To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Adelia Ann Dougherty entitled "Methods of a Sixteenth Century Chronicler: An Edited Passage From John Stow's Annales of England." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.

Michael J. McDonald

Michael J. McDonald, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Richard Curry Marius

Sarah Rubin Blanshei

Accepted for the Council:

L. Evans Reed

Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

Thesis
77
.D616
cop 2

METHODS OF A SIXTEENTH CENTURY CHRONICLER: AN EDITED PASSAGE FROM JOHN STOW'S ANNALES OF ENGLAND

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Adelia Ann Dougherty

December 1977

1345668

ABSTRACT

Annales of England by John Stow represents the highest development of English chronicle writing. This edition of a portion of Annales is intended to reveal the methods and sources used by Stow. A passage from the last ten years of the reign of Henry VI was chosen because of its numerous documents. An examination of the corresponding passages in the works of other sixteenth century chroniclers shows a strong continuity of form and content among all the authors. But while Stow's work is similar in many respects to earlier chronicles, Annales is distinguished by its accuracy, critical use of sources, and the inclusion of letters, official papers and other documents.

Stow believed that the exact form of a text was as important as the information contained in it, and therefore quoted directly from his sources whenever possible. He selected passages from different works and arranged them in chronological order. While trying to produce as coherent an account as possible, Stow refused to abandon the chronicle form of history writing. Later historians would learn to abstract information from their sources, analyze it and construct a new narrative from it. Stow's work represents a stage in this transformation of history.

It shows that a need for a rational understanding of the past existed even before history became an organized, academic discipline.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
INTRODUCTION		1
I.	THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JOHN STOW	4
II.	ORGANIZATION OF SOURCES IN ANNALES	19
III.	A PASSAGE FROM STOW'S ANNALES OF ENGLAND	33
IV.	MARGINAL NOTES	79
V.	COMMENTARY	81
BIBLIOGRAPHY		115
APPENDIX		118
VITA		125

INTRODUCTION

John Stow pursued his career as an antiquarian and chronicler during the second half of the sixteenth century; an age made brilliant by the works of famous poets and dramatists. Elizabethan London was a wide, literate audience of nobles and courtiers, merchants and bureaucrats, artisans and apprentices. Publishers and printers flourished, producing a steady stream of pamphlets, sermons, plays, poems, and books. Historical literature had an important place in this growing business. Printed chronicles were available for almost everyone's taste and budget, from pocket-sized abridgements to huge illustrated, multi-volume works. History plays entertained Elizabethan audiences with the violent, glorious spectacle of their past, both real and legendary. The growing awareness of a unique national identity promoted serious study of English institutions.

Although the Elizabethan age was permeated with the enjoyment and study of the past, its history was not an organized, academic discipline. The university curriculum had no place for the study of history as a separate subject.[1] Chronicles and histories abounded, but were

---

[1]Fred Jacob Levy, Tudor Historical Thought (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1967), p. 48.

usually uncritical and disorganized. The record of the past was obscured by vast quantities of irrelevant information, omens, and fanciful legends. There were few attempts to provide a coherent, continuous narrative. Events were described but not explained. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Humanist innovations in source criticism and organization had been assimilated by Italian and French historians. In England, only Thomas More and Polydore Vergil had applied the new learning to history writing. Gradually the new methods were adopted. By the early seventeenth century, English historians had abandoned the chronicle form as too cumbersome and disjointed. The important, verifiable events of English history could be separated from trivia and legend and presented in a coherent form. The transformation of history into a rational discipline was not completed during Stow's lifetime, but his work was an important part of the process. He is credited with being the most businesslike and accurate of the sixteenth century chroniclers. His Annales of England has been called the best history of England that had yet appeared.[2]

This examination of a portion of Annales is intended to show how Stow selected and organized his

---

[2]Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 271.

sources, and how his methods compare with those of other sixteenth century chroniclers. Annales reaches the high point and limit of the chronicle genre, and illustrates the transformation of history in response to the need for a rational understanding of the past.

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JOHN STOW

John Stow lived his whole life in London. He was born around 1525 in the parish of St. Michael, where his father and grandfather had lived. Although he may have had some formal schooling,[3] Stow was largely self-educated. He earned his living as a tailor until he turned entirely to antiquarian and historical pursuits. Although he was a member of the Merchant Taylors Company for many years, Stow never held office in it. His social position was always slightly below that of his fellow antiquarians and historians. A slightly patronizing tone can be detected in remarks which his colleagues made about him.[4] He was known as a learned tailor rather than a scholarly gentleman.

The foundation of Stow's historical publications was his large collection of books and papers. He collected anything of literary, legal or antiquarian

---

[3]Henry B. Wheatly, ed., A Survey of London by John Stow (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, L.T.D., 1912), p. ix.

[4]F. Smith Fussner, The Historical Revolution (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), p. 211.

interest. Some he purchased, others he copied by hand. He made notes on contemporary events, and traveled on foot to view old buildings and monuments. In 1569, government officials searched his house for forbidden Catholic literature, and were amazed at his huge collection of old chronicles and histories. Some papistical literature was seized, but Stow was able to prove his religious conformity. Although generally conservative in his social and religious views, Stow was not interested in strictly ecclesiastical history or points of religious controversy.[5] His collection of letters, books and notes was his greatest contribution to historical research. Several documents are preserved only through his copies. Large portions of Leland's Itinerary, a unique, pioneering work in English antiquarianism, would have been lost if Stow had not made a copy of the manuscript. The five volumes of small, neat handwriting attest to his meticulous care in transcribing. He followed the text so closely that he omitted words which Leland had obviously intended to include.[6]

Stow's work brought him into contact with the leading antiquarians of his time. He knew Camden, Cotton,

---

[5]Fussner, p. 218.

[6]Lucy T. Smith, ed., The Itinerary of John Leland, I (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), p. xxiv.

and William Lambarde. He edited medieval manuscripts for Archbishop Parker, the founder of the Society of Antiquarians. As a member of the society, Stow met regularly with other scholars to discuss the results of their research. Fellow members who were official record keepers helped him gain access to government papers.[7] Stow was continually revising and reissuing his various works, but his main interest remained the collecting of books and manuscripts. At one time, he was spending an annual sum of £ 200 on his library. This sort of expenditure was not offset by the fees which he received from the publication of his works. In 1602, for the revised edition of his best known book, A Survey of London, he received £ 3 and 40 copies in lieu of fee.[8] Stow was in financial straits for most of his life. The Merchant Taylors Company provided him with a small pension, which was supplemented by contributions from patrons and colleagues. After Stow's death in 1605, his library was scattered. Parts of it were used by later historians, particularly Camden and Speed. Most of Stow's collection which still survives is in the Harleian collection, the

---

[7]Fussner, pp. 95-96.

[8]Edwin Haviland Miller, The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 156.

Bodleian library and the Cottonian papers.[9]

As both a chronicler and antiquarian, Stow was a representative of two distinct scholarly traditions. Until the renaissance, antiquarianism had been the pursuit of a few high ecclesiastics and nobles who collected coins, armor and old books. Italian Humanists, striving to recover the essence of antiquity, found that artifacts as well as written sources could yield valuable information.[10] The Humanists also developed the vital tools of linguistic and philological analysis which enabled the antiquarian to assess the age, authenticity and value of a document. In sixteenth century England, antiquarianism took on a particularly national tone with the study of place-names, laws and customs. Leland searched England from end to end for evidence which would support the existence of King Arthur. Stow's contemporaries, the members of the Society of Antiquarians, were mainly interested in discovering the age of English laws, customs, and institutions. This learned society was the first in England to have a formal membership, set rules, and a defined purpose. Besides Stow, its membership included members of parliament, lawyers and four heralds. Although their research

---

[9]Fussner, p. 63.

[10]Levy, p. 39.

uncovered quantities of useful information, the antiquarians of sixteenth century England did not interpret the past or establish their findings within an historical context. They were interested in determining the age and authenticity of the coin, place-name or document in question.[11]

Stow's document-collecting was more antiquarian than historical research. An old text was an object to be studied in the same way as an old coin or monument. This explains why Stow quoted instead of paraphrasing or summarizing letters and papers in his works. The exact form of the sources was as important as the information contained in them. He displayed old documents in his historical works the way an antiquarian would display a collection of artifacts in a glass case.

Stow was a chronicler as well as an antiquarian. He and the other sixteenth century chroniclers inherited the historical literature of the medieval age, which they reorganized and supplemented. In the hands of Hall, Holinshed and Stow, the English chronicle became more accurate and coherent, but remained medieval in form. History writing, for the medieval as well as the renaissance chronicler was a matter of gathering material from various sources and setting events into chronological

---

[11]Fussner, pp. 94-98.

order. When dealing with a given time span, the chronicler could depend on a single authority, or select passages from several works. He could consult other historical literature, private and official papers, popular ballads, legends, and his own recollections and experiences. Conflicting accounts of the same event were sometimes set down side by side. Some authors presented information in their own prose, others quoted directly from their sources. In most chronicles, the sources are paraphrased so closely that they are easily recognizable, even when not acknowledged by the author. After the events were put in order, the chronicler's task was ended. He was under no obligation to make a smooth transition between events or between passages from different sources. Blocks of information existed as units, unrelated to each other or to the whole. Few distinctions were made between important and trivial occurrences; between reliable information and rumor or legend. During the sixteenth century, English chroniclers began to select sources which were closest to the actual event, to check sources against one another for accuracy, and to organize their work into a more continuous narrative, but the basic form of the chronicle was retained.

