sending of their Souldiers out of the City. 681. He and Colonel *Cloberry*, sent with a Letter from General *Monk* to the Long Parliament. 686. His Speech to the Officers of the Army, upon the reading of his Majesties Letter and Declaration. 705.

John Lydgate, a Monk of *Bery*, writes much in Poetry. 201.

The Lye given to K. *Henry* the third to his face, by *Simon Monford* Earl of *Leicester*, yet passed over. 84.

Thomas Lynde Knighted. 255.

Lynne garrison'd for the King. 529. Besieged and taken by *Manchester* and *Cromwel*. *ibid.*

Lyonel Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of King *Edward* the third, Ancestor by a Daughter to King *Edward* the fourth. 132.

Nicholas Lyranus, or *De Lyra*, a converted Jew, and a great writer in Divinity, when he lived. 114.

Liveries not to be given, but to houshold-servants. 164.

M M

Mac-guire, and *Mac-mahon*, two *Irish* Rebels, and seized on. 512. hanged, drawn and quartered at *Tyburn*. 513.

Mack-Williams, a Name of great account with the *Irish*, wholly extinct, 367.

Colonel *Mackworth*, Governour of *Shrewsbury*, his Letter to the Kings Letter and Summons. 607.

Magdalen Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom built. 199.

Magdalens Chappel at *Kingstone*, by whom founded. 131.

Magdalen, a man much like to King *Richard*, given out to be him. 159. is hanged and quartered. 160.

Maidenhead Chappel in *Cheshire*, by whom founded. 250.

Mahomets Doctrine begins to spread. 5.

Major Generals constituted over Provinces, and who they were. 616.

Malcolme King of *Scots* made to do homage to the Conquerour. 26. A most valiant Prince, and an example of it. 33. forced to do homage to *William Rufus*. *ibid.*

The Island of *Malta* is given by the Emperour to the Knights of St. *John* of *Hierusalem*. 279.

Maldon in *Essex*, anciently called *Camalodunum*. 2.

Malgo Conanus succeedeth *Vortiporus* in the Kingdom. 4.

A *Maletot*, what it was. 153.

Thomas Mallory, a *Welshman*, writ of King *Arthur*, and of the Round Table. 252

Malmesbury Abbey built by *Kenwald* King of the *West Saxons*. 6. Founded by Saint *Adela*. 11. The Castle there by whom built. 42.

Sir *Roger Mauleod*, Chief Baron, his work of Piety. 398.

The Isle of *Man*, whereof *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, hath the Title to be King. 117. The Isle given to the Earl of *Northumberland*, to hold of the King, by bearing the Sword, with which he entred *England*. 157.

Sir *Walter de Manny*, born at *Cambray*, founded the *Charter-house* by *Smithfield*. 130. he died at *London*, and was buried in the *Charter-house*. 137.

John Mandevile, the great Traveller, a Doctor of Physick, and a Knight, when he lived. 134.

Lord *Mandevile*, created Baron of *Kimbolton*. 430.

Henry Manners, Earl of *Rutland*, descended by his Mother from *Edward* the fourth. 274.

Sir *Thomas Manners*, Lord *Ross*, is created Earl of *Rutland*. *ibid.*

Mannings treachery discovered, for which he is put to death. 624.

The Earl of *March*, what Earldom it was. 116. he gave the Sun for his badge, and why. 197. proclaimed King of *England* by the name of *Edward* the fourth. 198. Look his Reign throughout. 203.

Mardike Fort taken by joynt forces of the *French* and *English*. 630. The *Spaniard* attempts to regain it, but in vain. *ibid.*

Margaret, Queen of *Scotland*, marries *Archibald Douglasse*, Earl of *Angus*. 263. Eldest Daughter to King *Henry* the seventh, is married to *James* King of *Scotland*. 246. her Issue 251.

Queen *Margaret*, Sister to *Edgar Atheling*, and Wife to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*. dies. 33.

The Lady *Margaret Douglass*, the Kings near Neece, marries *Matthew* of *Lenox*, and by him had Henry Father of *James*. 284.

The Lady *Margaret*, Dutchess of *Burgundy*, sets up *Perkins*, *Warbeck* against King *Henry* the seventh. 241.

Saint *Margarets* Church near the Abbey at *Westminster*, by whom founded. 18.

Mariannus Scotus, a Historiographer in the Conquerours time. 31.

Markham Chief Justice, chosen rather to lose his place, than to assent to an unjust judgment. 215.

Sir *Griffith Markham* set at liberty, but lived long after in mean account. 407.

Col. *Markham*, and Mr. *Atkins*, sent by General *Monk* with a Letter to the City of *London*. 671. Imprisoned by the Committee of Safety, upon pretence that the Letter was fictitious. 673.

Statutes of *Marlborough*, when made. 88.

Sir *Henry Marney*, created Lord *Marney*. 271.

The Earl of *Marre*, by a special priviledge, hath the custody of the King of *Scotland* in his minority. 350.

Marriage of Princes, when very young. 116.

Marriage of *Henry* the fourth. 161. marriage of *Henry* the eighth first excepted against. 276.

Sufficiently made by Parties bare consent. 473.

Marriage-Bed so loathed by Queen *Gusburga*, that she sued a Divorce, and became a Nun. 6.

Marron Nunnery near *Lynne*, by whom founded. 89.

William Marshal Earl of *Pembroke*, had five Sons, who all lived to be Earls successively, yet all died without Issue. 91.

The Noble Family of the *Marshals*, in whom extinct. *ibid.*

Richard Earl *Marshal* trained into *Ireland*, and there slain. 80.

Marston-Moor fight. 534.

Letter of *Mars* called in. 408.

Saint *Martins le Grand* in *London*, by whom founded. 28.

Gregory Martin, commonly called *Marprelate*, and his seditious Libel. 398.

Martinengi, the last Popes Nuncio in *England*. 334.

Mary Magdalen, *Lazarus* and *Martha* come into *England*. 3.

Saint *Mary Overies* in *Southwark*, began to be builded. 74. by whom founded. 42. More. 163.

Saint *Mary* Hall in *Oxford* founded by King *Edward* the second. 113.

The Church-yard of S. *Mary* Hospital without *Bishopsgate*, and an house in it, when and by whom built. 217.

Saint *Mary Ottery* in *Devonshire*, founded by King *Edward* the Confessor. 19.

Mary King *Henry* the eighths Sister, marries *Lewis* the twelfth, King of *France*, and is Crowned Queen. 262. She after marries *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*. 263.

Mary Queen of *Scots* conveyed into *France*, and at six years old married to the *Dauphin*. 304. Offers all obeysance to Queen *Eliz.* so she might be declared her Successor.

ceſſor. 333. Adviſes with her about her marriage. 335. Delivered of a Son. 338. Marries Earl *Bothwell*, *ibid.* whereupon the *Scotch* Lords ſeize her, and force her to reſign. 339. She flies into *England*, and the event thereof. 340, 341, 364, 365. Conſultations about her. 371. Tryed and condemned, *ibid.* 373, 374. Lady *Mary* conſtant to her Religion. 309. She claimeth the Crown. 314. Is proclaimed. 316. Crowned. 317. Preached to be with-child, but not ſo. 322. Her death. 325.

Mary de Medices the Queens Mother comes over into *England*. 466.

Mary, eldeſt Daughter of K. *Charles* of *England*, is married to *William* Prince of *Orange*, 508. She is brought to bed of a Son. 571.

She arrives in *England*, ſoon after the reſtoration of the King her Brother. 730. Her death. 732.

Masks when firſt in *England*. 255.

A Mask of Lords, the youngeſt fifty. 266.

Mask of the Innes of Court. 454.

The Maſs reſtored. 317. Commanded in all Churches to be uſed. 325.

Maſſacre of Proteſtants in *France*, at the marriage of the K. of *Navarre*. 349.

Colonel *Maſſey* takes *Sudley* Caſtle for the Parliament. 524. He beats the Earl of *Worceſters* forces, *ibid.* He keeps *Glocester* againſt the King. 527. He takes *Monmouth*. 537.

He deſerts the Parliaments Cauſe, and is deſigned Commander in Chief of his Majeſties *Engliſh* forces in *Scotland*. 605. He keeps the paſſage at *Upton*. 608. ſurrendring himſelf to the Countels of *Stamford* 3 after *Worceſter* fight he is ſecured by the Lord *Grey* his Son. *ibid.* Makes his eſcape out of the *Tower*. 651. Beſtirs himſelf for the King in *Glocesterſhire* at the time of Sir *George Booths* Riſing. 651. is taken priſoner. 652. he eſcapes together with ſeveral other priſoners. *ibid.* Is Knighted by his Majeſty at *Canterbury* 721.

Matild, King *Henry* the firſts Wife, Daughter to the King of *Scots*. 38. 43.

Mathild, King *Stephens* Wife, a valorous Woman. 50.

Maltrevers marries the Duke of *Lenox* his Eldeſt Daughter. 467.

Maude the Empreſs comes into *England*. 47. and received by the *Londoners*. 48. where buried. *ibid.* Beſieged by King *Stephen* in *Arundel* Caſtle. *ibid.* In *Oxford*. *ibid.* ſhe eſcapes in the ſnow. *ibid.* Diſcouraged, ſhe leaves the proſecution of the War to her Son *Henry*. *ibid.* what became of her after the agreement between King *Stephen* and her Son *Henry*, uncertain. 49.

Maudlin, the Counterfeit K. *Richard*, hanged and quartered. 160.

Maulin in *Kent*, with the Nunnery, conſumed with fire. 66.

Munday Thurſday, the cuſtom of waſhing poor mens feet, by whom firſt brought up. 119.

Prince *Maurice* caſt away in the *Weſt Indies*. 671.

Beats Sir *W. Waller*, near *Newbury*. 543.

Maximilian the Emperour wears a croſs of S. *George*, as King *Henries* Souldier, and takes pay. 258. his death. 265.

Cuthbert Mayne, a Prieſt executed, and why. 397.

Medway River almoſt dried up. 42.

Melancholy a ſtrange one. 209.

Sir *John Meldrum* beſieged *Newark*. 531. he is blockt up by Prince *Rupert*. *ibid.*

Mend-all, ſo *Jack Kade* ſtiled himſelf. 190.

Mendmarket, a name given to Sir *Robert Umprexile*, for taking divers *Scotiſh* ſhips, laden with corn, and thereby bringing down the price. 163.

Mendoza the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador is thruſt out of *England*, and why. 364.

The *Eaſt-India* Merchants confirmed, and made a body politick. 396. How the title of *Merchant-Taylors* came firſt to Taylors. 249. Prince *Henry* made free of the *Merchant-Taylors*. 412.

Mercherdack King of *Ireland*, a great honourer of King *Henry* the firſt. 44.

The *Muſcovy* Company of *Merchants*, and the priviledges granted them. 340.

The *Turkie* Merchants when firſt ſet up. 357. The *Eaſt-India* Merchants firſt ſet up with great priviledges. 391.

Mercia, containing *Glocesterſhire*, and 15 other ſhires adjoyning, make the ſixth Kingdom of the *Saxons*. 7.

Adam Merimouth writ two hiſtorical Treatiſes; one entituled *Chronica* 40 *Annorum*, another 60 *Annorum*, 155.

Merival Abbey, by whom founded 42. 56.

Merlin, a Cabinet Counſellor of King *Vortigern* 3. A Magician, *ibid.*

Merton Abby in *Surrey* founded by a *Norman* Lord 29.

Merton Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded 101.

Merton Priory at *Dover*, by whom founded 5.

Mervin, Lord *Audley*, ſee Earl of *Caſtle-haven*.

Meſſina in *Sicily* taken by King *Richard* 63.

The Kings Meſſage to the parliament 516. another Meſſage 520. ſeveral more 536.

The meſſage ſent from the Eſtates of *Scotland* to King *Charles* the ſecond 598. another meſſage of the *Scots* to the King 599. from the King to the Committee of Eſtate 617. his meſſage to the parliament of *Scotland*, *ibid.*

King *Charles* the ſecond, his meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, concerning the Act of pardon 715.

Mich. Abbey at *Abbington*, by whom built, and by whom re-edified 10.

S. *Michaels* Church in *Crooked-Lane*, by whom builded 135.

Sir *Francis Michill*, a Juſtice of *Middleſex*, degraded, and why 438.

Middleham Colledge beyond *Tuik*, by whom founded 234.

Middleton Church in *Dorſetſhire* conſumed with lightning 113.

Sir *Hugh Middleton* brings water to *London*, from *Chadwell* in *Hartfordſhire* 417.

Major General *Middleton* defeated in the *Highlands* 622. Made Lord Commiſſioner of *Scotland* 717.

Sir *Thomas Middleton* joyns with Sir *George Booth* in his riſing for the King, and delivers up *Chirk Caſtle* 650.

Middleton Monaſtery, and alſo that of *Michelneſs* in the County of *Dorſet*, founded by King *Athelſtan* 10.

Sir *Walter Mildmay* his works of piety 398.

The Military Garden, when firſt erected 417.

Sir *John Minſterworth*, hanged for defrauding his Souldiers of their wages 127.

Silver Mines found in *Deconſhire* 101.

A Miracle done by King *Athelſtan* 10.

A Miracle wrought by S. *Dunſtan*, if not rather a Fiction 12.

A Miracle wrought upon a Biſhop 28.

A Miracle wrought by *William* Biſhop of *Durham* *ibid.*

A forged Miracle 95.

A Miracle reported to be done by the Earl of *Lancaſter* after his death 110.

A Miracle of water riſing to a great height upon a ſmall rain 285.

A Miracle of the River *Dunne*, ſwelling to an incredible height *ibid.*

A Miracle of *Cranmers* Heart, which when all his body was conſumed with fire, remained whole and untouched 323.

A Miracle of peaſe growing in great abundance, where never ſowed 326.

Miniſters in *Scotland* Authors of all diſorder there 365. In *England* enjoyned to ſwear certain Articles, and what they were 398.

Minſter Abbey in *Kent*, by whom founded 5.

Minories without *Aldgate*, by whom founded 101.

Money, if great ſums, not paid by tale, but by weight 26.

Money ſterling firſt coyned in King *Johns* time 72.

Baſe Money made current by King *Edward* the firſt 114.

Abated in the weight, yet made to paſs at the former value 128. Baſe Money called in 354.

Money lent to Queen *Elizabeth*, paid by King *James* 420.

Moneys raiſed in their price, and how much 421. See Coyns.

Monarchy ſubverted for a time by the Commonwealths-men in *England* 588.

Fifth-Monarchy-men apprehended upon a deſign againſt *Cromwell's* Government 629.

Monaſteries, ſeven and forty built by King *Edgar* 12. Ranſacked by the Conquerour, and all the goods taken to his uſe 26. Six hundred forty and five Monaſteries 90. Colledges 110. Hoſpitals, and 2374. Chanteries

ries, and free Chappels put down by the Lord *Cromwell*, 286. Look Abbeys.

Gen *Monk* takes *Sterling* Caſtle, 611. *Dundee* by ſtorm, *ibid.* Overthrows the *Dutch*, in two notable Sea fights. 618, 619. Is made Commander in chief of the Forces in *Scotland*. 623. Defeats *Middleton*, at *Loughgery*, *ibid.* He ſeems to give his conſent to what was done by the Armies power in *England*. 644. deſires to lay down his Commiſſion. 653. Marches into *England*. 677. marches into the City of *London*. 682. pulls down their Gates. 685. he regains the Cities Loves. 686. promiſes a Free Parliament. 687. is made Knight of the Garter, and Duke of *Albemarle*. 715.

Mr. *Nicholas Monk* a Miniſter, Brother to the General, takes a journey into *Scotland*, to perſwade him to embrace the Kings Intereſt. 650. Is conveyed by Mr. *Clarges* on Ship-board, for his tranſportation into *Scotland*. 651. He arrives from *Scotland*, with private orders from the General to *Clarges*. 660.

A Monks Cowl accounted a great defenſative to be buried in. 75.

Monmouth taken by *Maſſey*, regained by the Lord *Herbert*. 538.

Monopolies complained of by the Parliament, and thereupon called in. 394. called in by King *James*. 420.

Monopolies voted down by Parliament. 495.

George Monox, Major of *London*, his works of piety. 396.

Sir *Giles Mompeſſon* cenſured and why. 418. Monſter found, where. 682.

The new Viſcount *Montacute* from whom deſcended. 102.

William Montacute Earl of *Saliſbury*, made King of *Man*, 117. Is taken Priſoner by the *French*, 118. Is ſet at liberty by exchange. 119.

Thomas Montacute Earl of *Saliſbury*, his Name a terror to the *French*. 180. 181. 182. unfortunately ſlain. 183.

Mountford the Original of that Family. 74. *Mountford*, *Glouceſter* and *Spencer*, get all the Authority to themſelves. 86. *Mountford* and *Glouceſter* in arms. 87. their ſtratagems. *ibid.* They take the King, Prince, and divers Lords Priſoners. *ibid.* He and *Glouceſter* fall at variance. *ibid.* *Glouceſter* joyns with the Prince. *ibid.*

Montford Earl of *Leiceſter* tells the King to his face that he lied. 84. Is ſlain. 87. A Miracle is wrought by him after his death. *ibid.* His Sons flee into *Italy*, where they raiſed fortunes. *ibid.*

John de Montford ſurnamed the Conqueror. 165. His widow married to King *Henry* the 4th. *ibid.*

Montmedi, St. *Venant*, and *Mardike* fort taken by the *French* and *Engliſh*. 630.

Monuments for great perſonages erected in divers places 43. 102.

Montroſs, offers his ſervice to the King by Letters, which by the means of *Hamilton* were ſtoln out of the Kings pocket. 474. He is made Governour General of *Scotland* for the King. 530. He enters *Scotland* with an Army. *ibid.* his ſucceſs there. 536. he defeats the Covenanters at *Aldern* and *Kelſith*. 544. Is defeated by *David Leſly* at *Philips-Haugh*. 547. Diſbands his Army and quits *Scotland* at the Kings command. *ibid.* Commiſſioned from King *Charles* the Second, to raiſe forces for him. 595. The Kings Letter to him. *ibid.* He lands with forces in *Scotland*. 596. Is defeated by *Strangham*. 595. Brought Priſoner to *Edenburgh*. *ibid.* Brought to his Tryal in the Parliament of *Scotland*. 597. His ſpeech at his Tryal. *ibid.* at his Execution. 598. He is hanged on a Gallows 30 foot high. *ibid*

John Moon an *Engliſhman*, but a ſtudent at *Paris*, compiled in the *French* Tongue, the Romance of the Roſe, tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Geoffery Chaucer*. 155.

Sir *Peter de la Moore* Speaker of the Parliament. 127.

Sir *Thomas Moore* Under-Sheriff of *London*, 264. Choſen Speaker of the Parliament, is made Lord Chancellour, the firſt Layman in any mans memory. 277. He comes into the Houſe of Commons, and acquaints them with the determinations of divers Univerſities, that the Kings marriage with the Lady *Katherine* is unlawful. 281. He delivers up the Great Seal, in whoſe place is preſently appointed *Thomas Audley*, Speaker of the Parliament. *ibid.* Is beheaded, and why: his vein of jeſting, ſcoffing. 282. 283. his devotion in helping the Prieſt to ſay Maſs, being Lord Chancellour. *ibid.* he never purchaſed above a hundred pound a year. *ibid.*

More-fields which had before been Gardens, when firſt laid down for Archers to ſhoot in. 250. Caſt into walks. 417.

Moorgate, when and by whom firſt made. 178.

Henry Lord *Mordant*, fined for not appearing at the Parliament according to ſummons. 411.

M. *John Mordant*, brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*, tryed before a high Court of Juſtice. 633. Is created Viſcount *Mordant* of *Ireland*. 712.

David Morgan a *Welſhman*. writ of the antiquities of *Wales*. 218.

Morgan, a baſe Son of King *Henry* the ſecond, refuſed a great dignity in the Church, rather than to deny his blood. 59.

Morgan the Judge, that gave ſentence againſt the Lady *Jane*, falleth mad and dieth. 320.

Colonel *Morgan* routs *Glengarn* in the *High-lands*. 622. Diſſolves the General Aſſembly at *Aberdeen*. 623. He gains a very high eſteem from Marſhal *Turen*, by his great valour ſhewn at the taking of *Dye*. 637. He betakes himſelf into *Scotland* to Gen. *Monk*. 667.

Morlay in *France*, ſurprized by the Earl of *Surrey*. 269.

Henry Lord *Morley* writ divers Comedies and Tragedies. 300.

The Lord *Morley* ſlain, and by what means. 240.

The Statute of *Mortmain* when enacted. 101.

Roger Mortemen, the Queens favorite. 111. They are in *France*. *ibid.* whence being ſent for and not coming, they are proclaimed Enemies to the Eſtate. *ibid.*

Roger Mortimer made Earl of *March*, and when. 116.

Mortimer ſeized on by the King in the Queens Chamber ready to go to bed. 117. attended with nineſcore Knights and Gentlemen, *ibid.* condemned, and why. *ibid.* Is drawn and hanged at *Tiburn*. *ibid.*

Roger Mortimer, ſon and heir of the Lady *Philip*, eldeſt Daughter of *Lyonel* Duke of *Clarence*, is proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown. 141. His grandchild was after Duke of *York*, and Father to King *Edward* the fourth. *ibid.*

Edmund Mortimer, the laſt Earl of *March*, dying, to whom his Inheritance deſcended. 182.

Morton Biſhop of *Ely*, is committed to the cuſtody of the Duke of *Buckingham*. 228. He plots with the Duke to bring in *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*. *ibid.* He paſſeth over into *France*. 230. He advertiſeth the Earl of *Richmond* of the plot againſt him by *Peter Londois*. 231. Is called home, and made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 230. 237.

Earl *Morton* Regent of *Scotland*, 350. Beheaded and why. 360.

Montauban won by King *John* in fifteen days. 70.

Lord *Mountjoy* Deputy of *Ireland*, 410.

General *Montague* his Victory over the *Spaniſh* Fleet near *Cadiz*, 627. He is ſent with a Fleet into the *Sound*, to aid the King of *Sweden*, 638.

He acquaints the Council of State, with the condition of the Fleet, 699. He is made by his Majeſty one of the *Knights* of the Garter and Earl of *Sandwich*, 715.

Mr. *Richard Montagues* books called the *Romiſh Gagger*, and *Apello Cæſarem*, queſtioned in Parliament, and cenſured, 443.

The Lord *Mounteagle*, how rewarded, for being a means of diſcovering the Powder Treaſon. 411.

Thomas Mowbray Earl Marſhal beheaded and why, 167.

John Mowbray reſtored to his dignity of Duke of *Norfolk*, 183.

Sir *Thomas Mole* Speaker of the Parliament, 289.

Mulberry trees commanded to be planted for breeding of Silk-worms, 421.

A Murder diſcovered by a dream, 414.

Earl of *Murray* who with his riſing and carriage, 338. made Regent of *Scotland*, 339. is murthered. 344.

Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, and *Thomas Glenham* raiſed forces for the King in *Weſtmoreland* and *Cumberland*, 560. He is taken at *Dunfriz*, 623.

Mutiny in the Army, 555.

Mutiny in *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*, 556.

Mutiny of the *London* Apprentices, 559.

Of ſeveral Companies of Souldiers who were to depart out of the City, 682.

Colonel *Myn* defeated and ſlain by *Maſſey*, 539.

Name

N N

NAmes of the Kings of *England*, how changed at several times 440.

Naseby Fight, 541.

James Naylour his Tryal before the Parliament, 619. His sentence, *ibid.*

Necromancers, *George Ripply* a Carmelite Fryer, 152. *William Blackney* a Carmelite, *ibid.*

Neotstock Abby in *Cornwall* built by *Neots* son of King *Ethelwolph*, 8.

St. *Neots* vulgarly St. *Needs* in *Huntington-shire* so called, 8.

Nesting a Lord so called, for being found in an Eagles nest, by King *Alfred*, 12.

Nevil, the last Earl of *Westmerland*, of the Family, dyeth; and how many great personages came out of his house, 365

Richard Nevil the great Earl of *Warwick*, is sent into *France* to treat of a marriage for King *Edward* the fourth, 205. In his absence the King marries the Lady *Grey*, which so incenseth him, that for anger he leaveth the Court, 206. He riseth against the King, and takes him prisoner, 206. 207. He flies into *France* and after six months returning, he makes King *Edward* flie into *France*, and releaseth King *Henry*, 208, 209. King *Edward* assisted by the Duke of *Burgoyne*, returns, 210. And at *Barnet-field* overthrows him, 211.

Newark besieged by Sir *John Meldrum*, 531. Yielded to the *Scots* upon the Kings desire, 546.

Newbery Fight, 537.

Newcastle upon *Tine*, by whom first built, 29. Finished by King *William Rufus*, burnt, 91.

Newcastle taken by the *Scots*, 572.

The Earl of *Newcastles* proceeding at *York*, 517. He is besieged at *York* by the Parliaments forces, 534. He with several others depart the Kingdom, and lands at *Hamburgh*, *ibid.*

New College in *Oxford*, by whom founded, and why so called, 165.

Newgate in *London* by whom built, 165. anciently called *Chamberlaingate*; when and by whom begun to be built, 199. the tolling of the Bell there, at the Execution of Prisoners, by whom ordained, 414.

New Hall in *Essex*, otherwise called *Beaulieu*, a Manor of King *Henry* the eighth 265.

New England planted, 428.

Newham Abbey in *Devonshire*, by whom founded, 89.

New-haven taken by *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, but by reason of a pestilence surrendred again, 351. also 354. 355.

St. *Nicholas Priory* at *Exeter*, founded by the Conquerour, 29.

Nonobstante, when first brought up, 89.

Northampton Monastery of Saint *Andrews*, by whom founded, 42.

Norton Priory in *Cheshire*, by whom founded, *ibid.*

The Race of the Duke of *Normandy*, 10. Ends in King *Henry* the first, 44.

Dukes of *Normandy*, at their Installment, girt with a Sword, and crowned with a Coronet of Golden Roses, 68.

All *Normandy* lost by King *John*, after it had been held from the *French* 316 years, 70. Recovered by King *Stephen*. 47.

Normandy resigned by King *Henry* the 3d for a Sum of money, 86.

All *Normandy* recovered by *Henry* the fifth, 174.

Normandy all recovered from the *English*, after it had been 100 years in their possession, 189.

John Duke of *Norfolk*, sirn to King *Richard* the third, and his descent, 231. Seeks to marry the Queen of *Scots*, 342. Is commanded by Queen *Elizabeth* to desist, 343. Is committed to the *Tower*, *ibid.* Is delivered out of the *Tower*, 344. his affection to the Queen of *Scots* discovered, and by what means, 366. Is upon Tryal condemned, 348. Is beheaded, *ibid.*

Henry Norris made a Baron, *ibid.*

Sir *John Norris* his first going to War, 355. Is made General of the Field in the low Countreys, and in a first battel prospers, in a second is beaten, 360. Is sent into *Ireland*, 385. Falls melancholick out of discontent and dies, 388.

Sir *John Norris* presents General *Monk* with an Address from the Gentry of *Northamptonshire*, pressing for a free Parliament, 681.

Mount *Norris*, a Fort in *Ireland*, by whom built, and why, 390.

Henry Norris, committed to the Tower, and beheaded, about Queen *Anne Bullen*, 283.

Sir *Edward North*, is created Baron of *Castley*, 321.

The Earl of *Northampton* routing the Parliaments Forces before *Lichfield*, is himself slain, 521.

Henry Earl of *Northampton* founded three Hospitals, and where, 474.

Northumberland with five other Shires adjoyning, made the fifth Kingdom of the *Saxons*, 7. Taken from the King of *Scots* by King *Henry* the second, 52.

The Earl of *Northumberland* rebelling against *Henry* the 4th, slain, 163. President of the North, appointed to gather a Tax is slain, 239

The Earl of *Warwick* is made Duke of *Northumberland*. 310. He perswades King *Edward* the sixth, lying sick, to exclude his two Sisters, and to appoint the Lady *Jane*, his Successor, 311. After the death of King *Edward*, he takes upon him to rule all, 314. Is sent against the Lady *Mary*, *ibid.* Hearing of the Lords revolt, he also at *Cambridge* proclaims Queen *Mary*, 315. Is by the Earl of *Arundel* arrested *ibid.* Is beheaded, and dieth a Papist, though thought but feignedly, 317.

The Earl of *Northumberland* is committed to the Tower, and why, 411. Is fined to pay 30 thousand pound, and why, *ibid.*

Sets out with a Fleet of 60 Sail to scour the Seas of the *Dutch Busses*, 455. Designed General of the Kings Army against the *Scots*, 471.

Norwich almost quite consumed with fire, 251.

Norwich made the Bishops See, 36. The Cathedral Church there by whom founded, 42.

Norwich is allowed to have Coroners and Bayliffs, and to enclose the Town with Ditches, 49. The Church is burnt, 58. Is burnt again, 178.

Earl of *Norwich* tryed before a High Court of Justice, 589. saved from Execution, *ibid.*

Nottingham anciently called *Snottingham*, 24. *Charles Howard* Admiral, made Earl of *Nottingham*, 408.

Alexander Nowel Dean of *Pauls*, his work of piety, 398.

He sets forth a *Catechism* after the Doctrine of the English Church, 402.

Nunne Eaton Abby in *Warwick-shire* by whom founded, 58.

O O

THE Oath usual with the Conquerour, was by Gods Resurrection and his Brightness, 30. The Oath usual with King *William Rufus*, was, by Saint *Luke's* Face, 37. &c. 38.

The Oath usual with King *Henry* the first, was, by our Lords death, 39.

The Oath usual with King *John*, was, by the Feet of God, 71.

The Oath usual with King *Richard* the second, was, by the Soul of God, and by St. *John Baptist*, 146.

The Oath usual with King *Richard* the third, was, by St. *Paul*, 228.

Oaths dispenced by the Pope, 53.

The Oath of the King at his Coronation, 77.

The Oath *ex Officio*, judged by some Lawyers to be unchristian, 381.

The Oath of Allegiance when ordained, 420.

The Oath of Supremacy, upon the first offering taken by all, some few excepted, and who, and how many they were, 331.

Refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, made Treason, 396.

The Oath framed by the Bishops, 569. It gives distaste, *ibid.*

The Oath administred by *Fiennes*, to *Richard Cromwell*, at his being proclaimed *Protector*, 636.

An Oath of Abjuration of the King and his Family, to be taken by the Members of the Juncto, and Council of State, 678. Opposed by many of the house, *ibid.* General *Monks* answer concerning it, 680. He refuseth the Oath, 682.

The Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, taken by both houses of Parliament, and the Officers of the Kings House-hold. 714.

William Ockham, a Fryer Minor and a great Shoolman, when he lived. 114.

O Conally discovers the Plot for the *Irish* Rebellion. 512. rewarded, 513.

Blind and dumb till a certain age. 6.

The beautiful King of the *East Saxons*, enriched the Church of *Westminster*, and became a Monk. 6. was the first King of the *East Angles*. 7.

Offa the eleventh King of *Mercia*, built the Monastery of St. *Albans*. 7.

Sir *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham* by what title. 177. condemned of Heresie, is hanged by the middle, and after consumed with fire, gallows and all. *ibid.*

O Neal a title more esteemed in *Ireland*, than to be called Emperour. 383.

Roger Ourly, accused of Sorcerie, wrote a Book *Contra Vulgi Opiniones*. 201.

William Prince of *Orange* dieth, shot into the body with three Bullets by a *Burgundian*. 365.

The young Prince of *Orange*, a match propoſed between him and the Princeſs *Mary*, approved by the Parliament. 477. He is married to the ſaid Princeſs 508. His death. 613.

Ordinance of Parliament for calling home all Members from their imployments in the Army. 541.

Duke of *Orleance* after 25 years imprisonment ransomed. 186.

The Earl of *Ormond*, how first raised. 363.

The Earl of *Ormond* and others receive Commiſſion to raiſe Forces againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels. 514. Made Lieutenant General of the Forces in *Ireland*. *ibid.* His diligent acting for the Kings Service in *Ireland*. 591. His Army defeated before *Dublin*. 592. He having layn conceal'd in *England*, about his Majeſties Affairs, makes his eſcape beyond Sea. 633. He is created Duke of *Ormond*, and Earl of *Brecknock*. 715.

Bryan O Rorke the *Iriſh* Potentate, arraigned and condemned, and the manner, and executed at *Tyburn*. 381.

Orpall Colledge in *Oxford*, founded by King *Edward* the ſecond. 113. New built. 590.

Oſney Priory near *Oxford*, by whom founded. 42.

The Popes Legate how uſed at *Oſney*, for which he interdicteth *Oxford*, and how appeaſed. 89.

Oſwoſtry in *Wales* burnt. 399.