The medieval ancestor of the sixteenth century chronicles was the Brute, sometimes simply called the

English Chronicle. This large work, which took its name from the mythical founder of Britain, contains the legendary history which originated in the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It was compiled in the middle of the fourteenth century by at least two different authors, and exists in several variations. One version was printed by Caxton in 1480 as Chronicles of England. Higden and Trivisa's Polychronicon of 1482 was also based on the Brute. Although it is usually discussed only as an example of the limitations of medieval history writing, the Brute was an important direct and indirect source for all the major sixteenth century chronicles.[12]

Another form of late medieval historical literature was the London chronicles. Over 30 different versions still exist. Four of these were compiled by owners of copies of the Brute who kept them up to date by recording events at the end of the volume. Since they were made to preserve a record of important civic events, the London chronicles mainly contain lists of office holders, accounts of ceremonies, riots, fires and other events of local interest. National affairs are mentioned only when they intersect with the life of London itself. Because of the absence of other major chronicles in the fifteenth

---

[12]Kingsford, pp. 113-114.

century, the London chronicles are important sources of information on that period.[13] City chronicles remained popular throughout the sixteenth century, when they appeared as printed works rather than semi-private diaries. The works of Fabyan and Richard Arnold, and even Stow's Chronicles of England were records of London life produced for a London audience.

Polydore Vergil's Anglica Historia, printed in 1534, was radically different from all previous English histories. Since it is written in a continuous narrative and is unified by a thematic and causal framework, Anglica Historia is not a true chronicle. But because of its great influence on later chroniclers, it has a place in any description of the chronicle tradition. Polydore Vergil came to England in 1501 as a sub-collector of Peter's pence, and remained for most of his life. At the suggestion of Henry VII, he began work on a history of England. Polydore used the methods of source criticism developed by the Italian Humanists. Since it was not confirmed by classical sources, the legendary history of Britain was treated with quiet scepticism. Monastic records, with the exceptions of Mathew Paris and William of Malmesbury, were judged to be "bald, uncouth,

---

[13] Ibid., p. 70.

chaotic and deceitful."[14] Gildas and Bede were selected as the best sources for early English history. Polydore deplored the lack of good written sources for the later fifteenth century, and had to depend on oral accounts given by men who could remember the events.

Anglica Historia is organized by reigns. The character of each king gives a dramatic unity to the events of his reign. Great emphasis is placed on the working of divine providence, signs and miracles. Since it was intended to provide continental readers with a knowledge of English history, Anglica Historia was written in Latin. Polydore had the Humanists' sensitivity to good style. His prose was elegant and restrained, in imitation of the great historians of antiquity. Anglica Historia was quickly translated into English, and went through several editions. As a source of information, it was used extensively by later chroniclers. Its influence on the style of history writing, however, was less than one would expect.[15] Authors readily incorporated Polydore's text into their own, but did not adopt his methods of source criticism and selection.

---

[14]Denys Hay, ed., The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil (London: Royal Historical Society, 1950), p. xxviii.

[15]Levy, p. 196.

His criticism of the legendary history of Britain was deeply resented by many. Most of the sixteenth century chroniclers preferred to include all available accounts, even if some were suspect. The opinion of one scholar, and a foreign one at that, was not enough to warrant the omission of traditional historical material.

Polydore Vergil's work was incorporated into the mainstream of English chronicle writing by Edward Hall's Union of the Two Houses of Lancastre and York. Hall selected only a portion of English history; from the reign of Henry IV through that of Henry VIII. Polydore Vergil had already outlined the theme of civil war pacified by the joining of the two factions in the marriage of Henry Tudor and Elizabeth of York. Hall, who was passionately devoted to the Tudors, constructed his entire book around this theme. Since he was dealing with a shorter time span, Hall was able to uncover more sources and add a vast amount of detail to the framework provided by Anglica Historia. Hall was at his best when describing the French wars and official ceremonies of court and in London. He used every possible literary and rhetorical device to heighten the effect of his work. Where Polydore gave a description of a man's personality, Hall elaborated it into a dramatic portrait. In contrast to Polydore's detached viewpoint, Hall was intensely involved and patriotic. He paraphrased the Italian scholar's

elegant Latin into rich, boisterous English, piling phrase on phrase to make the meaning more emphatic. Polydore Vergil's text, however, is still visible under Hall's figures of speech. When Union of Lancastre and York was used by later chroniclers, most of its elaborate language was shorn away. In Holinshed, passages which were taken from Hall's work resemble Polydore Vergil's text once more. Hall died in 1547, before his work was published. Richard Grafton organized the manuscript and printed it in 1458. Twenty years later, he used Hall's text in his own Chronicle at Large.

Perhaps the best known sixteenth century English chronicler was Raphael Holinshed, whose Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland have been called "the high point of history written by agglomeration."[16] The work was begun by Reyne Wolfe, who intended to produce a universal history and geography. After Wolfe's death, Holinshed, his assistant, took up the project and completed a history and geography of the British Isles in 1578. The second, enlarged edition was compiled after Holinshed's death by John Hooker, Francis Thyne, Abraham Fleming, and John Stow.[17] By this time, the amount of available

---

[16]Levy, p. 186.

[17]Kingsford, p. 271.

information had become unmanageable. In his effort to include everything, Holinshed lost or obscured any order or continuity which sources such as Polydore Vergil might have provided. The Elizabethan public, however, did not demand unified form and continuity in historical literature. They enjoyed reading bits of interesting information and lively stories, so Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland sold well.

Stow's first historical work, A Summary of Chronicles, was published in 1565. It was a pocket-sized abridgement of English History, containing an outline of major events and "almanac" information such as vigils, feast days, leap years, and distances between cities. Summary was one of several miniature chronicles which appeared after the success of Lanquet and Cooper's Epitome of Chronicles. These small volumes found a market among those who had neither the money to buy nor the leisure to read full-sized chronicles; a mass audience which corresponds to present day buyers of magazines.[18] Summary contained a geographical description of the island, and an outline of events before the Norman conquest. Thereafter, it is organized by reigns, each section beginning with the dates of the king's rule and

---

[18]Miller, p. 209.

a description of his physical appearance and character. Chronicles produced for a mass audience helped popularize English history. They contained the simplified portraits of English kings which future generations of school boys would recognize; William Rufus who loved his game preserves more than his subjects, and Henry II who was short, red-faced and prone to adultery.

In 1580, Stow published Chronicles of England. As in Summary, he had drawn upon the traditional sources; Polydore Vergil, Hardyng, Fabyan and Hall. Chronicles, however, was a substantially larger book than Stow's first. It contained material from more sources, and included longer passages from them. Stow now began to use documents which he himself had uncovered. Organized by mayoral years, with an emphasis on events in London, Chronicles resembled the old city chronicles. Parts of the legendary history of Britain were reduced or omitted, and a larger place was given to information about early Britain drawn from the classics.[19]

The professional writer of Elizabethan England lived in a fiercely competitive world. One successful book could ruin the market for others of its kind. Portions of works and sometimes entire books were pirated. The conscientious chronicler usually acknowledged his

---

[19]Levy, pp. 189-190.

sources in marginal notes, but controversy could easily arise over one author's use of another's work, especially when the work of one man was carried on after his death by another. Stow was involved in a lengthy dispute with the printer and chronicler Richard Grafton. Like Stow, Grafton had published an abridged chronicle and a larger Chronicle at Large. In the introductions to their respective books, the two men accused each other of using material without acknowledging its true source. Each impugned the worth and accuracy of the other's work. This competition forced Stow to check the accuracy of his sources, since any mistake would provide Grafton with an opportunity for ridicule.[20]

Between the writing of Chronicles of England and Annales, Stow worked on the second edition of Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He provided material and wrote portions of the text for the recent part of Elizabeth's reign.[21] Parts of Stow's Chronicles appear elsewhere in Holinshed, but it is unclear whether he or one of the other editors was responsible for these inclusions. Stow's final work on English history reflects the influence of Holinshed's

---

[20]Ibid., pp. 180-181.

[21]Kingsford, p. 271.

Chronicles. In Annales of England, published in 1592, he no longer followed the form of his earlier books. The text was more than a list of consecutive events. Stow selected longer passages from his sources, including material which linked events together and explained causes. The method of listing events by mayoral years was discarded, and London events no longer dominated the work. Since Annales was constructed on the framework of Stow's Chronicles, and the title pages of the two books bear the same decoration, some classify it as an enlarged version of the earlier work. But its different form gives Annales an identity of its own.