Oſtend in *Flanders*, after three years fight, taken by Marquis *Spinola*. 408.

Oſwald Biſhop of *Saliſbury* founded the Cathedral Church of *Saliſbury*. 36.

Otthobone the Popes Legat in fear at *Oxford*. 89.

Thomas Otterbourn a Franciſcan Fryer, writ a Hiſtory of *England*, 179.

Outcries for ſale of Goods, when firſt ordained. 396.

Sir *Thomas Overbury* poyſoned, and how, and why. 414.

Col. *Overton* reduceth the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, to the Power of the *Engliſh* Commonwealth. 612. He endeavours a Letter to pervert ſome of *Monk*'s Officers. 691. The General writes to him to deliver up *Hull*. 692. He ſubmits to the Generals Orders. *ibid.*

Sir *John Owen*, routed in *Wales* by Major General *Mitton*. 560. tryed for his life, before a High Court of Juſtice. 589. ſaved from Execution. *ibid.*

Oxford or *Cambridge* Univerſity, founded by *Sigebert*, King of the Eaſt Angles. 7.

Oxford Univerſity founded by King *Alfred*, in the year 895. 9. burnt by the *Danes*. 14.

The Caſtle there by whom built. 8.

Oxford Interdicted by *Otthobone* the Popes Legat, and why, and the Scholars there how puniſhed. 89.

Edgar Atheling made Earl of *Oxford*. 19.

Robert Vere Earl of *Oxford*, created Duke of *Ireland*. 142.

Oxford Chancellour ſuperiour to the Mayor, by whom ordained. 130.

A contention in *Oxford*, between the Northern and Southern Scholars. 146.

The Earl of *Oxford*, though feaſting the King, puniſhed for keeping Reteiners againſt the Statute. 247.

King marches to *Oxford*. 523. *Oxford* ſurrendred to General *Fairfax*. 547. Viſited by the new Chancellor. 559.

A ſudden mortality at the Aſſizes at *Oxford*. 375.

P P

PAcification made with the *Scots*, 465. 467.

Doctor *Pace* a Religious Man, imployed by *Wolſey* to *Rome*, but through crroſſes in his imployment, falls mad and dieth, 268.

Sir *William Paget* Controller is made Lord *Paget*, 308. He hath the Garter taken from him, upon pretence that he was no Gentleman by Father or Mother, 311. is fined at 8 thouſand Pound, and why, 447.

Frederick Prince Palatine upon a treaty of marriage comes into *England*, 415. He marries the Lady *Elizabeth*, ibid. Is elected King of *Bohemia*, 418.

Of what extent the Palatinate is, 416. Preparation for War for recovering the Palatinate, but fruſtrated by King *James*'s death, 419. Renewed and vigorouſly proſecuted, 433.

John Palſgrave a *Londoner*, writ certain inſtructions for the French Tongue, 299.

Gregory Panzany ſent by the Pope into *England*, to decide the difference between the *Jeſuits* and ſecular Prieſts, 503.

Paper commonly called white brown Paper when firſt made in *England*, 445.

Papiſts put to death for denying the Kings Supremacy, and at the ſame time Proteſtants put to death for denying the Real Preſence, 296. Divers both Biſhops and other Lords, who had been privy Councellors to Queen *Mary*, become Proteſtants, 331. Papiſts refuſe to aſſiſt againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, 343. Strict Laws made againſt Papiſts, and why, 364.

Thomas Parr, almoſt 160 years old, 455.

Lady *Katherine Parre* married to King *Henry* the 8th, 291. Accuſed of Hereſie, but eſcapes the danger, and how, *ibid.*

A general pardon uſed at the Kings Coronation, when firſt it came up, 116.

Pardons and Charters granted by the King, and affirmed by the Biſhops and temporal Lords to be revokable, but not by the Judges, 148.

A general pardon granted to all offenders, but only fifty, whoſe names the King would not expreſs, to keep the Lords in awe, 149.

A pardon publiſhed by Queen *Mary*, but ſo full of exceptions that few took benefit by it, 317.

The Kings pardons oftentimes fallacious, 212.

Sir *Edward Parham* acquitted, 407.

Parks and Warrens firſt allowed the Subject by King *Henry* the firſt, 38.

William Parker Merchant Taylor his work of piety. 424.

Matthew Parker made Biſhop of *Canterbury*, by whom conſecrated, 331. His work of piety, 398.

Paris in *France*, after 17 years it had been held by the *Engliſh*, yielded up, and all the *Engliſh* expelled, 185.

Pariſhes ordained in *Kent*, by the Archbiſhop *Honorius*, 5.

Afterward through *England* by King *Alfred*, 9.

Pariſhes in the 37 ſhires of *England*, 128.

The Pariſhes of *England*, how many, 270.

The High Court of Parliament firſt inſtituted by King *Henry* the firſt, 40.

Lords come to Parliament armed, 80.

The King hath not power to reverſe a Statute made by the Parliament whereof he is but a member, 95.

The chief-Juſtice, Chancellour, and Treaſurer, required to be choſen by Parliament, 81. 84. 85.

The Parliament agrees to depoſe King *Edward* the 2d, and to ſet up his Son, 116. Parliament called the good Parliament, 127. A Parliament at *Weſtminſter* which laſted but eight days, *ib.* The great Officers of the Kingdom to be choſen by Parliament, which the King grants, 128. The Parliament appoints 13 Lords to have the over-ſight under the King of the whole government of the Realm, 142. King *Richard* ſuffers the Parliament to do their pleaſure, but as ſoon as it was diſſolved, he undid all they had done, 143. King *Richard* propounds to his Juſtices at Law, divers queſtions concerning the Parliaments proceedings, wherein they reſolved as the King would have them, *ibid.* King *Richard* requires the Sheriffs to chooſe none to the Parliament, but ſuch as he and his Council ſhould nominate, to which they anſwer, that it lay not in their power, 144. The Parliament that wrought wonders, 145. The Parliament requires an Oath of the King

King *Richard*, and had it, that he ſhould ſtand to ſuch order as they ſhould take, 146. The Parliament called the Great Parliament, 149.

In a Parliament, Articles propounded by the King, at firſt to be handled, and if it be done otherwiſe, that is Treaſon, adjudged ſo by the Judges, *ibid.* The whole Authority of Parliament is confirmed upon certain Lords, *ibid.* The Acts of Parliament confirmed by the Pope, *ibid.* A Parliament called by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, but in the name of King *Richard*, 151. The Parliament depoſeth King *Richard*, *ibid.* The Parliament called the Marvellous Parliament, 154. Speeches to be free in Parliament, 158. The Parliament called the Lay-mens Parliament, and why, 164. Lawyers not ſuffered by the King to be choſen Burgeſſes of the Parliament, *ibid.* *William Wickham*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, being in durance, the Clergy would not ſit in Parliament without him, *ibid.* The Parliament called the Unlearned Parliament, and why, *ibid.* In a Parliament the Commons require that the King might have the temporal poſſeſſions of the Biſhops and Clergy, able they ſaid to maintain 150 Earls, 1599 Knights, 6000 Eſquires, and 199 Hoſpitals for maimed Souldiers, *ibid.* The Reſolutions of Parliaments uncertain. 212.

King *Henry* would not make War with *France*, but by conſent of Parliament, 257. Speeches in Parliament to be free, 270. A Parliament diſſolved at nine a Clock at night, *ibid.* The Houſe of Commons require the like pardon as the Clergy had, but the King anſwered, he would not be compelled to ſhew his mercy, and therefore refuſed; but afterward of his own accord he granted it, 280. Supream Head of the Church given to the King by Parliament, 282. A Burgeſs of the Parliament arreſted, how the Arreſter was puniſhed, 289. The Parliaments Commands to be executed by their Serjeant without Writ, by only ſhewing his Mace, *ibid.* King *Henry* reſolved to maintain the priviledges of Parliament, *ibid.* Servants of the King, or of the Parliament-men, free in a time of Parliament, *ibid.* King *Henry* comes in perſon to the Parliament, and exhorts them to Concord and Charity, 293. The Parliament kept in the great Chamber at *White-Hall*, and why, 321. The Parliament asks pardon of Cardinal *Pool* for what they had done amiſs, and deſire to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, 322. The Parliament will not conſent to have King *Philip* Crowned, as Queen *Mary* deſired, *ibid.* The Parliament moves Q. *Elizabeth* to marry, and her anſwer to the motion. 332. Speeches in parliament to be free. 358. The parliament ſolicits Q. *Elizabeth* to marry, and to declare a Succeſſor, and her anſwer to it, 337. A Parliament begun by Authority of the Queen, is derived to certain Lords, 371. The Parliament petitions the Queen, that the Sentence againſt the Queen of *Scots* might be promulged, and her anſwer, *ibid.* Parliaments not properly to deal in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, 398. Not appearing at Parliament after Summons, how puniſhed, 411. A Parliament diſſolved under the Great Seal of *England*, 413.

Men attainted being choſen Burgeſſes of the Parliament not ſuffered to ſit in the Houſe, till a Bill was preſently paſſed for reverſing their Attainder, but for King *Henry* the caſe not like, becauſe the Crown once gotten takes away all defects, 236.

Parliaments Remonſtrance concerning Mr. *Cook* and Dr. *Turner*, 436. Diſſolved by the Kings Commiſſion under the Great Seal, 437. The proceeding of the next Parliament called in the third year of King *Charles*, 440. &c. A Parliament called in his ſixteenth year which ſate but 22. days, 470. The ſame year the Long Parliament called, 474. They entertain Jealouſies of the Kings Deſigns, *ibid.* They take Exceptions at ſome things in the Kings Speech, *ibid.* Their Petition and Remonſtrance to his Majeſty, 514. They ſet forth a Declaration, and make preparation for War, both by Land and Sea, 517. They declare againſt the Kings abſence, *ibid.* They oppoſe the King in the buſineſs of *Hull*, 517. They become Maſters of the Navy, *ibid.* Raiſe an Army againſt the King, under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, 519. Their propoſitions to the King, 518. They declare it Treaſon to aſſiſt the King, 517. Their Orders concerning the King and his party, 546. Divided into Presbyterians and Independents, 549. Eleven Members of Parliament impeached by the Army, 550. The Speaker and divers Members of Parliament fly to the Army, 551. They vote that no more Addreſſes ſhould be made to the King, 537. They recal their Votes of Non-addreſſes, 563. They come to an agreement with the King, 564. Divers of their Members ſecluded, and the Parliament new modelled by the Army, 565. They annul the Votes againſt Non-addreſſes, *ibid.* and proceed to a Tryal of the King, *ibid.* They alter the Government of the Nation from a Monarchy to a Commonwealth, 588. Diſſolved by *Cromwel* their General, 618. Another Parliament choſen by *Cromwel*, 673. They reſign up their power to him, 638. Another Parliament choſen by *Cromwel*, 675. They reſign up their power to him, 638. Another Parliament called by the Protector, 619. Diſſolved, 620. A third Parliament called by him, 623. Diſſolved, 631. A Parliament called by *Richard Cromwel*, Lord Protector, 639. Diſſolved at the inſtance of the Army, 643. The Commonwealth parliament, or Juncto, their Government and proceedings, 644, 645, 646. Long parliament diſſolved, 686. A Free parliament aſſembles at *Weſtminſter*, 688. They preſent his Majeſty and his Brother with a ſum of Money, 705. They ſend twelve of their Members, ſix Lords, and ſix of the Commons, to wait on his Majeſty at *Breda*, 707. Their Inſtructions to their Commiſſioners, 709. King ſummons a parliament in *Scotland*, 717.

Alexander Farneze, Prince of *Parma*, is made Governour of the Low-Countries, 356. He dieth, and his condition, 382.

Sperma ceti taken out of the Head of Whales, 399.

Sir *William Parre* is made Lord *Parre*, 287. Is created Earl of *Eſſex*, 292. Is made Marqueſs of *Northampton*, 302.

William Parre a Welſhman, writ a Treatiſe intituled, *Speculum Fœmenum*, 300.

William Parre, Doctor of the Laws, his bold Speech in Parliament, and his practiſes againſt the Queen, for which executed as a Traytor, 366.

Thomas Parre brought up to Court by the Earl of *Arundel*, 455.

The Parſimony of King *Henry* the ſecond, 56.

George Palin, his works of piety, 424.

Paul's Church firſt founded by *Sebert* King of the Eaſt Angles, aſſiſted by King *Ethelbert*, 606. After being fired, was newly founded by *Maurice*, Biſhop of *London*, and with what great charges, 29. Burnt again, *ibid.* Built where in ancient time ſtood the Temple of *Jupiter*, 113.

Paul's Croſs, by whom built, 119. The place for hearers on the South-ſide, and by whom built, 423.

The Church Spire burnt down with Lightning. 399. Of what height it was, *ibid.* Begun to be repaired, when and by whom, 423. 570.

The preachers at *Paul's Croſs*, how and by whom provided for, 477. 424.

Paul's School, by whom founded, 250.

Sir *William Paulet* Treaſurer of the Kings Houſehold is made Lord St. *John*, 287. Is created Earl of *Wiltſhire*, 308. Is created Marqueſs of *Winchester*, 310. He dieth at the age of 97 years, and his numerous Family, 350. Sir *Amas Paulet* ſets *Wolſey* by the heels, 261.

A Peer of the Realm not to be excepted againſt for being of a Jury, 310. Aſſembled at *York*, and why, 473.

The Peace between the Emperour, the Kings of *England* and *France*, called the Womans peace, and why, 277.

A peace concluded between *France* and *England*, 124. 128. 214. 293. 332.

Another peace concluded between them, whereof the chief condition was, that neither the King of *France*, nor the Queen of *Scots* ſhould henceforth uſe the Title of *England* or *Ireland*, 332.

A conſultation held whether a peace with *Spain* were convenient for *England*, wherein the Lords were divided in opinion, 389. A peace concluded between *England* and *Spain*, 408.

A peace with *France* for a ſum of money, 216.

A peace with *France* during the lives of King *Lewis* and K. *Henry*, and a year after, 262.

Peace again concluded between the King of *England* and *Spain*, 447. Between the *Dutch* and the *Protector*, 621. Between the *Protector* and the Kingdom of *Sweden*, *ibid.* Between him and the Kingdom of *France*, 627.

Peace renewed with *Spain*, 718.

Robert Peak of *London* Gold-Smith, his work of piety, 424.

Reynold Peacock, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, his Hereſie, for which deprived, 199. When he lived, 201.

Peaſe growing in great abundance where none was ſowed, 326.

Pelagius,

Pelagius a Monk born at *Bangor* in *Wales*, spreadeth his Hereſie. 3.

Pembrook-ſhire in *Wales*, aſſigned by King *Henry* the firſt to *Flemmings* to inhabit. 42. 43.

William Earl of *Pembrook*, Protector of the Realm, dieth. 78

Aymer de Valence Earl of *Pembrook* ſent into *Scotland* with an Army, and why. 98. *John* Earl of *Pembrook* taken priſoner by the *French*, 126. Earl of *Pembrook* little better than a Vagabond. 201.

An Earl of *Pembrook* ſo illiterate that he could not write. 244.

Pembrook-Hall in *Cambridge* by whom founded, 130.

Pembrook Colledge in *Oxford* built and endowed. 170.

William Earl of *Pembrook* his ſudden death. 447.

Pembrook Caſtle yielded up to *Cromwell* 560.

General *Penn* commanded the Fleet to *Hiſpaniola* 624. His return into *England*. 625.

Penal Statutes, the forfeitures taken. 216. Their forfeitures exacted by *Empſon* and *Dudley*. 247.

Penda the firſt Chriſtian King of the *Mercians*. 7.

Uter called *Pendragon*, and why. 4. He diſcomfiteth the *Saxons*, and dieth by poyſon. *ibid.*

Sir *John Pennington*, made Admiral by the King, in oppoſition to the Earl of *Warwick*, the Parliaments Admiral. 517.

Penruddock and *Grove* beheaded about the weſtern riſing. 624.

Gentlemen perſioners, when and by whom firſt inſtituted. 295.

Henry Percy, created Earl of *Northumberland*, and when. 136.

Henry Percy called *Hoſpurre* ſlays 1000 *Scots*, and takes 500 priſoners 161. Is ſlain. 163.

Thomas Percy was firſt made Knight, after Lord, and the next day created Earl of *Northumberland*. 323. Is beheaded, 349.

Henry Percy Earl of *Northumberland*, having been formerly committed to the Tower, is found dead in his bed, as having killed himſelf, and why. 366.

Perfidiouſneſs in love revenged, 10.