Stow's last and best known work was A Survey of London, published in 1598. In it, he gave free expression to his love of the past, his vast, detailed knowledge of London, and his sensitivity to forces of change and continuity. A Survey of London was the culmination of a lifetime of information collecting. Stow devoted chapters to each section of the city, sometimes giving a street-by-street description. Old customs and ceremonies are recorded, as well as the history of buildings and monuments. A Survey of London became a model for other local histories and remains valuable today for its lively portrait of Elizabethan London.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATION OF SOURCES IN ANNALES

The authoritative assessment of Stow's work was made by C. L. Kingsford in English Historical Literature (1913). This definitive work classifies the chronicles, ballads, and city and monastic records of fifteenth century England. Kingsford used Stow's work to identify the different historical records which had survived into the next century. He also edited several documents which had been in Stow's collection. Kingsford's assessment was based on a thorough knowledge of Stow's works and methods.

> It is impossible [wrote Kingsford] to trace his narrative to his sources without some feeling of amazement for the pains and accuracy with which he had gathered and marshalled his material.[22]

He judged Stow's work to be particularly accurate and free of prejudice. Unlike Holinshed, Stow made a choice between different accounts of a single event and used only the best one. Stow was commended for his frequent marginal source notes, his systematic use of public records and his sympathetic understanding of past eras. Kingsford

---

[22] Ibid., p. 266.

found Stow lacking only in literary form, and speculated that perhaps the larger chronicle which Stow had intended to write would have had a more unified form and a more polished style.[23] Annales was called the best history of England, apart from style, which had yet appeared. The last ten years of the reign of Henry VI was designated as the best part of Annales because of its heavy documentation. Other historians have been content to follow Kingsford's analysis of Stow. The only significant addition was made by T. D. Kendrick who pointed out Stow's increasingly critical attitude toward the legendary history of Britain and his willingness to dispel misconceptions when he had sufficient evidence to do so.[24]

The text reproduced below begins with the return of the Duke of York to England in 1450 and ends with the heresy trial of Bishop Pecock in 1457.[25] Stow followed the same outline of events used by previous chroniclers. This portion of Annales was based on the corresponding part of Stow's Chronicles,[26] with substantial

---

[23] Ibid., pp. 268-272.

[24] T. D. Kendrick, British Antiquity (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1950), p. 159.

[25] Stow, Annales of England (London: Ralfe Newberry, 1592), pp. 638-698.

[26] Stow, Chronicles of England (London: Ralfe Newberry, 1580), pp. 665-684.

additions from Holinshed.[27] One can then trace the text through Hall[28] to Polydore Vergil.[29] Although the prose style varies from chronicler to chronicler, the essential phrases remain. The passage keeps a recognizable identity in each of the chronicles. A section composed by Polydore Vergil as:

> This, finally, was the ende of forreyne warre, and likewise the renewing of civil calamitie: for when the feare of outward enemy, which as yet kept the kingdom in good exercise, was gone from the nobilitie, such was the contention amongst them for glorie and soveraintie, that even then the people were apparently divided into two factions.[30]

appeared in Hall's more elaborate style:

> When foren warre and outward Battailes were brought to an end and final conclusion, domestical discord and civill disencion began again to renew and arise, within the realme of England; for when the care of outward hostilitie (which kept the myndes of the Princes in the realme occupied and in exercise) was taken away and vanished, desire of sovereigntie, and ambicion of preeminence sodainly sprang out so farre, that the whole Realme was divided into twoo several faccions, and private parties.[31]

---

[27]Raphael Holinshed, Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland, I (London, 1587), pp. 637-645.

[28]Edward Hall, Union of the Two Houses of Lancastre and York (London, 1809), pp. 225-237.

[29]Henry Ellis, ed., Three Books of Polydore Vergil's Anglica Historia (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1844), pp. 89-99.

[30]Ibid., p. 93.

[31]Hall, p. 231.

In Holinshed, Hall's prose was greatly reduced:

> After the warres foulie ended in foren parties, civil dissention began againe at home, divided speciallie into two factions.[32]

Stow usually followed the text of Holinshed with few alterations:

> When the wars were ended in foraine parts, civil dissention began againe to renew within the realme, being divided into two several factions.[33]

Hall, Holinshed and Stow each added information to the basic outline provided by Polydore Vergil. The passage analyzed here describes the conflict between the Duke of Somerset, chief minister of King Henry VI's government, and the Duke of York, who opposed the government's actions and policies. The sequence of major events begins with an armed confrontation at Dartford between York and the royal party, which ended in the humiliation of York. It continues with an account of the last major campaign in the long war with France. The unsuccessful attempt to regain lost territory left England confused and embittered, as easy prey for civil strife. The origins of civil war are traced to the political maneuvers of York, who allied himself with the Neville family and managed to gain control of the government for a while.

---

[32]Holinshed, p. 641.

[33]Stow, Annales, p. 647.

Growing tension between York and the court party led to open violence in the first battle of St. Albans. England's troubles were increased by the incursions of French and Scot raiders.

In order to understand the methods of Stow and the other chroniclers, it is necessary to establish the historical background of these events. England in 1450 was burdened with a weak king, a corrupt administration, a disastrous war with France, and growing social unrest. Most historians agree that the weak, unstable character and long minority of Henry VI was responsible for most of the nation's political troubles. Henry allowed himself to be led by a small group of advisers, and often by a single favored minister. This alienated the powerful magnates who usually shared the decision-making process, and caused the commons to complain that royal favorites were oppressing the king's subjects and corrupting his justice. The court party pursued a conciliatory policy toward France. Those who wanted to regain England's conquests on the continent accused the court party of cowardice and treason. The king, however, was so stubbornly loyal to his trusted advisers that nothing short of violence could remove their influence. In 1450, the Duke of Suffolk, the king's chief minister, was murdered as he tried to flee the country.

After the murder of Suffolk, Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, took his place as the man closest to the king. Somerset had come into conflict with Richard, Duke of York, when both men held military positions in France. It is not exactly clear why the rivalry between Somerset and York became a personal vendetta. Some historians believe that both men had designs on the crown. As a Beaufort, Somerset was a close cousin to the king, but was barred from inheriting the throne by a legal prohibition placed on the Beaufort descendants of John of Gaunt. It is possible that Somerset hoped to persuade the king to remove the legal obstacle and make him his heir instead of York, who was the heir presumptive until the birth of Prince Edward in 1453. This was probably not the cause of the conflict, since it became even more intense after the birth of Edward solved the succession problem. York may have really believed that Somerset was corrupt and cowardly, a danger to the nation while holding great power. York may have considered the position of chief adviser to be his own proper place, or he may have simply desired a larger share of royal patronage.

In spite of York's enmity and accusations, Somerset remained in the king's favor. All those who opposed the court party whether as a matter of national politics or personal quarrels, gathered behind York.

Under these circumstances, a weak king was fatal for England's chances of political stability. A major duty of a medieval king was the arbitration of disputes between powerful magnates. When the king was controlled by a small group of peers, a serious imbalance of power resulted. Those who were outside the court circle saw violence as the only means of regaining their rightful position. When the central government could no longer provide relatively impartial justice, there was no restraint on the pursuit of private feuds. The abuses of livery and maintenance produced private armies and increased the probability of bloodshed. Participants in local conflicts, such as the Percy/Neville rivalry, allied themselves with Somerset or York, and the generally unstable conditions characteristic of fifteenth century England degenerated into civil war. Even the over-mighty subjects, however, had a horror of treason, and peers who led troops against the royal banner claimed not to oppose the king himself. The consensus of modern historians is that those who allied themselves with York did not originally want to depose the Lancastrian line, but only to get rid of certain ministers and impose reforms.

The text begins in the autumn of 1450, when York returned from a self-imposed exile in Ireland. The court viewed York's return with apprehension, since it was

thought that he was responsible for recent insurrections in Kent. Stow took the description of York's motives and plans from Holinshed. The letter which proclaims York's loyalty to the king was printed for the first time in Annales. The following exchange of letters, the description of the confrontation at Dartford and the text of York's submission both had appeared in Stow's Chronicles. The events of the year are rounded out with the king's Christmas celebration and the death of Bishop Stafford. These details appear in other chronicles, but the information on Stafford's successor, Kemp, was obtained by Stow from Leland's Itinerary. The description of Talbot's campaign in France is a condensation of Holinshed's account.

In Stow's Chronicles, the only events of national significance recorded between the summer of 1453 and the spring of 1455 are the illness of the king and the birth of Prince Edward. This gap was filled with events in London; a fire, two fights and a ceremony. In Annales, Stow omitted the London events and attempted to provide an explanation of how Talbot's defeat in 1453 helped produce the political situation which led to the first battle of St. Albans in 1455. This was accomplished by adding passages from Holinshed which described York's political activities; his alliance with the Neville's and his acquisition of power during the king's illness.