Perjury puniſhed by the divine hand, in Earl *Godwin*. 19. alſo in *Alfred*. 9. 10.

Perkin Warbeck, ſet up by the Lady *Margaret*. 241. By what courſes he proceeded. *ibid.* who were his Abettors, and divers of them put to death. 242. Is married in *Scotland* to the Lady *Gordon*, the Kings near Kinſwoman. 243. expelled out of *Scotland*: he flies into *Ireland*, and after comes back in to *Cornwall*, beſiegeth *Exeter*, but at laſt takes Sanctuary at *Bewly*, in *Hampſhire*: his Wife in regard of her parentage and beauty is allowed a competent perſion, during her life. 244. *Perkin* yields him ſelf, and is ſent to the *Tower*. *ibid.* He eſcapes out of the *Tower*, and procures a Prior to beg his pardon, only is made to declare publickly his parentage, and all his proceedings. Once again committed to the *Tower*, he attempts to eſcape, but the plot diſcovered, he is hanged at *Tyburn*. 245.

Sir *John Perot* arraigned, and for what Treaſon condemned, but died in the *Tower*. 381.

Robert Perſcutator, a great Philoſopher, or rather a Magician. 114.

The King of *Perſia* grants free commerce, through all his dominions to the *Engliſh*. 415.

Peter an Hermit aſſembles 300 thouſand men, to recover *Jeruſalem*. 35. prediction of *Peter* the Hermit. 7.

Peter-Pence firſt given to *Rome* by *Ina* King of the *Weſt Saxons* 6. Impoſed by *Henry* the ſecond, upon *Ireland*. 58. Forbidden to be paid at *Rome*. 129.

Saint *Peters* Church at *Cornhill* founded by King *Lucie*. 3.

Saint *Peters* Colledge in *Cambridge* by whom founded. 90.

Hugh Peters, one of thoſe excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, as guilty of the Murther of King *Charles* the firſt, He is apprehended in *Swanſwark*. 721.

Peterborough, the Cathedral Church there anciently called *Medeſhamſtead*, founded by *Penda* King of *Mercia*. 7.

The Parliaments petition againſt Recuſants. 423.

The petition of Right taken in debate by the Parliament, and granted by the King. 441.

The Lords petition to the King to call a parliament. 472.

Citizens petition the Parliament againſt the Church Ceremonies. 476. petitioners againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, throng to *Weſtminſter*. 506. The *Londoners* throng to *Weſtminſter* with petitions againſt the Biſhops. 511. The Houſe petition the King for a Guard, and are backt by a petition from the City. *ibid.* The Kings anſwer to the petition. *ibid.* The County of *Buckinghams* petition in behalf of *Hambden*. 536. The Commons petition the King to have the Militia in their own power. 516. Parliaments petition to be preſented to the King by the Earl of *Eſſex*. 521. Their petition to him at *Colebrook*, for a Treaty. 523. The petition of the City againſt the Vote for taking the Militia out of their hands. 550. petitions brought to the Parliament by great numbers out of *Eſſex*, *Surrey*, and other parts. 560. petitions from City and Country for a Treaty with the King. 563. The Army petition for Juſtice againſt the King. 564. The parliaments petition and advice to the Protector to take upon him the title of King. 631.

Sir *John Peyton* the firſt Knight made by King *James*. 405.

Philip Prince of *Spain* marries Queen *Mary*. 321. He paſſeth over into *Flanders* where he ſtayed 18 months. 323. He marries *Iſabell* daughter to the King of *France*. 331. He had ſolicited Queen *Elizabeth* for marriage. 330.

Queen *Philip* Wife to King *Edward* the third, upon her death-bed confeſſeth to *William Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that *John* of *Gaunt* was a ſuppoſititious Son. 167.

Queen *Philip* in the Kings abſence doth great matters againſt the *Scots*. 121.

Her merciful interceſſion for the ſix Calliciens. 122. She dieth. 126.

Thomas Philip an excellent diſcoverer of unknown characters. 369.

John Philpot a Citizen of *London*, at his own charges ſet forth a Fleet, and took one *Mercer*, a notable Scottiſh Pirat, but was ill rewarded. 137.

Phyſitians famous, when they lived. 218. 252.

Sir *William Pickering* hopes to marry Queen *Elizabeth*. 333.

Alice Pierce a great favorite of King *Edwards*, and her Inſolence 127. She is baniſhed the Realm. 141.

John Percivall, the Mayors Carver, choſen Sheriff of *London*, and how. 237.

Pipes of Lead without Soder for conveying Water under ground, when and by whom firſt. 298.

Plaiſie Colledge in *Eſſex* by whom founded. 131.

Plague that contigued ten yeers, that ſcarce the tenth perſon was left alive. 131. A ſecond plague, in which died many great Lords and Biſhops. *ibid.* Two great plagues, the latter continuing 14 months. 207. A plague in *London* which made the King keep his Chriſtmas at *Eltham*, called the ſtill Chriſtmas. 274. A great plague in *London* and what number died. 424. 570.

Richard Plantagenet created Duke of *York*, was afterwards father of King *Edward* the fourth. 182.

George Plantagenet Duke of *Clarence*, hath the Crown entailed upon him in caſe King *Henry* failed of Heirs Males, 209. Is drowned in a Butt of *Malmſey*. 215. The laſt Heir Male of that name, who, 245.

Edward Plantagenet Son and Heir of *George* Duke of *Clarence* ſhut up in the *Tower*, 236. beheaded and why. 245.

Sir *Arthur Plantagenet*, baſtard Son to King *Edward* the fourth created Viſcount *Liſle*. 270. He dieth with joy, and for what. 289.

Pleas of the Kings Bench, and priſoners arreſted by Sheriffs, ſet at liberty, when and why. 152.

Pleas of Law which were before in *French*, King *Edward* the third cauſed to be made into *Engliſh*. 128.

Pleas of the Crown pleaded in the *Tower* of *London*. 88.

Pledges no Security. 181.

Plimpton Monaſtery in *Devonſhire*, when founded. 42.

A plot diſcovered for the Seiſing of *London*. 469.

Plowden the famous Lawyer dieth. 365.

Famous Poets. 585.

Polleſworth Abbey in the County of *Warwick*, founded by King *Egberts* Daughter *Edith*, who died there Governeſs her ſelf. 8.

John Pole a prieſt writ the life of a famous *Engliſh* Woman. 201.

Poll-money firſt granted.

Policie of *Henry* the 5th. 171.

Policy of the Duke of *Alvay*. 272. Of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Spaniſh* Fleet. 377. With which it prevails. *ib.*

Policy to self hurt, 181. 256.
No policy to make an Enemy desperate, 290.
Pomfret, the priory there founded by *Robert Lacy*, 29.
Pomfret Castle taken by Major General *Poines*, 543.
Michael de la Poole, a Merchants Son created Earl of *Suffolk* and made Lord Chancellour, 142, 143. Charged by parliament with such Crimes, that he is adjudged to die if the King pleased, *ibid.* He flies to *Calice* in disguise of a Porter, but is known and sent back, yet nothing said to him. 149.
Reginald Pool made a Cardinal, 285. How descended, and why made a Cardinal, *ibid.* Is chosen Pope, but refuseth it, and the manner how, 208. He dieth the day after Queen *Mary*, 325. He absolveth the Realm, 322.
William de la Pool Marquis of *Suffolk* is made Duke of *Suffolk*, 188. Committed to the *Tower*, but the Parliament being dissolved, is released, 189. Is banished for five years, but passing into *France* is taken, and his head chopt off, 190.
Edmund de la Poole, Earl of *Suffolk* offends King *Henry*, 246. Is delivered to him and sent to the *Tower*, 247. put to death, 257.
Two Popes at one time, 57.
The Pope offers to make King *Henry* his Legate, 57.
Two Popes at once, which Schism continued almost twenty years, *ibid.*
Two quarrels with King *John*, and why, 73.
The Popes power over Princes first ordained *ibid.* Sends over 300 Romans to have the first Benefices that should be vacant, 81.
The Pope had sixty thousand Marks yearly out of *England*, 82. But ordained to have no more, *ibid.*
The Pope seeking to borrow Money of the Earl of *Cornwall* is denyed, the Earl saying, he liked not to lend his Money to one, upon whom he could not distrain, 84.
The Pope absolves *King Edward* of his Oath, 199. Restrained from conferring Benefices in *England*, 229. **Pope *Urban* the fifth** Son of an *English* Man, 133. Two Antipopes striving, a third chosen, 164. Three Antipopes rejected, a fourth is elected, 177. A schism of Anpopes that continued 29 years *ibid.* He sends a present to King *Henry*, and what it was, 262, 272.
The Popes Authority utterly abolished in *England*, 282.
The Popes primacy restored by Parliament, but with some difficulty, 321. The Popes Authority restored in *England*, 325.
The Pope makes Queen *Elizabeth* great offers if she would become a Papist 333. Invites her to send to the Council of *Trent*, *ibid.*
The Court of *Rome* hears no Causes judicially, from the last of *July*, till the fourth of *October*, 277.
The Popes-head Tavern over against the *Old Exchange*, an ancient Mansion of the Kings of *England* 30.
Richard Cromwell, proclaimed Protector of the Nation 637. His Proclamation for the dissolving of his Parliament 641.
Portland Island in *Dorset-shire*, given by King *Edward* the Confessor to the Ministers of *Winchester* 17.
Portsmouth, why so called 5.
Portsmouth taken by the Parliaments Forces 521.
The King of *Portugal* marries the Duke of *Lancasters* Daughter 141. An Ambassador comes over from him to the State of *England* 621. The *Portugal* Ambassadors Brother beheaded *ibid.*
Gilbert Pot set in the Pillory, for speaking against the Lady *Jane*, 314.
The Grammar School of Saint *Lawrence Pountney* in *London*, founded by Sir *John Pountney* Mayor 399.
Saint *Lawrence Poultney* in *London*, by whom built, 130.
Captain *Pouch*, the Ring leader for throwing down inclosures, executed, and why so called 412.
Poyer and *Langhorn* take up Arms for the King in *Wales* 519. Defeated by Collonel *Horton* 560. *Poyer* shot to death 595.
Sir *Edward Poynings* sent General of 1500 Archers, in aid of the Lady *Margaret* Dutchess of *Savoy* 255.
Poysoning punished by boyling to death, executed by *Richard Roose* 295.
King *John* thought to be poysoned 75.
Prince *Edward* poysoned in the Holy Land, and how cured, 94.
The Common-Prayer Book commanded to be used, 396. confirmed by King *James* 422.
England to have precedence before *Spain*, resolved at the Council of Constance, 177. The Temporal Lords before the Spiritual, 204. The Lord Treasurer of *England*, before the Lord Mayor of *London*, 205. Strife for precedence between *Katherine Parre* Queen Dowager, and *Anne Stranhope* wife of the Lord Protector, 306. Chief Officers of the Kingdom have precedence before all of their degree, 388. The Commissioners of *Spain* and *England* break off a treaty, for not agreeing about precedence, 391.
Prelages how to be construed, 22. Are as they are taken, 120.
Prerogative abused, 69.
Presbyterians and Independants, the Parliament divided into two parties so called, 594. Presbyterian Government settled, 561.
Prescription no Warrant to do things unlawful, no more than robbing upon *Shooters-hill*, 278.
President of the *North*, when first ordained, 352. Of his Authority and from whence it took beginning, 38.
Sir *John Preston* a Scotch-man made Earl of *Kildare*, coming out of *Ireland* drowned, 405.
Presents sent by King *James* to the King of *Spain*, 408. Sent from the King of *Spain* to King *James*, 411.
Prizes of things in King *Johns* time, 75. Price of Victuals in King *Edw.* the 1. time, 101. In *Richard* the seconds time, 154 In a dearth set upon Victuals, but soon released, 113. Of Meat in a great plenty, 101.131. Wine sold for 13 s. 4. pence the Tun, 143. Price of wheat in a dearth, 154.
The price of things in King *Henry* the 7ths time, 250.
The price of Mutton and Beef in King *Henry* the eighths time, 297.
The price of Corn in Queen *Maries* time, 225. The price of Corn in a Dearth, 400.
Price of Fowl and Poultry ordained by an Act of Common Council, 101.
Preferment sometimes gotten by ridiculous courses, 41.
Priests married, questioned whether they ought to live in Monasteries, 12. Miraculously made appear they ought not, *ibid.* Being married, not suffered to officiate Divine Service, 17. Marriage forbidden them in King *Rufus* time, 36. Their marriage decreed against, 41. So reverenced, that though they committed Treason, yet had their lives saved, 215. Their Children made legitimate, 312.
Prin, Burton, and *Bastwick* censured, 456. enlarged out of prison, 475.
Printing when first found, and by whom, 198.
Priories suppressed, 178.
Privy Seals, King borrows Money of them, 455.
Privy Chamber-men to the King, their Authority, 279.
The Kings proclamation, forbidding all Levies, except by his Order, 514.
A proclamation against Kingly Government, 587. A proclamation of the Royalists proclaiming underhand Prince *Charles* to be King of *England*, *ibid.* Of the parliament of *Scotland*, to the same effect, 589. He is again proclaimed at *Edenborough Cross*, 599. In *England* again at the Head of his Army, 606. The solemn manner of proclaiming him in *London* and *Westminster*, 708. His Majesty sets forth a proclamation to summon in those of the Kings Judges, who had absented themselves, 708. Against Debauchery and profaneness, 714. Concerning the *Irish Rebels*, ibid. Against Duels, 717.
Prodigality of a King 35.
Professors of the Universities, of the Hebrew, Arabick and Greek Tongues, of Divinity, Civil Law, History, and *Physick*, when and by whom instituted, and what allowance to each of them, 296. 423. 570.
Promoters set on the pillory, with shame whereof within seven days they all died, 254.
A Prophesie of *Merlin* mistaken, deceives Prince *Lewis*, 96. Prophesies, how fulfilled, 286.
Prophetick speech of King *Henry* the fifth, concerning his Son *Henry*, 176.
Prophetick speech of King *Henry* the sixth, of *Henry* afterward *Henry* the seventh, 209.
Nineteen propositions sent from the parliament to the King at *York*, 518. Rejected by the King, *ibid.* Others presented to the King at *Oxford*, 537. Sixteen propositions sent from the parliament to the King at *Newcastle*, 548. propositions sent to the King at *Hampton-Court*, 552.
Several propositions of the Commissioners sent from the Scots

Scots to General *Monk*, at *Berwick*, 674. Gen. *Monks* Answer to them. *ibid.*
Protector chosen of the Common-wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, *Oliver Cromwel*, 620.
The Protestation and Oath of the Governour and Council in *Breda*.
The protestation taken by both Houses and the Subjects of *England*, 508.
Protestation of the Lords against the proceedings of the Commons, 588.
Protestants, why so called, 296. put to death for denying the real presence, *ibid.*
Persecuted in *France* by the *Guises*, and in the *Low-Countries* by the Duke D' *Alva*, they came flocking into *England* as into a Sanctuary, 341. In *Piedmont* by the Duke of *Savoyes* Souldiers, 626. A Contribution for them throughout *England*, *ibid.*
The Divine providence, 94. In revenge, 149. Works by strange means, 249.
Provision stopt from going to the King, 198.
Provision for the Queens house, when first brought to a rate, 396. provision for the Kings house paid before in kind, was now rated and paid in Money, 40.
Publick-faith, money borrowed upon it by the parliament, 518.
La Pucelle of *France* begins to shew her self, 283. Is wounded, 284. Is taken, and a Sorceress burnt at *Roan*, *ib.*
Puckering the Queens Serjeant at Law, made Lord Keeper. 381.
Punishments made to be pecuniary, 40.
A pulse of one dead that beat strongly. 599.
Purveyors restrained, unless they paid ready money, 128
Puritans how increased, 397.
Mr. *Pym* is sent to the Lords, with an impeachment against the Earl of *Strafford*, 475. One of the five Members taxt by the King, 515.
Pyracy taught by a Preacher to be lawful 359.
English Pyrates turn Turks, 413.

Q. Q.

Queen of *Scots* detained in *England*, 340. beheaded, 374.
A Quarrel amongst some of the chief Commanders, 555
Between the Embassadors of *France* and *Spain*, 729.
The Queen-Mother comes into *England*, 466. she departs out of *England*, *ibid.*
The Queen accompanieth her Daughter the Princess *Mary* into *Holland*, 517. She lands at *Bridlington* Bay with Money and Ammunition, 524. She meets the King with Forces at *Edge-Hill*, 526. She departs into *France*, 535.
Queens Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded, 130. And endowed, 570.
Queens Colledge in *Cambridge*, by whom founded, 199, 217. Endowed by King *Edward* the third, 234.
Saint *Quintins* won chiefly by the *English*, 323.
The Writ of *Quorum Nomina*, what it was, 190.

R R

Ragland Castle surrendreth, 547.
Rain of blood two hours together in the Isle of *Wight*. 58.
Rain almost continual from *Easter* to *Michaelmas*, 199. Of blood, where and when, *ibid.*
Rain in seed-time so extreme, that it caused a great dearth, 296.
Rain so great, that Boats were rowed over *Westminster* Bridge, into *Kings-street*, 326.
A Rain-bow how reversed, when appeared, 326.
Ralph Bishop of *Salisbury*, how from a poor Prince he came to his greatness, 49.
Ramsey Abby in *Hampshire* founded by King *Edgar*, 12.
Rapier and Dagger, by whom the fight first brought up, 375.
Sir *Robert Ratcliff* is created Viscount *Fitz-Waters*, 374.
The Free-School at *Ratcliff*, and the Alms-house there, by whom built, 297.
Egremond Ratcliff, son to the Earl of *Sussex*, accused to be sent to kill *John* d' *Austria*, is put to death, 355.
Sir *George Ratcliff* sent for out of *Ireland*, by a Serjeant at Arms, 515. Impeached before the Parliament, *ibid.* He flies into *Holland*, 516.
Rates and Measures for Wine, Bread and Cloth, first setled by King *John*, 76.
Men rated to find Souldiers, 131.
Ravishing punished by cutting off the Genitals, by a Law of the Conquerour, 27.
Sir *Walter Rawley* his first appearing in Action, 344. Is sent with 15 ship, to meet with the *Spanish* Fleet, but the Fleet not coming forth that year, he took a mighty Carack called the Mother of God, and of what value, 382. He undertakes a Voyage to *Guyana*, and his success, 384. Is questioned for going on land without the Earl of *Essex* his Generals leave, but by mediation of the Lord *Thomas Howard*, pardoned, 387. He enters into a Conspiracy with the Lord *Cobham* and others, 407. Is arraigned and condemned, but suspended, *ibid.* Is kept in the *Tower* divers years, and how he spent his time there, *ib.* His project to fetch Gold from *Guyana*, his carriage in it, and his death after it, and his constancy at his death, 417. 418.
Reade, Alderman, for refusing to pay a tax is sent to the Wars in *Scotland*, where he is taken prisoner, 292.
Reading Abbey founded by King *Henry* the first, 41. The School there by whom founded, 325.
Reading surrendred to *Essex*, by Col. *Fielding*, 524.
With Rebels no parley to be holden, 358. The Rebels in the Insurrection in *Kent*, grown to be 100 thousand, 138. they sack the Savoy, the Duke of *Lancasters* house, *ib.* so just, that sacking the Dukes house, they would keep none of his Goods but threw them all into the *Thames*, *ib.* They punish one of their fellows for keeping privily a piece of Plate, *ibid.* Two and thirty of them drinking drunk at the Dukes Cellar, the house being set on fire, the Rafters fell upon them that they were heard cry seven days after, and so perished, *ibid.* Their other outrages at the *Temple*, and at Saint *Johns* by *Smithfield*, at last daunted by Sir *Robert Knolles*, they cry for mercy, 139.
The Rebels in *Suffolk* commit great outrages and what, *ibid.* Fifteen hundred found guilty of the Rebellion, are in sundry places executed, *ibid.*
A bloody Rebellion breaks forth in *Ireland*, and proceedings thereupon, 512.
Recognition of the Government, to be signed by the Members of *Cromwells* second Parliament, 623.
Robert Record Doctor of Physick, writ a Book of Arithmetick, 327.
Records of the Law carried to *York* in 22 Carts, but within half a year brought back, 113.
Reculver in the Isle of *Thanet*, where King *Ethelbert* built him a Palace, 5.
Redman and *Brett*, being of the *Irish* Brigade to the General *Monk*, 677.
Reese the last King of *Wales* slain, 33.
The Tree of Reformation, where and why so called, 305.
Retaliation a just one, 56.
Rubens the Painter sent from the Arch-dutchess into *England*, to mediate a peace with *Spain*, 496.
A Register of Weddings, Christnings, and Burials, when first kept, 295.
Reliques accounted holy, one of Saint *Peters* Hairs, 23. Saint *Austins* Arm, 16.
Reliques sent to King *Athelstan* by divers Princes and what they were, 10.
Reliques of King *Edward* the Confessor, laid up in *Westminster* in a Chest of Gold, by King *Henry* the third, 89.
King *William Rufus* wavering in Religion, 35.
Religious houses given to the King, 283.
Different Religions not fit to join in marriage, 367.
Alteration of Religions in Queen *Elizabeths* time by Parliament, only with the difference of six Voyces, 370. Through Voyces thought to be begged by *Cecil* and others, 331.
A Conference in matters of Religion between Papists and Protestants, how broken off, 330. Another Conference at *Hampton-Court*, 421.
Committee for Regulation of Religion, 732.
In matters of Religion, divisions how occasioned, 567.
Remigius Bishop of *Dorchester* began to build the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*, 36.
The Parliaments Remonstrance against the Duke of *Buckingham*, 441. The Armies Remonstrance demanding Justice against the King, 564.

The Remonstrance of the Western Covenanters in *Scotland*, 602.
The Republick or Commonwealth-Government in *England*. See from 588. to 708.
Rescuing a Prisoner, punished with cutting off the right Hand, 101.
Rescblin the great Hebrician when he lived, 252.
Revenue of the King, what course taken to advance it.
Sir *John Reynolds* Commander in chief of the Forces sent by Protector to aid the *French* against the *Spaniards*, 630. He and his Company cast away upon *Goodwin* Sands, *ibid.*
Doctor *Reynolds* and his commendation, 426.
Reyer a Minstril, founded St. *Bartholomews* Hospital by *Smithfield*, 42.
Rome, an *English* Seminary set up there upon the dissolution of the Seminary at *Doway*, 353.
Sir *Richard Rich* is made Lord *Rich*, 302.
Richard the Conquerours second Son, Hunting in the new Forest, killed, 29.
Richard the first, King of *England*, 61. See his Story throughout. Imprisoned by the Emperour of *Germany*, but at last ransomed, 64. His Metaphorical Daughters, how disposed, 66. Why called *Cœur de Lyon*, 67. His charitable act at his death, *ibid.* *Richard* of *Bourdeaux* declared Successor of the Crown, and created Prince of *Wales*, 131.
Richard the second, see his Story throughout, 136. His Coronation, *ibid.* Enters *Scotland* with an Army, 141. Goes into *Ireland*, 147. Where he receives news of the Duke of *Hereford*s arrival in *England*, 150. Resolving to come over, but counselled to the contrary, 151. Yet at length when too late comes, *ibid.* Is entrapped and carried to *Flint*, *ibid.* Resigns the Crown, 152. Is murdered, 155.
Richard the third Crowned, 226. His Death, 235.
Richmond, called heretofore *Sheen*, 178. By whom new Builded, 249.
Earl of *Richmond* aided by the *French*, 230. Escapes the Plot of *Richard* the third by *Morton*s information, 231. Hastens his coming into *England*, and why, 232.
Cardinal *Richelieu*, sends over his Almoner to foment the differences in *Scotland*, 469.
Nicholas Ridley, late Bishop of *London*, burnt at *Oxford*, 321.
Rodolphus gives the Duke of *Norfolk* reasons to take up Arms, 346.
The Ring in Marriage, not spoken of in the Conference at *Hampton Court*, but allowed by King *James*, 422.
George Ripley a Carmelite Fryer, writ divers Treatises in the Mathematicks, and was counted a Necromancer, 252.
A Rising for the King in the North of *Scotland*, 608. Suppresst by *Kerr* and *Straughan*, 591. In *Norfolk* soon suppresst, 603. An intended Rising in *Lancashire*, 605. At *Salisbury* suppresst, 624. In other parts of the Nation suppresst, *ibid.*
A deep River suddenly grown dry, 199.
A new River brought from *Ware* to *London*, 336.
The Lord *Rivers* and others beheaded at *Pomphret*, the very same day that the Lord *Hastings* was at *London*, 222, 223.
The City of *Roan* taken by King *Henry* the fifth, in which were two hundred and ten thousand Persons, yet not by force, but by Famine, 173, 174.
Robison got possession of the *Citadel* of *Ayre*, for General *Monk*, 665.
The Earl of *Rochester*, sent Ambassadour to the Emperour, 677.
Robbers upon the Highway when first ordained to be hanged, 40.
Robert, the Conquerours eldest Son, riseth against his Father, in a Battel unhorseth him, but knowing him by his Voice, to be his Father, kneels down and craves pardon, 25. Called *Curthois*, and why, 29. Elected King of *Hierusalem*, refuseth it, and never prospers after, 35. Hath his Eyes put out by his Brother *Henry*, 39.
Robert Earl of *Gloucester*, taken Prisoner by Queen *Mathild*, 48. He dieth, 49.
Robin Hood and Little *John*, 65. An Earl, but having wasted his Estate, made him turn Robber, *ibid.*
Robin of *Riddlesdal*, who and what he did, 207, 226.
Rochester Castle, the Constableship of it given to the Church of *Canterbury*, 41.
The Cathedral Church there, founded by King *Sebert*, 5.
The stone bridge there built & by whom, 269.
The Church of Saint *Andrews* there consumed with fire, 65, 58.
Viscount *Rochford*, is made Earl of *Wiltshire*, 278. Is committed to the *Tower*, 283. Is beheaded, *ibid.*
Rochus a Charterhouse Monk, that writ Epigrams, 218.
Sir *Thomas Roe* Mayor of *London*, his work of Piety, 398.
Sir *Thomas Roe* sent to the Diet at *Ratisbone*, to assist the Prince *Elector*, 511.
Ralph Rookby, his work of piety, 419.
John Rogers the first Martyr of those times, burnt at *London*, 321. He translated the Bible into *English* with Notes, 326.
Ragmans Roll delivered to the *Scots*, and how, 120.
Henry Ralph hanged, for counterfeiting the Queens Hand, 348.
Rome sacked by the *Imperialists*, 275. Reconciling to the See of *Rome*, made Treason, 347.
Romans how long conquering *England*, 2. leave *England* again, 3.
The Red Rose and the white, whose Badges, 188.
Rosamund, the Concubine of King *Henry* the second, and her fate, 59.
Richard Roose, boyled to death for poysoning, 195.
Rowen, the Daughter of *Hengist*, poysoneth *Vortimer*, 4.
Thomas Radborn, Bishop of St. *Davids*, writ a Chronicle, 167.
Royston Town burnt. 178.
Rufus, why King *William* so called, a notable Act of his, 36.
Prince *Rupert* arrives in *England* with his Brother Prince *Maurice*, 520. He routs Collonel *Sands* at *Worcester*, 522. He takes *Cirencester* for the King, 524. He takes *Litchfield*, *ibid.* *Bristow*, 527. Raiseth the Siege of *Latham-House*, 533. Fetcheth off the King from *Oxford*, 541. He is entertained by the King of *Portugal*, *ibid.*
Sir *John Russil*, Lord *Russel*, is made Earl of *Bedford*, 308.
Sir *John Russel*, Comptroller is made Lord *Russel*, 287.
Sir *John Russel* escapes death by feigning himself mad, 160.
William Russel Deputy of *Ireland*, 384.
John Russel writ a Treatise *super Jure Cæsaris ac Papæ*, also Commentaries in *Cantica*, 300.
The Earl of *Rutland* sent into *Denmark*, and why, 406.
Ripiers ordained to sell their Fish in *Cornhill* and *Cheapside*, and not to Fishmongers that would buy to sell again, 235.
Ryfing Hospital in *Norfolk* by whom founded 424.
A River not far from *Bedford*, suddenly remained almost dry, 154.

S S

THE Conde *Deb Sa* comes in splendid Embassie to *Cromwell*, 621. His Brother *Don Pantaleon Sa* beheaded, *ibid.*
The Sabbath-day first kept holy, from having Fairs, Markets, Huntings, and secular Affairs forbidden by a Law of *Canutus*, 16.
Sir *Ralph Sadler* the last Banneret of *England*, 376.
The Law *Salique* violated, 175.
The Law *Salique* written against, by *Thomas Beckington* Bishop of *Bathe*, 200.
Salisbury anciently called *Ambrii*, 4.
Church built there, 36.
Secundum Usum Sarum, a Form of Divine Service, devised by *Osmund* Bishop of *Salisbury*, 28.
Salisbury Dunne and others hanged, 370.
A *Salut*, what Coin it was, 175.
The Sanctuary at *Westminster*, how ancient, and by whom hallowed, 222.
Sanctuary priviledge restrained from such as committed Treason, 237. Their priviledges abated, 249.
Sir *Nicholas Sanders* is sent to *Ireland* by the Pope, with a consecrated Banner, 357. Is starved to death, 363.

Colonel *Sandys* routed at *Worcester* by Prince *Rupert* 251.

John Savage and others conspire against Queen *Elizabeth*, and how discovered, 369.

Lord *Sanguer* hanged, and why, 415.

St. *Saviours* at *Bermondsey* in *Southwark* founded by *Alwin Child*, Citizen of *London*, 28.

St. *Saviours* Abbey near *London*, founded by the Conqueror, 29.

Sir *Henry Savile*, his learned Works, 401.

The *Savoy* Hospital, when and by whom first finished, 249. and by whom the House first built, 32. set upon by the *Londoners*, and why, 130. burned by the Rebels of *Kent*, &c. under *Wat Tyler*, 138.

Sir *Oliver* St. *John* is made Baron of *Bletsho*. 329.

The Lord *Say*. Treasurer of *England*, sequestred from his Place, 190. Is committed to the *Tower*, *ibid*. Hath his Head chopt off by *Jack Cade*, 191.

Saturday, a fortunate day to King *Henry* the seventh, 238.

Saxons who, and their Idolatry, 2, 3. Possessors of all *England*, 4.

Saccarium, why so called, 27.

Scoggan a learned Gentleman, for his pleasant wit called to Court, 219.

Scarborough Castle taken for the Parliament by Sir *Matthew Bointon*, 543.

Tho. Scot, and *Luke Robinson*, sent from the Junto to Complement and attend upon General *Monk*, in his way to *London*, 678. Their Message to him from the House, 680. Scot opposeth the Proposition of the Citys Commissioners, 681. The General seems to comply with him, *ibid*. Scot instructs him how to receive the intended Gratulations of the House, 682. He excepts against General *Monks* speech, 684.

John Scot Knighted, 255.

Scotland, anciently called *Albania*, and why, 2. *Scots* King enters *England* in behalf of *Maud* the Empress, 46. Fatal Chair of *Scotland* brought to *England*, 97. *Scots* sweat fealty to King *Edward*, *ibid*. *Scots* invade *England*, but are defeated, 121, 131, 259. invaded by the *English*, 302.

Scots defeated by *Hubert de Lacye*, and eleven thousand slain, 47. The *Scots* get all the *North* parts of *England*, from *Carlile* to *Berwick*, 103. So emboldned that three *Scots* durst encounter an hundred *English*, *ibid*. The *Scots* defeated, with the grief whereof the King dieth, who leaving one only Daughter, King *Henry* the eighth seeks to marry her with his Son Prince *Edward*, and how crossed in it, 290. The *Scots* so beaten by the *English*, that some Women had three or four *Scottish* Prisoners, *ibid*.

The several transactions between the *Scots* and the King about Episcopal Government and the Liturgie, 453. The King marcheth with an Army into the *North* against them, 466. They come to an agreement, *ibid*. New preparations against them, 471. He again marcheth against them, *ibid*. New Articles of Agreement, 473. Their Demands at a Treaty with the Parliaments Commissioners, 475. They are invited by the Parliament to come in to their assistance, 530. They enter *England* with an Army, to the assistance of the Parliament, *ibid*. They take *Newcastle*, 537. They besiege *Hereford*, 544. *Newark* surrendred to them by the Kings desire, 546. The King in a disguise goes from *Oxford* to their Army, *ibid*. They are ordered to depart out of *England*, 548. They deliver up the King upon the receipt of a good sum of money, into the hands of the Parliament, *ibid*. They enter *England* under Duke *Hamilton*, 562. Are defeated by Lieutenant Gen. *Cromwell*, *ibid*. They consult about a Treaty with King *Charles* the second, they treat with him in the Isle of *Jersey*, 595. At *Breda*. 594. They are routed at *Musselsbrough*, 600. Defeated at *Dunbar*, 601. At *Worcester*, 608. They treat by their Commissioners with General *Monk* at *Berwick*, 674, &c. Their ancient way of Government set over them, after the Kings Restauration, 717.