The bill of accusations against Somerset was inserted by Stow, and does not appear in the other chronicles, nor does the note on the price of grain. Biographical information on Archbishop Kemp once again comes from Leland's Itinerary.

Stow's account of the battle of St. Albans is quoted from an original document. It was first printed in Chronicles and also appears in the second edition of Holinshed, where it was combined with material from the monastic chronicle of Abbot Wetehamsted. Stow preferred to quote the document without the addition of any other information. He seems to have doubted the value of Wetehamsted, since information from that source is almost always deleted from the portions of Holinshed which Stow used.

The next section of Annales, which describes York's actions after his party came into power and the emergence of the queen as the leader of the court faction was taken from Holinshed. In Chronicles, Stow mentioned the parliament which made York protector, then abruptly began a description of a London riot. In Annales, Stow provides a transition between the two events by using a passage from Holinshed which explains that riots and disturbances were the result of sudden changes in the central government. It is interesting to note that this connection was originally made by Polydore Vergil, who gave a five-line description

of a London riot as an example of the disturbances caused by political instability. Hall returned to Fabyan, the source of Polydore Vergil's information, and wrote a much longer account of the event. Stow also returned to Fabyan and quoted the whole passage. So what was originally an illustrative example came to occupy the place of a major event. In the process, however, the continuity of Polydore Vergil's account was greatly diminished. Anglica Historia states that England's political turmoil caused popular disturbances which in turn encouraged the French and Scots to make raids on her borders. By gathering more information on the London riot and the French raid on Sandwich without emphasizing their relationship to England's other problems, Hall and Stow obscured the pattern of causality established by Polydore Vergil.

The skirmish between Lord Egremont and the sons of Lord Salisbury appears in the works of Hall and Holinshed. Stow's account, however, is closer to Fabyan, the original source for the events. Some material was added from a source, now lost, called The Register of Maiors. Stow returned to Holinshed for the account of Queen Margaret's efforts to consolidate the crown's power. The passage which describes the condemnation of Robert Poinings is quoted from an official document, and does not appear in the other chronicles. The heresy trial of Bishop Pecock

comes from Davie's Chronicle, named after its nineteenth century editor. The original manuscript is annotated in Stow's hand. It is a continuation of the Brute, compiled near the end of Henry VI's reign.

The portion of Annales described above might be called a combination of the best aspects of Holinshed and Stow's Chronicles. Substantial parts of the text, including many of the documents had already been compiled in Chronicles. Stow deleted material which was trivial or related only to London and added passages which gave the work more continuity. From his collection of books and papers, he selected appropriate documents. Stow did not introduce letters and official papers in an arbitrary fashion. He usually placed them in passages which referred to a letter or document. Where Polydore Vergil stated that York "published openly . . . that he would persecute . . . certain of the king's wicked councelors,"[34] Stow provided examples of York's "publications." Hall wrote that York brought "diverse and henious articles of high treason"[35] against Somerset in open parliament. Stow quoted to the reader from the actual bill of accusations.

---

[34]Ellis, ed., Three Books of Polydore Vergil's Anglica Historia, p. 87.

[35]Hall, p. 237.

Stow's intent was to produce a full, accurate, and continuous account of historical events. He was not willing, however, to leave the strict chronicle form of history writing to accomplish this. He could have given his work greater continuity and meaning by synthesizing information and presenting it in his own narrative. But Stow deliberately avoided using his own prose. This is seen by modern critics as his greatest weakness, but it was the result of his attitude toward historical accuracy and the responsibility of a chronicler. In the introduction to Summary, Stow wrote that "the chief thing to be desired in a historic is truth." This meant more than mere accuracy in reporting facts. In the preface to Annales, he stated that

> Those who have brought Histories from duskie darkness, . . . and noted for posteritie the fleeing manners of the people and accidents of the times deserve at least thanks and not to be misreported.[36]

Stow did not have at his disposal the modern historian's research tools and methods, yet he was devoted to presenting an accurate record of the past. He felt that he could best accomplish this by preserving the original form of his sources. Summarizing or adding his own comments would involve some degree of "misreporting." The historical significance of a text lay in its form as well as its contents.

---

[36]Stow, Annales, p. v.

Stow admitted his lack of literary style, but insisted that it did not detract from the value of his works. He said of his Summary, "Though written homely, yet it is not (as I trust) written untruly."[37] In the introduction to Annales, he asserted that "the truth and credit of the authors is uninjured even if the style is simple and naked." Stow's lack of formal education may have made him insecure as to his literary abilities. He admitted that he was not "an excellent artisan"[38] in A Survey of London, but the work itself shows that Stow could construct a lively, readable narrative. Some historians feel that the man who wrote A Survey of London was quite capable of writing a history of England in his own words. They believe that if Stow had lived long enough to complete his intended larger chronicle, it would have been a major improvement over the form of Annales. Any opinion on the matter is speculation, but there is little indication that Stow was ready to abandon the chronicle form of history writing. In Stow's hands, the chronicle reached its highest development as an accurate means of preserving information. Before the information could be

---

[37]Stow, A Summary of Chronicles (London: Thomas Nash, 1565), p. ii.

[38]Wheatley, ed., Survey of London by John Stow, p. xxiii.

abstracted, analyzed, and molded into a coherent whole, a new concept of history had to be developed by a new generation of historians. Stow's objectives reveal the concern for accuracy and rational understanding which was necessary before such a transformation could take place.

Historians have attempted to explain the social and intellectual forces which motivated early history writing. They point to the rise of the secular state and the national church, which needed written histories to establish their identity. Others see early history as a form of moral instruction, presenting examples of vice punished and virtue rewarded. It should be pointed out, however, that the sixteenth century had not yet developed those disciplines which supply modern man's need for vast amounts of fact and information.

Renaissance England had not yet seen the development of pure science. Natural and social sciences were still in their infancy. Histories and chronicles, therefore, were an appropriate place to find information about man and his world. They contained descriptions of geography, flora and fauna, astronomical observations, causes and cures of disease, economic indications and geneologies. Histories flourished because the sixteenth century had begun to acquire the attitude, which has since become essential to western culture, that more knowledge leads to a more productive and satisfying life.

CHAPTER III

A PASSAGE FROM STOW'S ANNALES OF ENGLAND

Richard duke of Yorke, pretending a title to the crowne, as heir to Lionell duke of Clarence, came this yeere out of Ireland unto London, in the parliament time, there to consult with his speciall friends, John duke of Norffolke, Richard earle of Salisbury, and Richard his sonne, which after was earle of Warwicke, Thomas Courtney earle of Devonshire, and Edmond Brooke lord Cobham, &c. After long deliberation & advise taken, it was concluded, to keep their cheefe purpose secret, and that the duke should raise an army of men, under a pretext to remoove divers counsellers about the king, and to revenge the manifest injuries done to the commonwealth by the same rulers, of the which as principall, the duke of Somerset was namely accused, both for that he was greatly hated of the commons for the losse of Normandy, and for that it was wel knowne, that he would be altogither against the duke of Yorke, in his challenge to be made to the crown, when time shuld serve: Therfore when the duke of Yorke had thus framed

his foundation of his long intended enterprise, he assembled a great host, to the number of 10000, in the marches of Wales, publishing openly that the cause of this his gathering of the people, was for the publike wealth of the realme, for the affirming the same to be true, he wrote his letters in forme as followeth:

Forasmuch as I Richard duke of Yorke am informed, that the king my soveraigne lord, is my heavy lord, greatly displeased with me, and hath me in mistrust by sinister information of mine enimies, adversaries, and evill willers, where God knoweth, from whom nothing is hid, I am, have been, and ever will be his true liege man, and so I have said before this divers times, as well by mouth as by writing, notified and delcared to my saide soveraigne lord. And for that this notice so comen unto me of the displeasure of my soveraigne lord is to me so greevous, I have praied the reverend father in God the bishop of Hereford, and my cosen the earle of Shrewsbury to come hither, and heare my declaration in this matter. Wherein I have said to them, that I am true liege man to the king my soveraigne lord, ever have beene, and shall be to my dying day. And to the very proofe that it is so, I offer my selfe to sweare that, on the blessed

sacrament, and receive it, the which I hope shall be my salvation, at the day of doome. And so for my speciall comfort and consolation, I have praied the said lords to report and declare unto the kings highnes my said offer. And to the end and intent, that I will be ready to do the same oth in presence of two or three lords, such as shall please the kings highnes to send hither to accept it. In witnes whereof I have signed this scedule with my signe manuall, and set therunto my signet of armes. Written in my castell of Ludlow, the 9. of January, the 30. yeere of the raigne of my soveraigne lord King Henry the sixt.