The Lord *Scroop* put from his Chancellorship, for refusing to seal some grants of the King, 144.

William Scroop, Earl of *Wiltshire*, and Treasurer of *England*, beheaded, 150.

Thomas Scroop Archbishop of *York* beheaded, and why, 167.

Hen. Lord *Scroop* Lord Treasurer, put to death, and why, 170.

Thomas Scroop, surnamed *Bradley*, of the Noble Family of the *Scroops*, his devotion and long life, 252.

A Sea-fight between the *English* and *French*, wherein the *English* Victors, 119.

A Sea-fight between the *English* and the *French* at *Harfleur*, where the *English* prevailed, 172.

Another at the *Bay* of *Bretain*, 256. Three hundred *French* Ships taken by the *English*, 292. Between the *English* and *Spaniards* in eighty eight, 376. Between the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards*, 468. Between the *English* and *Hollanders*, 613, 614, 615, 616. Between the *English* and the *Spaniard*, 627, 629. between the *Swede* and *Dutch*, 638.

Secretary of State, whether he may not transact a business of State without special Commission from the Prince, 364.

A new Seal made by King *Henry* the third, for confirming of former grants, 79.

The Great Seal delivered to certain Counsellors, 381.

A new great Seal voted by the Parliament, 525. Seals of State broken in the Lords House, 547.

Sebba, King of the *East Saxons*, takes upon him the Habit of a Monk, and lies buried in *Pauls* Church, 6.

Selby in *York-shire* founded by the Conquerour, 29. Taken by the Lord *Fairfax*, 533.

Mr. *John Selden* reckoned among the learnedst Men of the Age in the Reign of King *Charles* the first, his death, 585.

Sermes Tower in *Buckers-Bury*, an ancient Mansion of the Kings of *England*. 30.

Sevenock in *Kent*, where a Free-school and 13 Almeshouses founded by *William* of *Sevenock*, who found an Infant newly born in the streets there, came afterward to be Mayor of *London*, 178.

Seventeenth day of *November* celebrated in honour of Queen *Elizabeths* coming to the Crown, 345.

Severus the Emperour wounded at *York* dieth, 2, 3.

Col. *Sexby* dies in the *Tower*, 631.

Lady *Jane Seymor* married to Henry the 8th, 284. Delivered of a Child named *Edward*, but dieth, 285.

Sir *Edward Seymor* created Viscount *Beauchamp*, 286.

Edward Seymor is made Earl of *Hartford*, 286. 319.

Edward Seymor Earl of *Hartford*, chosen Protector till King *Edward* should be eighteen years old, 301.

Sir *Thomas Seymor* is made Lord *Sudeley*, and Lord Admiral, *ibid*. He aimeth at the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, 304. 307. Is condemned, and by a Warrant under his Brother the Protectors own hand beheaded, *ib*.

The Protector having lost his Brother, is now left open to his Adversaries, *ibid*. Is committed to the *Tower*, 308. Is released, but no more Protector, *ibid*. Is arraigned, and acquitted of Treason, but condemned of Felony, 310. Is beheaded, *ibid*.

William Seymor marries the Lady *Arbella*, and both committed to the *Tower*, 417.

Serjeants at Law made, 205.

Two calls of Serjeants in King *Henry* the sevenths time, 247.

A call of Serjeants in King *Edward* the sixths time, 311.

Another call in Queen *Elizabeths* time, 337.

A call of Serjeants in King *James* his time, 406.

A second call in King *James* his time, 416.

A third call in King *James* his time, 419.

Sir *Thomas Saintleger*, and other Favourites of the Earl of *Richmond*, executed, 230.

Sir *Anthony Saintleger*, Deputy of *Ireland*, 289.

Sir *William Saintleger*, the first President of *Munster*, 337.

A faithful Servant, 64.

The greatest Rot of Sheep that ever was known, and continued 25 years, 101.

Cotswold sheep sent for a Present to the King of *Arragon*, 206.

Seminaries and seminary Priests why so called, and where erected, 358. An *English* Seminary in *Valledolid* in *Spain*, 381.

Servants restrained from buying any Victuals, unless they brought a testimonial whom they served, 325.

Service begun to be said in *Latine* in *Pauls* Church, *ibid*. In the *English* Tongue when first begun, 330.

William Shakespear, an excellent writer of Comedies, 402.

Shaftsbury Abbey of Nuns founded by King *Alfred*, 9.

Shene, now called *Richmond*, re-edified by King *Henry* the 5th, 178.
Sir *Edmund Sheffield* made Lord *Sheffield* of *Butterwick*, 302.
Sheriffs and Juſtices of the Peace, firſt ordained by the Conqueror, 27. To be choſen of Men of the County, when firſt ordained, 101.
Robert Singleton writ a Treatiſe of the ſeven Churches, and certain Prophecies, 300.
Sherburne in *Dorſet-ſhire*, anciently the Epiſcopal See, 9.
The Abby there founded by King *Henry* the firſt, 41.
The Caſtle there by whom built, 42.
No Ships in *England*, till after *Ceſars* coming, 2.
King *Edgar* had 3600 Ships, 11.
The Subjects commanded to find Ships and Armour at certain rates, 13. Ship-money impoſed upon the Subjects by King *Hardiknut*, 17.
A Navy of 1287, Ships prepared by the *French* to invade *England*, 142. but diſtreſſed by *William Beuchamp*, Captain of *Calice*, *ibid.* 500 *French* Ships made by the *Engliſh*, *ibid.*
The goodlieſt Ship that was ever ſeen in *England*, built by King *Henry* the eighth, and called *Henry Grace de Dieu*, 257. burnt at *Walwich*, 325.
The number of Ships increaſed by Queen *Elizabeth*, 334. the great Ship called the *Revenge* taken by the *Spaniard*, 381.
The Merchants built a Ship of twelve hundred Tun, naming it the *Trades Increaſe*, but this Ship was caſt away at Sea, after which King *James* built a Ship of fourteen hundred Tun, and carrying 64 Pieces of great Ordinance, and was called the *Prince*, 413.
Ship-money deſigned by Atturny General *Noy*, 454. taken into debate by the Judges, 455. Voted down by the Parliament, 475.
The diviſion of the Kingdom into Shires and Hundreds, when and by whom firſt made, 9.
Shoos and Boots, of what length their beaks and pikes ſhould be, 216.
Shortmantle, a name of King *Henry* the ſecond, and why, 59.
Edmund Shaw Mayor of *London*, made of Counſel to make the Duke of *Glocester* King, 224.
Doctor *Shaws* ſhameful Sermon in praiſe of the Duke of *Glocester*, and how over-ſhot in it, *ibid.*
Shrewsbury ſurprized by the Parliaments Forces, 541.
Shores Wife, who and what ſhe was, 217. After King *Edwards* death, retained by the Lord *Haſtings*, 223. ſpoiled of all her Goods, and Penance beſides, and her carriage in it, 224.
Shrewsbury Abby founded by *Waring* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, 29.
Dr. *Sibthorp* informs againſt the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, at the Council Table, 457.
Sir *Philip Sidney* is ſent to the Emperour, and why, 354. is ſlain, and his condemnation, 368. 401.
Sigebert King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, ſlain by a Swineheard, 6.
Sigebert the fifth King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, founded the School of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, and becomes a Monk, 7.
Sigiſmund the Emperour comes into *England*, and why, 172. makes a League with King *Henry*, *ibid.*
Silver Mines found in *Devonſhire*, in King *Edward* the firſt's time, 101.
Lambert Simnel, given out to be *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, is conveyed into *Ireland*, and thereby many believed, 237. Is there Crowned King of *England*, 238 Is taken and put into the Kings Kitchin to turn the Spit, and at laſt made one of the Kings Falconers, *ibid.*
Simon Zealotes, one of the Apoſtles Martyred in *England*, 3.
Miles Sindercome and others Plot againſt the Protectors life, 618. he is tryed and condemned *ibid.* procures his own death by a poyſonous Powder, *ibid.*
Sion near *Richmond*, by whom founded, 178.
Major Gen. *Skippon* ſet over the City *Militia* by the Parliament, 560.
Skuiſh, a *Corniſh* Man, writ Abbreviations of Chronicles, and of the winning of *Troy*, 299.
Skelton a pleaſant Poet, when he lived, *ibid.*
A ſleep of fourteen days together, 298.
Col. *Slingsby* and Sir *John Berkly* apprehended in the *Weſt* of *England*, 593.
Sir *Henry Slingsby* tryed before a High Court of Juſtice, for conſpiring againſt the Protector, 633. Is beheaded, *ibid.*
The Family of *Smith* in *Eſſex*, from whom deſcended, 131.
John Smith, Couſin-German to King *Edward* the 6th, is ſent into *Spain*, and his bold behaviour there, 383.
Thomas Smith the Cuſtomers Rent raiſed, 380.
Sir *Thomas Smith* writ an imperfect Work of the Commonwealth of *England*, 401.
Smithfield, when firſt paved, anciently a Layſtall, and the place of Execution, 42. 437.
Snow in ſuch abundance, that almoſt all Cattel and Fowl periſhed, 18. 165.
The Solemnity of *Oliver Cromwells* Inſtallment, 620. of his Funeral, 637.
Duke of *Somerſet* ſent to the Tower, but ſoon releaſed and made Captain of *Calice*, 193. is ſlain, *ibid.*
Sir *Charles Somerſet*, made Earl of *Worceſter*, 204.
Somerſet-Houſe in the *Strand*, by whom built, and by what impious courſes, 307.
Somervile, *Arden*, and others condemned, and why 363.
A good temper for a Souldier, 51.
Souldiers for the Kings War, found by the Subjects, 83. Levied by rate from all Cities, 108. and 127.
Southfleet in *Kent*, the Conventual Church there, by whom founded, 56.
South-Saxons Kingdom, when begun, 5.
King of *Spains* eldeſt Son marries the Duke of *Lancaſters* Daughter, 141, 142.
King of *Spain* ſeizeth upon the Kingdom of *Portugal*, 360.
The King of *Spain*, a Peace concluded between him and the King of *England*, 447. Open War proclaimed between him and the *Engliſh Protector*, 617.
The *Spaniſh* Army vanquiſhed near *Fuentes* Fort, by the *French* and *Engliſh*, 633.
The *Spaniſh* Fleet in 88. of how many Ships it conſiſted, their number of Souldiers, and their ſetting out, 376. Their fight and event, 377, 378.
The Biſhop of *Carliſles* bold ſpeech in behalf of King *Richard*, 158.
Speech of K. *Charles* the firſt, at his firſt Parliament, 432.
The ſpeech of the Earl of *Strafford* at his death, 510. King *Charles* the firſt, 583. &c. of Duke *Hamilton* 590. of the Earl of *Holland*, *ibid.* of the Lord *Capel*, *ibid.* of *Caſtles* to the King at the Treaty at *Breda*, 594.
Monmouth his ſpeech at his tryal, 597. At his Execution, 598.
Olivers ſpeech to his laſt Parliament, 631.
The Speaker *Lenthalls* ſpeech to *Lambert*, upon his delivery of the Armies Petition and Addreſs, 647.
Gen. *Monk*, ſpeech to his Officers at *Edinburgh*, 664.
Mr. *Caryl's* ſpeech to Gen. *Monk* in the name of the Independent Churches, 670.
Lenthall, Speaker of the Long-Parliament, his ſpeech to General *Monk*, 682. the Generals ſpeech in anſwer to the Speakers, 683.
Mr. *Jolly*, a Citizen, his ſpeech to the General, 707.
Col. *Knights* ſpeech to the Officers, to encourage them to take an Engagement which the General had cauſed to be drawn up, 697.
Col. *Lydcots* ſpeech upon the reading of his Majeſties Letter, and Declaration, 705.
His Majeſties ſpeech to the Members of Parliament at his firſt Arrival, 712. His ſpeech to the Parliament, to haſten the perfecting of the Act of Oblivion, 716. his ſpeech at the paſſing the Act of Indemnity, and ſeveral other Acts, 718. his ſpeech at the paſſing the Act for Diſbanding the Army, and many other Acts, 724.
My Lord Chancellors ſpeech to the two Houſes, *ibid.*
Hugh Spencer the younger, as great a Favourite of King *Edward* as *Gaveſton* had been, 108. his Father and himſelf, both baniſhed the Kingdom, but ſoon called home again. 110.
Hugh Spencer the Father, a man of 90. years old, executed by the Queen, 112. The younger hanged and quartered, *ibid.*
Henry Spencer Biſhop of *Norwich*, oppoſeth the Rebels, takes *Lynneſter* their Captain, and hangs him, 139 goes into *France* with an Army, 140.
The Lord *Spencer* is ſent to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and why, 406.