The 16. of February, King Henry accompanied with the duke of Somerset, and many other lords, tooke towards the marches of Wales, for as much as he was credibly informed, that the duke of Yorke, assisted with divers other lords and man of name, had in those parts gathered a strong power of people, and with them was entring the land, and so held on his journey towards him: but when the duke had witting of the kings great power, he returned from the way which was taken by the kings host, and hasted towards London. And when he had received knowledge from the city, that he might not there be received, he went over Kingston

bridge, and so into Kent, and there upon Brent heath neere unto Dertford, he pight his field, whereof the king having knowledge, sped him after, and lastly came unto Black heath, and there pight his field. When both the hosts were thus embattelled, mediation of peace was made betweene them, for furtherance whereof, to the duke were sent the bishops of Winchester and of Ely, with the earls of Salisbury and Warwike. To whom it was answered by the duke, that he nor none of his company intended any hurt to the kings person, nor to any of his Counsell, being lovers of the Commonwealth, and of him and his land: but his intent and purpose was to remoove from the king a few evill disposed persons, by whose meanes the common people was grevously opressed, and the commonalitie greatly impoverished, of whom he named the duke of Somerset to be the principal, &c. And further to understand of the dukes meaning by this forcible entring of the realme, (as himself pretended) may appeare by certaine letters by him written to the king, and also the kings answers to the same, bothwhich I thinke good heere to set downe as I finde them recorded.

Please it your highnes to conceive, that sith my departing out of this your realme, by your commandement, and being in your service in your land

of Ireland, I have been informed that diverse language hath been said of me to your most excellent estate, which should sound to my dishonour and reproch, and charge of my person: howbeit that, I aye have been, and ever will be your true liege man and servant: and if there be any man that will or dare say the contrarie, or charge me otherwise, I beseech your right wiseness to call him before your high presence, and I will declare me for my discharge as a true knight ought to do, and if I do not, as I doubt not but I shall, I beseech you to punish me as the poorest man of your land: and if hee be found untrue in his suggestion and information, I beseech you of your highness that he be punished after his desert, in example of all other. Please it your excellence to knowe, that as well before my departing out of this your realme, for to go into your land of Ireland, in your full noble service, as sith, certaine persons have lien in await for to hearken upon me, as sir John Talbot knight at the castell of Holt: sir Thomas Stanley knight in Cheshire: Pulford at Chester: Elton at Worcester: Brooke at Glocester: and Richard grome of your chamber at Beaumarres: which had in charge (as I am informed) for to take me and put me into your castell of Conway, and to

strike off the head of sir William Oldehall knight, and to have put in prison sir William Devereux knight, and sir Edmond Malso knight, withouten enlarging, untill the time that your highnes had appointed their deliverance.

Item, at such time as I was purposed to have arrived at your haven of Beaumarres, for to have come to your noble presence to declare me your true man and subject, as my dutie is, my landing was stopped and forbarred by Henry Norres, Thomas Norres, William Bulkley, William Grust, and Bartholomew Bould, your officers in Northwales, that I should not land there, nor have victuall nor refreshing for me and my fellowship, as I have written to your excellence heere before, so far foorth that Henrie Norres deputie to the Chamberlaine of Northwales said unto me, that he had in commandement that I should in no wise have landing, refreshing, nor lodging, for men nor horse, nor other thing that might turne to my worship or ease, putting the blame upon William Say Usher of your chamber, saying and affirming that I am against your intent, and as a Traitor, as I am informed: and moreover, certaine letters were made and delivered unto Chester, Shrewsbury, and to other places for to lette mine

entrie into the same.

Item above all wrongs and injuries above said done unto me of malice, without cause, I being in your land of Ireland, in your honorable service, certaine commissions were made and directed unto divers persons, which for the execution of the same, sate in certaine places, and the Juries empanelled and charged, to the which juries, certaine persons laboured instantly to have me indited of treason, to the intent for to have undone me and mine issue, and corrupted my blood, as it is openly published: beseeching your Majestie roiall, of your righteousnes, to examine these matters, and thereupon to do such justice in his behalfe as the cause requireth: for mine intent is fully to pursue to your highnes for the conclusion of these matters.

Cosin, we have seen the bill that yee took us late, and also understand the good humble obedience that ye in your selfe shew unto us, as well in word as in deede. Wherefore our intent is, the more hastily to ease you of such things as were in your said bill, yet we let you wit, that for the causes aforsaid, we will declare you now our intent in these matters; sith it is that a long time among the people hath been upon you many strange language, and in

especiall anone after their disordinate and unlawfull slaying of the bishop of Chester, divers and manie of the untrue shipmen and other, said in their maner, words against our estate, making manace to our owne person by your sayings, that ye should bee fetched with manie thousands, and ye should take upon you that, which ye neither ought, nor as we doubt not, ye will not attempt, so far foorth that it was said to our person by divers, and especially we remember of one Wafnes which had like words to us. And also there was divers of such false people, that went on and had like language in divers of our townes of our land, which by our subjects were taken and duly executed: wherefore we sent to divers of our courts and places, to hearken and to take heeds if anie such maner comming were, and if there had been, for to resist it: but comming into our land our true subject as yee did, our intent was not that ye, nor less of estate of our subjects, nor none of your servants should not have been letted nor warned, but in goodly wise received: howbeit that peradventure your sudden comming, without certaine warning, caused our servants to do as they did, considering the causes above saide. And as to the inditement that ye spoke of, we think verily, and

hold for certaine, that there was none such. And if ye may truely proove that any person was thereabouts, the matter shall be demeanded as the case shall require, so that he shall know it is to our great displeasure. Upon this for the easing of your hart in all such matters, we declare, repute, and admit you as our true and faithfull subject, and as our welbeloved Cosin.

Please it your highnes tenderly to consider, that great murmur and grudging is universally in this your realme, in that Justice is not duly ministred to such as trespasse and offend against your lawes, and in especiall of them that be endited of treason, and other being openly noised of the same, whereby great inconveniences have fallen, and great is like to fall hereafter in your saide realme, which God defend, but if by your highnes provision covenable be made for due reformation and punishment in this behalfe. Wherefore I your humble subject and true liegeman, Richard duke of Yorke, willing as effectually as I can, and desiring the suretie and prosperitie of your most roiall person, and the welfare of this your noble realme, counsell and advertise your excellence for the conversation of good tranquilitie and peaceable rule among all other

subjects, for to ordaine and provide, that true justice be had, against all such that so be endited, or openly named, wherein I offer my selfe, and will put my endevour for to execute your commandement in the premises, for the punishing of such offenders, and redress of the saide misrules, to my might and power. And for the hastie execution heereof, like it your highnes to address these letters of privie seale and writs to your officers and ministers, to do, take, and arrest all such persons so noised and endited, of what estate, degree, or condition soever they be, and them to commit to the Tower of London, and to other of your prisons, there to abide without baile or mainprise, untill the time they be utterly tried, and determined after the course of your lawes.

Cosin, as touching your bill last put up to us, we understand well that yee of good hart, counsell and advertise us to the setting up of justice, and to the speedie punishing of some persons endited or noised, offering your service to be readie at commandement in the same, sith it is that for many causes mooving us to have determined in our soule to stablish a sad, and a substantiall Counsell, giving them more ample authoritie and power than ever we did afore this: in the which wee have appointed you to be

one. But sith it is not accustomed sure, nor expedient, to take a conclusion and conduct by advise of one person by himself for the conservation, it is observed that the greatest and the best, the rich and the poore, in libertie, vertue, and effect of your voices be equall: we have therefore determined within our selfe to send for our Chancellor of England, and for other lords of our Councell, yea & all other, together within short time ripely to commune these & other great matters, in the which communication such conclusion by the grace of God shall be taken, as shall sound to his pleasure, the weale of us and our land, as well in these matters as in any other.

At length it was agreed by the king, that the duke of Somerset should be committed to warde, there to abide and answer such articles as the duke of Yorke would lay against him, upon which promises so made by the king to the duke, who sawe that the people of Kent, and of other places came not to him as they had promised, & that they were not strong ynough for the kings part was much more that his, he brake up his field on the first of March, and yeelded himself to the king at Dertford, where contrary to promise before made, he found the duke of Somerset cheefe about the king. Then was the duke of Yorke sent before

to London, and holden partly as prisoner, and straighter should have been kept, but it was noised that sir Edward earle of March, sonne to the said duke of Yorke was comming toward London with a strong power of Welshmen, which feared so the Queen and Counsell, that the duke was set at libertie. And on the tenth of March the said Richard duke of Yorke made his submission, and tooke his oth to be true, faithfull, and subject to king Henrie the sixt, king of England, in saint Paules Church at London, there being present the king and most of his nobilitie, that is to say, the dukes of Buckingham, Northampton, and Somerset: the erles of Warwike, Arundel, Salisbury, Shropshire, Devonshire, Wiltshire, Northumberland, Stafford & Dorset: vicounts of Beaumont & Wels: barons Fitz Warren, Sainmond, Cobham, Douglas, and others: bishops, the cardinall, archbishop of Yorke, & Canterbury, Winchester, Ely, and London, in these words following.

I Richard duke of Yorke, confesse and beknow that I am and ought to be humble subject and liegeman to you my soveraigne Lord king Henrie the sixt, and owe therefore to beare you faith and truth, as to my soveraigne liege lord, and shall do all daies unto my lives end, and shall not at any time will or assent

that any thing attempted or done against your most noble person, but wheresoever I shall have knowledge of any such thing imagined or purposed, I shall with all speed and diligence possible to mee, make that your highness shall have knowledge thereof, and over that do all that shall be possible to me, to the withstanding and let thereof, to the uttermost of my life: I shall not any thing take upon mee against your royall estate or obeysance that is due thereto, nor suffer any other man to do, as farre foorth as it shall be in my power to set it: And also shall come at your commandement whensoever I shall be called by the same, in humble and obeisant wise, but if I be letted by any sickness or impotence of my person, or by such other cause as shall be thought by you my soveraigne Lord reasonable. I shall never hereafter take upon me to gather any rowt, nor to make any assembly of your people, without your commandement or licence, or in my lawfull defence, in interpretation or declaration of the which my lawfull defence, I shall report me at all times to your highnes, and if the case require, to my peeres, nor any thing attempt against any of your subjects, of what estate, degree, or condition that they be. But whensoever I find my selfe wronged and agreeved, I shall sue humbly for

remedie to your highnes, and proceed after the course of your lawes, and in none otherwise, saving in mine owne lawfull defence in manner above saide, and otherwise to your highnes as an humble and true subject ought to have him to his soveraigne lorde. All these things abovesaid I promise you truly to observe and keep, by the holy Evangelists contained in the booke that I lay my hand upon, and by the holy Crosse I heere touch, and by the blessed sacrament of our Lords body, that I shall now with his mercie receive. And over I agree me and will, that if I at any time heereafter, as by the grace of our Lord God I never shall, any thing attempt by way of feate or otherwise against your roiall Majestie and obeisance that I owe thereto, or any thing take upon me otherwise than is above expressed, I from that time foorth be unabled, held and taken, as an untrue and openly forsworne man, and unable to all manner of worship, estate, and degree, be it such as I now occupie, or any other that might in any wise growe unto me heereafter. And this I have heere promised and sworne, proceedeth of mine owne disire and free volunte, and by no constraining or coaction. In witnes of all the which things above written, I Richard duke of Yorke above writ subscribe, with

mine owne hand and seale.

This oth he also tooke at Westminster, and at Coventrie, at sundrie times, although he little esteemen thereof, as by the sequele may appeere.

This yeere deceased John Stafford archbishop of Canterbury, late lord Chancelor of England, and was buried at Canterbury. After him succeeded in the archbishoprick John Kempe, borne at Wie in Kent, doctor of Lawes, first bishop of Rochester, then of Chichester, then of London, then archbishop of Yorke, Chancelor of England, and cardinall of S. Albin: and now archbishop of Canterbury, and cardinal of S. Ruffne, and was inthroned at Canterbury on the II. of December.

On the twelfe day after Christmas, the king held his Christmas at Westminster with great solemnitie.

The earle of Kendall, and the lord Lespare came Ambassabors from the cheefe magistrates of the citie of Burdeaux, which signified to the councell, that if they would send an army into Gascoigne, the people of the country woulde revolt from the French part, and againe become English. This news sore troubled the heads of the Counsell, which caused them, least inward sedition might hinder outward victory, to set

the duke of Yorke at libertie, and permitted him to go to his castell of Wigmore in the marches of Wales, by whose absence the duke of Somerset rose in such high favour, both with the king and Queene, that his word was onely heard and regarded. The Counsell hoping now to have the citie of Burdeaux, with the country round about, appointed John lord Talbot earle of Shrewsbury, to go thither with an army, who ariving in the Isle of Madre, passed foorth with his power, being scant three thousand men, and tooke the strong towne of Fronsake, and divers other townes and fortresses. The inhabitants of Burdeaux hearing of the earles arivall, sent to him messengers in the darke night, requiring him with all speede, to come and receive the citie. The earle hastened foorth, and came before that citie, ere the Frenchmen understood any thing of the citizens purpose. But when they heard that there was a gate set open for the Englishmen to enter, they thought to have escaped secretly by a posterne, but they were pursued, slane, and taken by the lord de Lespare, and other of the English armie.

After the regaining of Burdeaux, there arrived at Blay, the bastard of Somerset, sir John Talbot lord Lisle by his wife, sonne to the said earle of

Shrewsbury, the lord Molins, the lord Harington, the lord Cames sir John Heyward, sir John Mountgomerie, sir John Vernon with 2200. men, victuals, and munitions.

In the month of March, was the towne of Harflew woon by the French men, and shortly the city of Bayons was given up by appointment, that the soldiers should leave their armor behind them.

When the earle of Shrewsbury was furnished as is aforesaid, first hee fortified Burdeaux with Englishmen, and store of victuals, and artillerie, then he rode into the country abroad, where he obtained cities and townes, without stroke, amongst other townes, the towne and castle of Chastillon in Perigort was to him delivered, the which he fortified.

In the meane time, the French king being advertised of these things, raised an armie to resist the invasion made by the earle, and first he appointed his captaines to beseige the towne of Chastillon, to the rescue whereof the earle hasted forward, having in his company eight hundred horsemen, under the leading of his sonne the lord Lisle, the lord Molins, the lord Cameis, sir Edward Hull, sir John Heyward, and sir John Vernon: he appointed also five thousand footemen, under the conduct of the earle of Kendall,

and the Lord de Lespare to follow him with speede. In his way he tooke a tower, which the Frenchmen had before taken, and slue all that he found therein, and after by the way he met five hundred Frenchmen a foraging, of whom he slue the more part, and chased the other to the campe.

The Frenchmen that lay at the siege, perceiving by these runners away that the earle approched, left the siege, and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched and fortified. The earle advertised how the siege was removed, hasted forward toward his enemies, doubting least they would have been fled, and gone before his comming: but they abode the earles comming, and so received him, that though by manly courage he first wan the entrie at their campe, yet at length, they compassed him about, and shooting him through the thigh with a hande gun, slue his horse, and finally killed him, lieng on the grounde. There died also the lord Lisle his sonne, and his bastarde sonne Henrie Talbot, and sir Edward Hull, and thirtie other men of name, the lorde Moleins was taken prisoner with threescore others. The residue of the English people left Burdeaux and other places, of whom in the flight were slaine above a thousand persons.

Thus at this battel of Chastillon fought the twenty of July, ended his life John lord Talbot, and of his progenie the first earle of Shrewsbury, after that he had valiantly made war in service of his prince 24. yeeres, he was buried at Whitchurch in Shropshire.

After this, the towne of Saint Millan, Liscorne, and all other townes which the earle of Shrewsbury had conquered, rendered themselves to the Frenchmen, Burdeaux onely excepted. The which citie being the last refuge of the English people, the French king in person besieged with all his puissance, and in conclusion constrained both the garrison and inhabitants to yeeld, so that the English men and Gascoignes might safety depart with all their sustance.

Thus was the dutchie of Aquitaine, which had continued in the possession of the English, from the yeere of our Lord, 1155. unto this yeere 1453. which is neere hand three hundred yeeres, by the marriage of Alienor, daughter and heire to William duke of Aqutaine, wife to king Henry the second, finally reduced and brought againe to the French obedience. Within that onely dutchie be fower archbishops, fower and twenty bishops, fifteene earldomes, two hundred and two barons, and above a thousand captainships, and

bailisewikes, whereby ye may perceive what a losse this was to the realme of England.

The 13. day of October, the Queene at Westminister was delivered, of her first sonne, who was named Edward.

When the wars were ended in foraine parts, civil dissention began againe to renew within the realme, being divided into two severall factions: for king Henry descended of the house of Lancaster, claiming the crowne from his grandfather king Henry the fourth: and Richard duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, third sonne to king Edward the third, wrestled for the gaine, by reason whereof, the nobles, as well as the common people, were into many parts divided, to the bitter destruction of many a man, to the great ruine and decay of this realme. For while the one partie studied to destroy the other, all care of the commonwealth was set aside, justice and equitie cleerely exiled.

The duke of Yorke above all things, first sought meanes how to provoke the malice of the people against the duke of Somerset, imagining that he being made away, his purpose should shortly come to conclusion.

He also practiced to bring the king into the

hatred of the people, for that he was not a man of stomacke to supply the roome which hee helde. Many of the high estates not liking the worlde, and disallowing the acts and doings both of the king and his counsell determined to practise how things might come to some alteration: which when the duke understood, he cheefly intertained and wan the favour of the two Nevills, both named Richards, the one earle of Salisbury, the other earle of Warwike, the first being the father, & the second the sonne. This earle of Salisbury, was second sonne to Ralph Neville, earle of Westmorland, whose daughter the duke of York had married, & the said Richard was espoused to lady Alice the only child, and sole heire of Thomas Mountacute earle of Salisbury, slaine at the siege of Orleance, of which woman he begat Richard, John & George, Richard the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the sister an heire of the entire blood to Henry Beawchampe earle, and after duke of Warwick, in whose right and title he was created earle of Warwicke.