Marquess *Spinola* takes *Offrud*, and how rewarded, 408.
Thomas Spot a Chronographer, when lived, 103.
Spotswood Archbishop dies, 470.
Spoils gotten by Souldiers from the Enemy, made to be restored, 11.
Edward Squire executed, and why, 389.
Stabbing with a Dagger or Knife made wilful murther, 421.
George Stadlow, his advice followed against the common inclination of the Citizens, 307.
Henry Lord *Stafford*, Son to *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, translated a Book out of *Latin* into *English*, intituled, *Utriusque Potestatis Differentia*, 327.
The Lord *Stafford* of *Southwark* beheaded, 207.
Stage-Plays abolished by Ordinance of Parliament, 612.
The Earl of *Stamford* proclaimed Traytor by the King, 520.
Beaten by Sir *Ralph Hopton*, 524. at *Stratton* in *Cornwall*, 525.
The *Standard* in *Cheap*, when and by whom built, 199.
The *Standard* of King *Charles* the first, erected at *Nottingham*, 520.
The *Standard* of King *Charles* the second set up at *Aberdeen*, 600.
The Lord *Stanley* sets King *Richards* Crown upon the Earl of *Richmonds* head, 234. Is sent to the Earl of *Richmond*, to the hazard of his own Sons life, *ibid.* yet is put to death, and why, 242.
Sir *Edward Stanley* made Lord *Monmouth*, 261.
Ferdinand Stanley Earl of *Derby* dieth, thought by Poyson, or Witchcraft, 383.
Edward Stanley the means of taking *Zutphen*, and his reward, 365.
Walter Stapleton Bishop of *Exeter*, founded *Exeter* Colledge, and *Hart-Hall* in *Oxford*, 130.
Star-Chamber which consisted before by the Common Law, is confined by Parliament, 249.
The Star-Chamber, High-Commission Court, and Court of Wards, voted down by Parliament, 511.
A Star appears at Noon, a little after the Birth of Prince *Charles*, 571.
A new Star appearing ten months together, 425.
Statutes of *Marlborough*, when made, 88.
Statutes of *Westminster* the first. when made, 101. Of *Asson Burnel*, when made, *ibid.* *Additamenta Glocestriæ*, when made, *ibid.* Of *Mortmain*, when made, *ibid.*
The Statute *Ex Officio* revived, 325.
The Statute of *Knighthood* executed, 449.
The Statues and Arms of the late King demolished by Order of Parliament, 600.
Stealing of Cattel, when made Capital, 88.
Sterling fortified by the Kings Forces, 604. taken by *Cromwells* Forces, 629. the Castle delivered up to *Monk*, 611.
Stephen King of *England*, 46. see his story throughout.
Marries his Son to the *French* Kings Daughter, 46. seizes King *Henries* Treasurer, *ibid.* taken Prisoner, 48. recovers his liberty, *ibid.*
Saint *Stephen's* Chappel at *Westminster*, by whom built, 130.
Thomas Sternhold, turned into *English* Metre, 37. of *Davids* Psalms, 314.
Robert Stuart Crowned King of *Scots* at *Scone*, 126.
James Stuart King of *Scots*, who had been Prisoner 18 years in *England*, is set at liberty, and doth homage for his Crown of *Scotland*, 181.
Stews and Brothel-Houses put down, 295.
Stigand Archbishop of *Canterbury* his equivocating, swearing he had not one Penny upon Earth, when he had hidden much Treasure under the Earth, 28.
The *Stocks*, a Market for Fish and Flesh, by whom builded, 101. 165.
John Stodie Mayor of *London*, gave to the Vintners all the Quadrant where the Vintners-Hall now standeth, with the Tenements round about it, 131.
Stonehinge in *Wiltshire*, a Monument of the slaughtered *Britains*, 4.
John Story, Doctor of the Laws, condemned and executed, and why, 347.
John Stow a Monk of *Norwich*, 201.
The Earl of *Strafford* impeached of High Treason, and committed to the *Black Rod*, 475. to the *Tower*, 477. he is brought to his Tryal, and the Articles against him, with his Reply to each of them, 477, to 485. the Testimony of the Parliament produced against him, with his Answer, 465, to 495. his Answer to Secretary *Vane's* Accusation, 495 to 501. The Bill of Attainder passed against him, 508. he is beheaded at *Tower-hill*, 510.
Strangers dangerous to be called in aid, 3.
Strangers removed from the King, 80. 85.
Stratagems of War, one of Duke *William*, 23.
One of King *Lewis*, 54.
One of the *English*, 78.
One of the Scots, 108.
One of King *Henry* the fifth, 173.
One of Sir *Francis* the *Arragonist*, 185.
One of the *French* at *Ardes*, 188.
Of the *English* Admiral, 377.
Stratford the *Bow*, why so called, 42.
Stratford Langthon Abby, by whom founded, 50.
Stratford upon *Avon*, the great Bridge there by whom built, 250.
Jack Straws confession at his death, and what the Rebels intended to have done, 139.
Colonel *Streater* joins with *Ingoldsby* against *Lambert*, 699. defeats his Party, and takes him Prisoner, *ibid.*
Thomas Stukely with his bragging is made by the Pope, Earl of *Wexford*, and Marquess of *Lemster*, and of his design and death, 356.
The Lord *Stureon* hanged at *Salisbury*, with a Silken Halter, for a Murder, 323.
The Stile of publick Writings, the Great Seal, and the Stamp of Coin altered by the *English* Commonwealth, 588.
A subsidy granted to King *Henry* the third, conditionally, 83. 141.
A subsidy paid by only the great Men, and the Commons spared, 152, 153.
A subsidy granted of four-pence upon the Poll, *ibid.*
A subsidy granted, but so, that two Citizens should see it bestowed for defence of the Realm, 136.
A subsidy granted, but with condition, that the Earl of *Arundel* should see it issued, 142.
A subsidy granted to *Henry* the fifth, without asking, 169. to *Henry* the eighth with much ado, 269, 270.
A subsidy, where every one of fifteen years and upwards paid four-pence, 294.
A subsidy where all Men should be sworn what they were worth, and pay accordingly, 294, 295.
Five subsidies granted to the King, 423.
Successors in the Kingdom appointed by the Prince, 20.
Sudley Castle taken for the Parliament by Colonel *Massey*, 524.
Suffolk and *Norfolk*, with *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*, made the Kingdom of the East *Angles*, 7.
Two Suns shining at one time, when seen, 325.
Surplice, no cause to forbear the wearing it, 422.
Sussex and *Surrey* made the second Kingdom of the *Saxons*, 5.
The Earl of *Surrey* wins *Morlays* and other Towns in *France*, 169. his service against the *Scots*, 172. created Duke of *Norfolk*, with an augmentation of the Arms of *Scotland*, 261.
Sussex Sidney Colledge in *Cambridge*, by whom founded, 398.
Sutbred King of the East-*Saxons*, subdued by *Egbert* King of the West, 6.
Sutton-Walleys, in the County of *Hereford*, the Seat of King *Offa*, 8.
Suttons Hospital *Smithfield*, built by *Thomas Sutton*, and with what Endowments, 425.
Sweating Sickness, when and how violent, and the Remedy, 237. another, 250. another, and whom it took away, 297. another most extreme in *London*, and proper to the *English* Nation, who dyed of it wheresoever they were, and none of any other Nation, 312.
Swords and Daggers limited to a certain length, 398.
The League between the Kingdom of *Sweden* and *Cromwell*, 621.
King of *Swedens* success in *Germany*, 449. Declining, 454. his death, 452. A Peace between the *Swedes* and *Germans*, 454.
King of *Swedens* War-like Proceeding against *Denmark*, 638.
Sea-Fight between the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*, *ibid.*
The Synod of *Dort*, 422. the Synod of *Glasgow* sends a Declaration to the Estates and Kirkat S. *Johnstons*, *Swyne* 602.

Sweyne King of *Denmark*, stricken by the divine hand, and why, 314.
Kath. Swinefords Children Legitimated by Parliament, 151.

T T

Talbot Earl of *Shrewsbury*, his name a terror to the *French*, 182. taken prisoner, by the *French*, is ransomed, 183, 184. is slain, 193. his Title upon his Tomb, *ibid.*
Col. *Talbot* sent along with *Clarges* into *Scotland* for *Monk* by the Grandees of the army, 665. they are well received at *Edenburgh* by the General, 666.
Tamworth Monastery in *Warwickshire*, by whom founded, 10.
John Tate Mayor of *London*, his work of Piety, 150.
Tatshall Colledge in *Lincolnshire*, by whom founded, 199.
Tavestock Abby in *Devonshire*, by whom founded, 11.
Taunton besieged by the Kings Forces, relieved by Colonel *Welden*, 541. streightned again by the Kings Forces, *ibid.*
William Taylor a Priest burnt in *Smithfield*, and why, 216.
William Taylor Mayor of *London*, his Works of Piety, 217.
John Hawkwood, a Taylor in *London*, but in *Italy* so famous for his valorous acts, that a Statue was publickly erected in his memory, 133.
Taxes and Impositions forborn when, 46.
In King *Stephens* time, none at all, but great Confiscations, 49.
Terms for Law-businesse, first ordained by the Conqueror, and where to be kept, 27.
The Term adjourned by reason of Wars, but the Exchequer and the Courts of Tenths open, 292.
Term kept at *Redding*. 433.
Michaelmas Term holden at St. *Albans*, 400.
Teeth abated in mens mouths, after a Plague, 131.
A marvellous Tempest when, 329.
The Middle Temple Gate by whom re-edified. 261.
Tenants to the Conqueror paid their Rent in Corn, 27.
Tenis-Balls sent from the Dauphin of *France*, to King *Henry* the fifth, in derision, and his answer, 169. 170.
The new Testament translated into *English* by *Tyndal* and *Foy*, and is by the Bishops forbidden to be read, 279.
Tewksbury Church there founded a new by *Robert Fitzhamon*, 42.
A Thanksgiving for Victory, eight days together all *England* over, 124.
Theobalds, the Brick-Wall about the Park there, by whom made, 423.
Thomas Thesdale, of *Glympton* in *Oxfordshire*, his works of Piety, 113.
Thetford, anciently the Bishops See, now removed to *Norwich*, 36.
The Monastery there built by *Robert Lofaunge*, Bishop of *Thetford*, *ibid.*
Owen Tudor, an Esquire of *Wales*, marries Queen *Katherine* the Dowager of King *Henry* the fifth, 178. beheaded and for what, 197.
Thomas Archbishop of *York*, chuseth rather to dye than to company with a Woman, 41.
William Thomas, a Welshman, writ a History of *Italy*, 327.
Saint *Thomas* Hospital in *Southwark*, by whom given for relief of diseased persons, 312.
Valentine Thomas, for offence against Queen *Elizabeth*, is by King *James* executed, 406.
Thong Castle, why so called, 3.
Thorney, the ancient name of *Westminster*, 5.
Thorp, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in the habit of a Monk, his Crown shorn, is taken and beheaded by the Commons at High-Gate, 196.
Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, arraigned of Treason, cleareth himself, 320.
Francis Throgmorton, upon the second racking, confesseth all, 364. is condemned and hanged, *ibid.*
Strange Thunder and Lightning at *Withcomb*, 571.
John Tyler a principal mover of the Insurrection in *Kent*, and why, 138.
Wat. Tyler, the Rebels Captain, his insolency, and how slain, *ib.* 139.
William Tindall, burnt at a Town in *Flanders*, translating the New Testament into *English*, 283.
John Lord *Tiptoft*. Earl of *Worcester*, found on the top of a Tree, taken and beheaded, 209.
The Earl of *Thomas* first revolt, and why, 333. he submits himself again, and his dissembling courses, 383. he grows strong, and slays 1500 of the *English*, 389. he submits himself absolutely to the Deputy, 396. he is brought into *England* and pardoned, 406. yet most ungratefully he flies beyond Sea, and sollicits foreign Princes against *England*, 412.
Titles of Writs, see *Writs*.
Tobacco, when first brought into *England*, and whom, 400.
A Toleration of tender Consciences asserted by the Independents, 594.
Tomkins and *Chaloner*, hanged about a Plot, 570.
Tonnage and Poundage; Complaint made against those who refused to pay it, 441. the Commons prepare a Bill against it, *ibid.* see *Tonnage* and *Poundage*.
John Tourney writ certain Rules of Grammar, 252.
Adam Torlton, Bishop of *Hereford*, a pestilent Counsellour of the Queen, 111.
Richard Tarlton, an excellent Stage-player for the Clowns part, 402.
Tournay yielded up to *Henry* the 8. 259. twelve hundred Masons and Carpenters sent thither to build a Castle, 264. By *Wolseys* means delivered back to the King of *France*, 265. recovered from the *French* by the Emperor, 268.
The Tower Royal, now the Kings Ward-robe, an ancient mansion house of the Kings of *England*, 30.
The Tower of *London*, enlarged and walled by King *William Rufus*, 29. walled with an outer wall, by whom, 66.
Trailbaston, a Writ of Inquisition used by King *Edward* the first, 100.
John Trask, Censured for holding Judaical Opinions, 423.
Traytors hanged by them whom they betrayed, 108.
Sanctuary no defence in case of Treason, 237.
In case of Treason, no Counsel is to be allowed the Delinquent. 348.
A Law made what punishment he shall have that goes about to free any person in prisoned for Treason, 384.
A Treason, of a strange Composition, by the Lord *Cobham* and others, 406. 407.
Treason may be committed, though the King be not Crowned, 407.
A Treaty between the two Kingdoms, 512.
A Treaty begun at *Oxford* between the King and Parliament, 524. another Treaty begun at *Uxbridge*, 539. the King sends from *New-Castle* to the Parliament about a Treaty, 547.
Commissioners sent with new Propositions to Treat with the King in the Isle of *Wight*, 563.
A treaty between General *Monk*, Commissioners and *Lambert*, 665. Broke off, 667.
Tredagh besieged by *Cromwel* and taken by storm. 592.
Michael Trigony, a learned Man of *Cornwall* made Governor of the Universities of *Caen* in *Normandy* by *Hen.* 5. 201.
Trent at *Nottingham* almost dryed up, 43.
Francis Tresham, counterfeiting Loyalty, is suspected and sent to the *Tower*, and there dieth, 410.
Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice, found in an Apothecaries House, was had to the *Tower*, and from thence drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged, and why, 145.
Lord Treasurers in a sequence, suddenly made Earls, 434. 414.
John Trevisa a *Cornish-man*, translated the Bible, and writ divers Treatises, 155.
Trials by Combate, discontinued in the Conquerours time, and the Tryals by the Verdict of twelve men begun, 27.
Tryal of the King before the High Court of Justice, the manner of it, 571. to 580.
Of the Tryers or pretended Judges of King *Charles* the first, 571.
Trinity Hall in *Cambridge* by whom founded, 130. 151.

Tricallis, a Prison of the Emperours so called, out of which none was ever known to escape with life; and into which King *Richard* the first was put, being taken by *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*, 64.

Nicholas Trivet, writ Historics, and a Book of Annals, 133.

Sir *Thomas Trivet* with a fall off his Horse dieth, 146.

Andrew Trollop revolts from the Duke of *York* to the King, and discovers all his practice. 195. Truce with the *Scots*, and why. 108. Truce with the *French*. 124. 146. 150. 151. Truce with the *Scots*. 238. 244.

A Truce not infringed, by what is gotten politickly without blows. 184.

A Truce abused. 188.

Van Trump his death and Character. 619.

A Tumult in *Fleet-street* about an arrest for which C. *Stamford* and C. *Asburst* were hanged, 447.

Tumults in *Dublin* about restraining the liberty of the Catholicks, 449. In *Scotland*, how occasioned. 452. of the *London* Apprentices thronging to *Westminster*. 515.

At *Tunbridge* in *Kent* a Free School, by whom founded. 313.

Payment of Tunnage and Poundage refused by several Merchants, who thereupon had their Goods seized on. 443. the King relinquisheth his claim to it. 511.

Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of *Durham*, his work of piety. 325.

A Family of the *Tunstalls* in *Lancashire*, how ancient, and what Arms they bear. 327.

Dr. *Turners* six Queries. 435. the King offended at them. *ibid.* Dr. *Turners* Vindication. *ibid.*

Simon Turney, from a great Scholar becomes an Ideot. 75.

Turwin delivered to King *Henry*. 259.

James Touchet Lord *Audley*, joyns with the Rebels of *Cornwall*, but defeated, is beheaded. 243.

Touchet Lord *Audley*, his Tryal, and for what. 450.

V V

Vale Royal Abby in *Cheshire* by whom founded, 99.

Valour of K. *William Rufus* 34. Valour respected in an Enemy. 116.

General *Venables* commanded the Land Forces that went to *Hispaniola*. 625. his ill success. *ibid.* his return into *England*. 626. he is sent to the *Tower*, but soon released. *ibid.*

Robert Venile, in single Combat with a great *Scot* called *Thrumbill*, first killed his Dog and then himself. 133.

Venner the Fifth-Monarchy-man, his insurrection and disturbance in the City. 734. 735.

Robert Vere Earl of *Oxford*, created Duke of *Ireland*. 142. he repudiates his Wife the Daughter of the Earl of *Bedford*, and marries a Joyners Daughter, a *Bohemian*, but dyed afterward in *Louaine* in great misery. 143. 145.

He claims the Office of a Chamberlain, at the Coronation. 136.

Sir *Francis*, and Sir *Horatio Vere*, their valour at the Battail of *Newport*. 391. their Commendation. 426.

Sir *Francis Verney* and others, turn first Pyrats, and then *Turks*. 413.

Vertue regarded in an Enemy. 128.

Verulam, the Seat of the King of the Trinovants. 2.

William Ufford Earl of *Suffolk*, dyes suddenly. 140.

Victuallers forbidden to sell meat or drink, to any serving man, unless he brought a testimonial whom he served. 325.

Master *George Villiers*, his first coming in favour with King *James*, and the great honours suddenly conferred upon him. 414.

Vintners Hall standeth in a Quadrant, given to the Vintners by *John Stodie* Mayor of *London*, 131.

Virginia planted first, and the success thereof, 427.

A strange Vision appearing to King *James* of *Scotland*, 261.

University Colledge in *Oxford*, founded by *William* Bishop of *Durham*, 29.

Voadicia, a Queen of *Britain*, discomfited the *Romans* and afterward, being overthrown her self, she killeth her self. 2.

Vorstius, at King *James* solliciting, is expelled out of the Low-Countries, and what his erronious opinions were. 422.

Vortigern Earl of *Cornwall*, chosen King of the *English*, calls in the *Saxons* to his aid against the *Scots*. 2. he falls in love with *Rowena*, the Daughter of *Hengist* the Saxon, and marries her. 3. is deposed. *ibid.* is re-established in the Kingdom. 4. he flyeth into *Wales*, where he and his Castle burnt by *Ambrosius*. *ibid.*

Vortimer the son of *Vortigern*, is chosen King upon his Fathers deposing. 4. who in divers Battails overcomes the *Saxons* and makes *Hengist* flie the Realm. *ibid.* Is poysoned by *Rowena*. 4.

Vortigerns succeedeth *Conanus* in the Kingdom, and overcomes the *Saxons* in many Battails. 4.

Mr. *Vowell* a Schoolmaster, executed about a Plot against *Cromwell*. 621.

Nicholas Upton, writ of Heraldry, and of the duties of Chivalry. 201.

Pope *Urban* the fifth, Son of *William Grisant*, an Englishman. 133.

James Usher Archbishop of *Armagh*, his Universal Learning, Piety and Prudence. 585. his Death and Burial. 627.

W W

SIR *William Wand* sent to the King of *Spain*, and his stout carriage there. 364.

Roger Walden, of a poor Scholar in *Oxford* came by degrees to be Treasurer of *England*, and at last to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and after how he fell. 167.

Wales anciently called *Cambria*, and why. 2. made Tributary to King *Athelstan*, and what Tribute it paid. 10 made tributary to *William Rufus*. 32. 33. the *Welsh* repressed by K. *Hen.* the second. 51. first annexed to the Crown of *England*, by K. *John*. 71. 96. the Kings eldest Son to be Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Chester*, when it first began. 84. the *Welsh* Womens inhumanity to *English* that were slain. 160.

Walter Walker dwelling at the Sign of the Crown in *Cheapside*, put to death for idle words spoken, and what they were. 215.

Sir *William Waller* is beaten at *Roundway-down* by *Hopton* and *Wilmot*. 526. by Prince *Maurice* near *Tewkesbury* 527. made General of several Countries. *ib.* beats the Kings Forces at *Farnham*, and takes *Arundel* Castle 533. he defeats the Lord *Hopton* and takes *Winchester*. *ibid.* defeated by the King at *Cropredy-Bridge*. 534. he besiegeth *Basing* House. 453.

William Wallace a *Scotchman*, opposed King *Edward*. 97.

William Wallis a Black Fryer in *Lin*, writ morals upon *Ovids Metamorphosis*. 179.

Sir *John Wallop*, sent General over six thousand, to joyn with the Emperours Forces, but little done. 491.

Secretary *Walsingham* understanding the Plot of Treason in *Babington* and others, dissembles it, and his carriage in it. 369 his death. 378.

Robert Walsingham wrote divers Treatises. 114. *Henry Walsingham* wrote sundry Books of Divinity. 201.

Thomas Walsingham a diligent Historiographer, *ibid.*

Walthamstow Church by whom re-edified. 297. Cawsey of Timber from *Walthamstow* Locks Bridge, by whom made. *ibid.*

William Walworth Mayor of *London* kills *Wat. Tyler*, 138. and how rewarded by the King, 139. 140.

William Wanflete Bishop of *Winchester*, why so called, 188.

Robert Wansham wrote a Book of the orignal and signification of words, 167.

War between *England* and *Scotland*, 160. War between *England* and *France*, 255.

A new War between *England* and *France*, how occasioned, 438. war begun between the King and Parliament, 518. the war with the *Dutch*, how occasioned, 613. open war proclaimed between *England* and *Spain*, 627.

Wardships first instituted by *William* the Conqueror, 26.

Wards of Barons first given to King *Henry* the third, Court of Wards taken away, 731.

Sir *Edward Warner* Lieut. of the Tower, put from his place, for a Prisoners escape, 334.

The Lord *de la Ware* restored in blood by the *Parliament.* 388.
John Earl of *Warren* opposeth the Kings way for raising of mony by *Quo Warranto*, 100.
Warwick Castle builded by King *Henry* the second, 58.
The Colledge of St. *Mary* there by whom founded, 42.
The Earl of *Warwick* dies. 185.
The Earl of *Warwick* received by the *Londoners.* 547.
The Earl of *Warwick* made Admiral of the *English* Navy by the Parliament. 517. opposed by Sir *John Pennington*, Admiral for the King. *ibid.*
Water brought to the City of *London* from *Chadwell* in *Hartfordshire*, when and by whom. 416.
Anne Waters her cruel murther of her Husband, and how discovered, and she burned. 424.
Weapons forbidden to be worn, 315.
Weights and Balances to weigh Gold, when first ordained. 177.
Wells Church founded by *Ina* King of the West *Saxons*, afterwards made an Episcopal See. 5. 6.
The Lord *Wells* upon King *Edwards* unjust surmise, beheaded. 207.
Sir *Robert Wells* firm to the Earl of *Warwick*. 208. Is taken prisoner and executed. *ibid.*
William, King of *Scots*, does Homage to King *John*. 69.
The Family of the *Welsburnes* from whom descended. 74.
Wenlock Abby founded by *Waring* Earl of *Shrewsbury*. 29.
The Lord of *Wenlock* proving treacherous, hath his brains beaten out by the Duke of *Somerset*. 211.
Sir *Thomas Wentworth* is made a Baron, and Lord President of the North, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. 452.
Westmerland and *Northumberland*, Earls rebel, and the issue of it. 343.
Westchester anciently called *Carrlegion*. 7. besieged by Sir *William Brereton*. 558. 561. relieved by the King. 561. taken by Sir *William Brereton* for the Parliament. 565.
West Saxons Kingdom begun. 5.
Westminster Church first founded by *Sebert* King of the *East Angles*. 6. anciently called *Thorney*. *ibid.* enriched by K. *Offa*. 7. of a little Monastery made a most beautiful Church by King *Edward* the Confessor. 19. the painted Chamber in the Palace there, the place where King *Edward* the Confessor died. 19. the Palace there, the ancient Mansion-house of the Kings of *England*. 30. the Hall built by King *Richard* the second. *ibid.* built by *William Rufus*. 36. the Church how long in building, and when, and by whom finished. 101. the Palace consumed with fire. *ibid.* the Hall repaired by King *Richard*, 154. the Chappel of our Lady at *Westminster*, when and by whom built. 250. Founded by King *Henry* the third. 89. the Abby converted into a Collegiat Church, when and by whom. 398.
Matthew of *Westminster*, writ the Book called *Flores Historiarum*. 134.
Sir *Richard Weston* sent to the Emperour about restitution of the Palatinate, but without success. 418. brings a message from King *Charles* to his Parliament, 435. made Lord Treasurer of *England*. 455. his death. *ibid.*
Wexford in *Ireland* taken by *Cromwells* Forces. 638.
A Whale in the *Thames*, and of what length. 399. 415.
Col. *Whetham* at *Portsmouth*, declares for Gen. *Monk*. 733. 674.
John Whethamsted writ Records of his own time. 201.
John Whitakers answereth all the Books of *Bellarmine*. 401.
Whichwood disforrested by King *Richard* the third. 234.
White a Priest burnt and why. 200.
Sir *Thomas White* Mayor of *London*, his work of piety. 546.
White-hall built by Cardinal *Woolsey*, made the Kings seat by King *Henry* the eighth. 30. whose it had been. 90.
Whittington Colledge in *London*, founded by *Richard Whittington* Mayor of *London*. 165.
Common Whores appointed a certain Habit to wear. 128.
Sir *Thomas Wiat*, who dyed as he was going Embassador to the Emperor, writ much in *English* meetre, and translated the seven penitential Psalms. 300
Sir *Thomas Wiat* of *Kent*, opposeth Queen *Maries* marriage with *Spain*, and riseth in Arms. 318. his proceedings, his partakers, his opposites. 319. being denyed entrance at *Ludgate*, he yields himself to Sir *Maurice Berkley*, but is sent to the *Tower*. *ibid.* Is beheaded and quartered. 320.
William Wickham Bishop of *Winchester*, forbidden to come to the Parliament. 127. is made Lord Chancellor. 146. his works of piety. 165. his true name, his education and means of rising, and lastly of his falling. 166. fallen into disgrace is restored to the Kings favour, by the means of *Alice Pierce*. 167.
John Wickliffe bringing in new Doctrine, and what, and is much favoured by the Duke of *Lancaster*. 129. banisht, he goes into *Bohemia*. 130.
The *Wickleffists* encreasing are persecuted by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 154. his Doctrine is maintained by Learned men in their Sermons at *Oxford*. 177.
A Widow marrying within a year after her Husbands death, loseth the Joynture by a Law of King *Canutus*. 16.
Wigmore Abby by whom founded. 58.
Wilbie Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded. 433.
Ralph Wilford, set up to take upon him to be the young Earl of *Warwick*, but is soon discovered and hanged. 145.
Thomas Wilkes, Doctor *Dales* Secretary, doth the King of *Navarre* main good service, for which afterward Knighted by him. 352.
Col. *Wilkes*, one of the three Commissioners appointed by Gen. *Monk* to treat with *Lambert*. 667.
William King of *England*, called the *Conqueror*. 20. see his story throughout.
A Fool saves his life. 21. takes a fall at his landing. 22. his stratagem. 23. Crowned King. *ib.* how he secured the Kingdom. 24. his troubles during his Reign. *ibid.* his aptness to forget injuries. 25. his Conquests, Exactions, Laws and Ordinances. 26. 27. Church affairs in his time. 28. Works of Piety and Casualties. 28 29. scoffed at by the *French* King. 30. his death. *ibid.* his Corps neglected, and left of all. 31. molested at his burial. *ibid.*
William Rufus King of *England*. 32. see his story throughout.
Sir *John Williams* is created Baron of *Thame*. 321.
Sir *Roger Williams* is made of the Council of War. 376. His valour highly extolled by the King of *France*. 389. he makes a challenge to the *Spaniards* of 300 to 300. *ibid.* he dieth. 385.
Richard Williams executed at *Tyburn*, for being bribed to kill the Queen. 381.
Bishop *Williams* Lord Keeper. 418.
Sir *Hugh Willoughby* going a Voyage by sea, is frozen to death. 309.
Sir *Robert Willoughby* is made Lord *Brook*. 237.
Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Governour of the *English* Plantations in *Virginia*, and the *Caribee* Isles for the King. 612. he and the Lord *Newport*, and others committed to the *Tower* by *Cromwell*. 625.
The Lord *Wilmot* sent Embassadour from the King to the Emperour. 621.
Wilton anciently the head-Town of *Wiltshire*, and called *Ellandun*. 9. St. *Denis* Abby there by whom founded. 12.
John Wiltshire, a Citizen of *London*, claims to hold the Towel at the Coronation.
Wimundam Priory by whom founded. 89.
Robert Wimbledon an excellent Preacher. 168.
Winborn Abby in *Dorsetshire*, by whom founded. 7.
Winchester Church founded by *Kenwald* King of the West *Saxons*. 5. A new Minister made there by King *Alfred*. 9. A Monastery of Nuns founded there by *Elfeworth*, Wife of King *Alfred*. 9. Many holy Reliques given to it by King *Athelston*, and what they were. 10. The Church there endowed by King *Canutus*, with a Crosse of as great value as the whole Revenue of *England*. 16.
The Roll of *Winton* made by *William* the Conqueror, in which all the Lands and the Rents of the Kingdom were contained. 26. The Abbey of Black Monks there, founded by King *John*. 73. The Colledge of Saint *Mary*, by whom founded. 165.
The Bishop of *Winchester*, Brother to the late King *Hen.* the fifth, made a Cardinal. 183. his prophane speeches in his death-bed. 188.

Winchester taken by Sir *William Waller*, 533.
Winchcombe Abbey by whom founded, 7.
Secretary *Windebank* fearing to be called to account by the Parliament, flyeth into *France*, 475.
Col. *Windebank* shot to death at *Oxford*, for delivering up *Bletchington-house*, 541.
Mr. *Windram* Lord of *Libberton*, sent Commissioner from the Estates of *Scotland*, to the King, 593. He returns toward *Scotland*, *ibid.*
Windsor Castle, now builded by King *Henry* the first, 42. The Chappel there enlarged, and 24 poor Knights ordained, and by whom, 130. The new Chappel there by whom founded, 217. Almes-Knights, and their Pensions enlarged by King *James*, 423.
Wingham Colledge of Canons in *Kent* by whom founded, 101.
Sir *John Winter*, and the Lord *Herbert* infest *Gloucester*, 529.
Captain *Winter* takes possession of the Cittadel of *St. Johnstons* for General *Monk*, 664.
Woden and *Frige*, the Idols of the *Saxons*, of whom Wednesday and Fryday take their names, 3.
Woad forbidden to be sowed within four miles of any of the Queens houses, 396.
The Lord *Woodvile* aiding the *Britains* against the *French* is slain, 239.
Wooll, a Sack raised from a Noble to Forty shillings, 100. Forbidden to be transported, but to be made into Cloth in *England*, 129.
Thomas Woolsey's first employment by King *Henry* the seventh, which got him his special credit, 248. Is made Bishop of *Lincoln*, 261. His parentage, Education, and rising, *ibid.* Is made a Cardinal and Lord Chancellour of *England*, 262. 263. 264. His pride in making Earls and Dukes to serve him of Wine, and to hold the Bason at the Lavatory, 265. 269. He plots revenge upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, and upon certain accusations hath him arraigned, condemned, and beheaded, 267. Going Embassadour into *France*, he carries the Great Seal with him, *ibid.* He sends Dr. *Pace* to *Rome*, to sollicite for him to be elected Pope, but he came too late, 268. Blamed by the King for making a false report to the House of Commons, and his excuse, 270. By his power Legantine, he dissolves the Convocation at *Paules*, convoked by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *ibid.* He obtains License of the Pope to suppress forty small Monasteries, for erecting a Colledge at *Oxford*, and another at *Ipswich*, 273. He takes a spleen against the Emperour *Charles*, for denying him the Bishoprick of *Toledo* in *Spain*, 275. He is sent Embassadour into *France*, and passes over with twelve hundred Horses in his Train, *ibid.* He is charged in Parliament with points of Treason, but defended by his Servant *Thomas Cromwel*, is acquitted, 277. He hath a *Præmunire* sued out against him, all his Goods are seized on, and himself commanded to live at *Asher* in *Surrey*, *ib.* Where for three weeks he lived in great penury, *ibid.* By the Kings favour is allowed to keep his Bishoprick of *York* and *Winchester*, *ibid.* Preparing to be enstalled at *York*, he sends to the King to lend him the Mitre and Pall, which he used at any great solemnity; at which insolence the King wondered, 279. Is arrested by Sir *Walter Welch*, and in what manner, *ibid.* In his Journey up to *London*, he falls sick and dies, and in what manner, 280. The Places of Dignity which he held all at once, *ibid.* His works of piety, 297.
Wolfs by what means destroyed in *England*, 11.
Wolverhampton in *Staffordshire*, a Monastery begun by *Hubert Walter*, 66. Why so called, and the Grammer School there, by whom founded, 250.
Sir *Edward Wotton* sent into *France*, and why, 370. Is made Baron of *Marley*, 406.
Sir *Henry Wotton* his employment and commendation, 417.
Worcester Fight, 608.
The Earl of *Worcester* beheaded, 162.
Robert Worsham a Monk in *Dorsetshire*, writ a Book in Verse, of the original and signification of words, 167.
John Wraw a Priest, Captain of the Rebels in *Suffolk*, 139.
Sir *Thomas Wriothsley*, the Kings Secretary, is made Lord *Wriothsley of Tichfield*, 292. Is made Lord Chancellour, after *Thomas Audley*, and Knight of the Garter, *ibid.* Is made Earl of *Southampton*, 302. Is removed from his place of Chancellour, and from the Council, *ibid.*
Writ of *Ne exeat Regnum*, whence began, 34.
The Writ of *Quo Warranto*, used by King *Edward* the first, to raise money, opposed by King *John* Earl of *Warren*, 100.
The Writ of *Traile Baston*, what it was, *ibid.*
Titles of Writs alter'd, and a new Great Seal made, 566.
Why Parish Church, converted into a Colledge of secular Priests, 178.

Y Y

A Yard ordained to be a measure by King *Henry* the first. the length of his own arm, 38.
Sir *Henry Yelverton* the Kings Attorney, put from his place, and why, 417. Is made a puny Judge of the Common-pleas, *ibid.*
Yeomans and *Bourchier* hang'd at *Bristoll* about a Plot, 525.
York Minster built by *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, 29. The Town burnt, 58. The Minster burnt, 217.
Richard Duke of *York*, by descent from whom he claimed the Crown, 170.
Edward Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* slain at the Battel of *Agincourt*, 171. Duke of *York* made Regent of *France*, 185. Displaced, *ibid.* Restored, 186. Again displaced, and the Duke of *Somerset* in his stead, 187. He begins to set forth his Right to the Crown, 188. 190. Complains against the Duke of *Somerset*, and raiseth an Army, 192. Made Protector of the Kings Person and Realm, 194. Convict of Treason, 196. He comes out of *Ireland*, calls a Parliament, and opens his Title to the Crown, *ibid.* Declared Heir apparent to the Crown by Parliament, *ibid.* Slain at the Battel at *Wakefield*, 197.
James Duke of *York*, escapes in a disguise out of *England*, 560. He is warned out of *France*, 645. He goes into *Flanders* to his Brother, *ibid.*
The Exchequer and Courts of Justice, kept at *York* six years together, 97.
Rowland York betrays *Zutphen* to the *Spaniards*, and his end, 375.
At *York*, whose right it is to bear the Sword before the King, 405.
York-Place in the *Strand*, whose it had been, and why so called, 90.
York besieged, 534.
York delivered up by Sir *Thomas Glenham*, 535.
Ypre taken by the *English* under Major General *Morgan*, 637.

Z Z

COlonel *Zanchy* sent with a Letter from *Lambert*'s Officers to General *Monk*'s, 672. The Conference of General *Monk* and his Officers with the said Colonel, *ibid.*
Lodovic Zuinga succeeds *d' Avo* in the Government of the *Netherlands*, 351. his death, 353.

FINIS.