The duke with his friends wrought so effectually, and handled his business so politikely, that the duke of Somerset was arrested in the Queens great chamber, and sent to the tower of London, where

he kept his Christmas without great solemnity, against whom, in open parliament, were said divers articles, beginning thus: These articles and points following, give and minister I Richard duke of Yorke, your liege man, and servant unto your highnes, summarily proposing and declaring them, against Edmond duke of Somerset, for the great welfare, and the common availe and increase of your magestie roiall, and of this your noble realme, as well to bring to knowledge and understanding the means and causes of the great mischeefs and inconveniences, which late befell unto this your noble realme, as in losse of your livelod beyond the sea, and otherwise in punishment of deservers, and excuse of innocencie, and also in putting aside, and eschuing of the great and importable hurt and prejudice which beene like, withouten that purveiance be had of remedie, to succeed in short time. To the which articles, and every of them, I the said duke of Yorke desire of your equall and indifferent righwisenes, that the said Edmond answere by his faith and truth, the sacrament of his oth thereupon made duly and truly as law and conscience requireth, &c. as I have at large set downe in my larger Chronicle.

The king at that time having laine long sicke at

Clarendon, was conveied to London, by reason whereof, no finall determination proceeded in this waightie cause, but all was put in suspence, till the next assemble of the high court of parliament.

This yeere wheat and other graines were in such plenty, that a quarter of wheat was commonly sold for twelve pence, and 14. pence: a quarter of malt for 16. pence, and 17. pence at the most, and not above. A certaine farmer in the towne of Cruce Roisie, or Roise towne in Hartford shire, wanting money, sold twenty quarters of wheat the best, for twenty shillings.

John Kempe archbishop of Caunterbury deceased, and was buried at Caunterbury. This Kempe was a poore husbandmans sonne of Wie in Kent, whereupon, when he was archbishop of Yorke, for a memorie of them that had set him to schoole, and otherwise preferred him, he made the parish Church of Wie, a Colledge, whereof the governor was a prebend and the other were ministers of divine service, and to instruct youth in grammer & learning, according to his foundation. Which Colledge, at the suppression the 36. of Henry 8. was valued 93. pound, two shillings by yeere: unto this John Kempe succeeded in the archbishoprick of Canterbury, Thomas Bourcher brother to Henry earle of

Essex, deane of S. Martins, first bishop of Winchester, then of Ely, and then archbishop of Canterbury, and cardinall of S Ciriac, & William Grey was made bishop of Ely: and Richard Nevill earle of Salisburie, was made lord chancelor of England.

While king Henry lay sicke, Richard duke of Yorke bare all the rule and gouverned as regent, and did now discover the sparkes of his hatred, hid under dissimulation, against the Duke of Somerset: but when the king had recovered his strength againe, and resumed to him his princelie government, he caused the duke of Somerset to be set at libertie, and preferred him to be captaine of Caleis, wherewith not only the commons, but many of the nobilitie (favorers of Richard duke of Yorke) were greatly greeved and offended, saieng that he had lost Normandie, and would loose Caleis.

The duke of Yorke and his adherents, perceiving that their accusing of the duke of Somerset prevailed not, determined to revenge their quarrel, and obtaine their purpose by open war: and so he being in Wales, accompanied with his especiall friends, the earles of Salisburie, and Warwike, the lord Cobham, and others assembled a power of warlike persons, and marched

toward London.

The king being informed thereof, assembled likewise an host, and meaning to meete with the duke, rather in the north parts then about London, where it was thought he had too many freends, with great speede, being accompanied by Humfrey duke of Buckingham, and Humfrey his eldest sonne earle of Stafford, Edmond duke of Somerset, Henry Percie earle of Northumberland, James Butler earle of Wiltshire, and of Ormond, John Bewford earle of Dorset, Jasper Tewder, earle of Penbroke, brother to the king, Thomas Courtney earle of Devonshire, John lord Clifford, the lords Sudley, Barnes, Rose, and others, being in all above 2000, men of warre, departed from Westminster the 21. day of May, toward Saint Albons to meet with the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwicke and Salisbury: the king lodged that night at Wakeford, or Watforde on this side S. Albons, and on the morow in the morning early he came to S. Albons. And about the same time, were there assembled Richard D. of Youk, John D. of Norfolke, Richard earle of Salisburie, William L. Fauconbridge, Edward L. Cobham, and many other knights and esquiers, the kings enimies, in a place called Keyfielde, beside Saint Albons. The K. hearing of the dukes comming with the lords

aforesaid, pight his banner in a place called Goselowe, which place was sometimes called Sanforth in S. Peters streete, and commanded in strong manner to keepe the wards and barriers of the same Towne. The duke of Yorke knowing the strength made against him abiding in the fielde aforsaide, from seaven of the clocke in the morning untill it was almost ten of the clock without any stroke smitten on either part, by the advise of his counsell sent unto the king under these words folowing.

Please it your excellent grace, Richard duke of Yorke, to take him as your true and liege man and humbke subject, and to consider and tender at the reverence of God, and in the way of charitie, the true intent of my comming, and to bee good and gratious Soveraigne unto me, and al other your true liege men, which, that with all their power and might will bee readie to live and die with your right, and to doo all things as shall like your Majestie royall to commande us, if it bee to the worship of the crowne of England, and the wel-fare of this your noble realme. Moreover, gratious lorde, please it unto your Magestie Royall, of your great goodnes and rightewiseness, to encline your will to heare and feele the rightwise parte of us your true subjects and

liege men. First, praieng and beseeching to our Soveraigne Christ Jesus, of his high and mightie power, to give the vertue of prudence, and that through the praier of the glorious martyr Saint Albon give you verie knowledge of our trothes, and to know the intent of our assembling at this time: For God that is in heaven knoweth, our intent is rightfull and true. And therefore wee praie unto that mightie Lord in these worde: Domine sis clypeus defensionis nostre: wherefore gratious lorde, please it your Magiestie Royall to deliver such as we will accuse, and they to have as they have deserved. And this done, you to bee honourablie worshipped as most rightfull king and our true governour. And if wee nowe at this time been promised, as afore this time is not unknowen have beene promises broken which have been full faithfullie promised, and theruppon great othes sworne, we will not nowe cease for no such promes, nor oth, till we have them which have deserved death, or else we to die therefore.

The answer by the king to the duke of Yorke. I king Henry charge and commande, that no manner person of what degree, estate, of condition soever hee bee, abide not, but they avoide the fielde, and not bee so hardie to make resistaunce against mee in

my owne Realme. For I shall knowe what traytour dare be so boulde to arise anie people in mine owne lande, where through I am in great disease and heaviness: by that Faith I owe unto Saint Edwarde, and unto the Crowne of Englande, I shall destroie them everie mother sonne, and eke they to be hanged, drawne, and quartered, that may bee taken afterwarde of them, in example to make all such Traytours to beware, for to make anie rising of people within mine owne lande, and so traytorously to abide their King and governour. And for a conclusion, rather than they shall have anie Lorde that here is with mee, at this time, I shall this daie for their sake in this quarrell my selfe live and die.

The words of the Duke of York
to all gentleman and other
assembled with him.

Sirs, the king our soveraigne lord will not be reformed at our beseeching ne praier, nor will not in no wise understande the intent wherefore we be here assembled and gathered at this time, but onely is in full purpose to destroie us all, and thereupon a great oth hath made, that there is none other waie, but that he with all his power will pursue us, and if we bee taken to give us a shamefull death, leesing our

livelode and goods, and also our heirs shamed for ever. Therefore sirs, nowe sith it will none otherwise bee, but that wee shall utterlie die, better it is to us to die in the fielde, than cowardlie to be put to an bitter rebuke & shameful death, for the right of England standeth in us. Considering also in what perill it standeth at this time, and for to redresse the mischiefe thereof, let everie man help to his power this daie, and in that quarrell to quite us like men, to the crown of England, praieng and beseeching unto that Lord the which is eternall, that raigneth in the glorious kingdome celestiall, to keepe and save us this daie in our right, and through the giftes of his holie grace wee may bee made strong to withstande the great abhominable and horrible malice of them, that purpose to destroie us and the realme of England, and put us to a shamefull death: praie wee therefore unto that Lorde to be our comfort and our defendor, saieng these worde, Domine sis clipeus defensionis nostri. And when these words were saide, the duke of Yorke, and the Earles of Warwike and Salisbury, with their host betweene eleven and twelve at noone breake in, three severall places of the said streete. The King then being in the place of Edmond Westby Hundreder of

the said Towne of Saint Albons, hearing of the said Dukes comming, commanded his host to slay all manner Lords, Knights, Squiers, Gentlemen and yeomen, that might bee taken on the partie of the foresaide duke of Yorke. This done, the lord Clifforde kept so stronglie the barriours of the same Towne, that the foresaide Duke of Yorke might in no wise with all the power that he had enter, nor breake into the saide Towne. The earle of Warwicke knowing thereof, tooke and gathered his men togither with him, and brake in by the Garden side into the saide Towne, betweene the signe of the Key, and the Exchequer in Holywell streete: and anone as they were within the sayde Towne, they blewe uppe the Trumpet and cried with an high voice, a Warwicke, a Warwicke, that marvayle it was to heare. And till that time the Duke of Yorke might never have entrie into the Towne, and then with strong hande they brake uppe the Barriers and fought a fierce and cruell Battaile, in the which were slayne on the Kinges partie Lordes of name, Edmonde Duke of Somerset, Henrie Earle of Northumberlande, the olde Lorde Clifforde, Sir Robert Vere, Bartin Entewsell, William Chamberlaine, Richard Fortiscue, and Ralph Ferrers knights, Oliver Maleuory, Oliver Alberton, Gilbert Scharesbroke, John Garthe,

Thomas Packengron, Roger Morecroft, William Tarwin, John Benstede, John Alforde, Reginald Griffith, Humfrey Acwoorth, Henry Hawlin the queens messenger, Richard Chanselar porter to the king, Alexamder Breakespeare, Gilbert Hilding, William Souche, John Boteraux, Ralph Babthorpe shower to the king, and Ralph his sonne, the kings attorney, William Coruin, William Cotton of Tonington in Huntingdon shire, receiver of the duchie of Lancaster, Gilbert Faldingar, John Daves, Ellys Woode, Robert Woodwarde, and Ralph Willowby esquires, Hawling the kings porter, & William Butler yeoman, John Assinken, John at Hethe, Hughe North, William Porter, John Page, Thomas Barker, John Taylor of Henly, Robert Purton, and Henry Himingley yeomen of the crowne, and manie other slaine, to the number of 5000, and the other part was slaine about 600. persons. And of them that were slaine, beene buried at Saint Albons eight and fortie persons. And at that battell were wounded lords of name, the king was shot into the necke with an arrowe. Humfrey duke of Buckingham, and the lord Sudley, in the visages with arrowes, Humfrey earle of Stafford in the right hand with an arrow, the earle of Dorset was so sore hurt that he might not go, but was faine to be carried home in a cart, and sir John Wenloke

knight in likewise hurt and caried from thence in a chaire, and divers other knights and esquires sore hurt, and the substance of the kings host despoiled of their harneis, at their own request, made delivery to the dukes host for salvation of their lives and fled. The earle of Wiltshire, and Thomas Thorpe, lord chiefe baron of the eschequer, with manie others fled, and cast away their harneis in ditches and woods. This done, the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwicke and Salisburie, came unto the king where he was, and besought him on their knees, of grace and forgivenes of that they had done in his presence, and besought him of his highnes to take them to grace, and as his true liege men. The king desired them to cease their people, that there should be no more hurt done, and to obey his commandement, did cause to be proclaimed in the kings name, that all maner of people should cease off their malice, and not to smite one stroke more, and so ceased the battaile. And upon the daie next after, the king and the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwicke and Salisburie came to London, and were lodged in the bishops pallace of London, where they kept their Whitsontide with great joie and solemnitie, concluding there to holde a Parliament, the same to begin on the ninth of July next folowing.

This yere in the month of June appeered a comet or star, called Stella Cometa, betwixt the north and the east, extending his beames towards the south.

The parliament began at Westminster on the 9. day of July as was appointed, in the which session, the duke Humfrey of Glocester, late deceased at Bery in Suffolke, was openly declared to have been a true subject to the King and realme: besides this it was inacted, that no person should judge or report any point of untruth of the duke of Yorke, the earles of Salisburie, and Warwicke, or of any knight, esquier, archer, or other comming in warlike araie against the king at Saint Albons, considering their enterprise was onely to see the kings person in safegarde. And all the blame was put upon the duke of Somerset, Thomas Thorpe baron of the excheouer, and William Josepe esquier the kings colaterall companion, bicause they upon malicious purpose kept a certaine letter from the kings knowledge, and would in no wise suffer it to bee delivered unto him, notwithstanding the same made to the advancement of some good assured peace, if it had beene thoroughly and advisedly read, waied and considered: in which letter they declared that as humble and faithfull subjects, they required onely

that it would please the king, whose honor, health, surety, and preservation they chiefely wished, not to give credite to their adversaries malicious suggestions, till their comming to his presence, unto the which they humblie besought him that they mought be admitted, as his faithfull leige people, to shewe the intent and purpose of their comming, which was to none other ende, then to enlarge their fidelitle, and allegiaunce towardes his most dread person, intending to put themselves with as much diligence, industrie, and travaile, in all things that might prefer and advance his honor, surety, and safegarde, as any subject he had living. The keeping back of this letter did minister matter sufficient to the parliament, to colour, and justifie for well done all transfressions, committed in the late battaile at Saint Albons.

In this Parliament was the Duke of Yorke made protector of the realme: the Earle of Salisburie was made Lord Chauncelor, and had the great seale to him delivered: And the Earle of Warwicke was made Captaine of Caleis, and the territories of the same. And thus the rule of the Realme rested in the Duke and Chauncelor, and all the warlike affaires remained principallie in the Earle of Warwicke. And so amongst

them in was agreed, that king Kenry should still reigne in name and dignitie, but neither in deed nor in authoritie, not minding to destroie him, least they mought sodainelie provoke the furie of the common people against them, bicause that of the common people hee was for his holineness of life, and aboundaunt clemencie, much favoured and highelie esteemed.

Nowe that the Duke of Yorke, and his adherents had wrested the whole rule and government into their handes: all such persons, as either loved or the queen favoured, were put beside the privie counsell, and such put in their places as was knowne to favour the house of Yorke. Also all officers were chaunged thoroughout the Realme at the will of the Protectour, Chauncelour, and the Captaine of Caleis, so that they constituted and ruled all things at their owne wils: but they were noated with an execrable offence, of divers spirituall persons, and namely of the abbot of Westminster, and his monkes, for that they tooke out of the sanctuarie at Westminster John Holland duke of Excester, being repugnant to the order taken in the last parliament, and conveyed him to the castle of Pontfracte.

But Henry Bewforde newely invested duke of

Somerset, and Humfrey duke of Buckingham, who had lost his sonne in the same battayle, and other lordes and men of authoritie favouring the partie of king Henry, and bewailed the unsure estate of the same king, bicause they perceived whereunto the cloked curtesie, and dissembled maner of the duke of Yorke did drawe, thought it necessarie to purvey for a remedie ere the mischiefe happened: hereupon they consulted with the queene, and by hir advise was a great councell called at Greenewich, where the Duke of Yorke was discharged of his protectorship, and the earle of Salisbury deprived of his office of chancelorship, which change among the nobility, caused sodaine alterations, and seditious attempts to spring in the citie of London.

In the moneth of May, an Italians servant walking through Cheape of London, with a dagger handing at his girdle, a merchaunts servant that before time had beene in Italie, and there blamed for wearing of the like weapon, chalenged the straunger, how hee durst be so bolde to beare weapon, considering hee was out of his native countrey, knowing that in his countrey no straunger was suffered to weare the like. To the which question such answere was made by the straunger, that the mercer tooke from him his dagger

and brake it uppon his heade, whereupon the stranger complained to the Maior, who on the morowe sent for the yoong man to the Builde-Hall: wherefore after his aunswere made unto the complaint, by agreement of a full Courte of Aldermen, hee was sent to warde: and after the Courte was finished, the Maior and sherifes walking home through Cheape, were met by such a number of mercers servauntes and other, that they might not passe, for ought they coulde speake or do, till they had delivered the yoong man that before was by them sent to prison.

And the same daie in the afternoone sodainely was assembled a multitude of lewde and poore people of the Citie, which without heade or guide ranne unto certaine Italians houses, and especially to the Florentines, Lukesses, and Venetians, and there tooke and spoyled what they founde, and did great hurt in sundrie places, but more in fower houses standing in Breadstreete warde, whereof three stood in Saint Bartholmews Parish the little, and one in the Parish of Saint Benets Finke.

The Maior, Aldermen and worshipfull commoners of the Citie, with all their diligence resisted them what they coulde, and sent divers of them to Newgate: and finally, not without shedding of bloud, and

mayming of divers citizens, the rumour was appeased. The yoong man beginner of all this businesse, tooke Sanctuarie at Westminster, and not long after the Duke of Buckingham with other noble men were sent from the king into the Citie, who there charged the Maior by vertue of a commission, that inquirie should be made of this ryot, and so called an oyer deternimer at the Guyld-Hall, where sate for Judges the Maior, as the Kings Lieuetenaunte, the Duke of Buckingham on his right hande, the chiefe Justice on the left hande, and manie other men of name, where while they were empanelling their inquestes, the other commons of the Citie, manie of them secretly put them in armour, and intent to have roong the common bell, so to have raised the whole force of the citie, and so to have delivered such persons as before for the robberie were committed to warde.

But this matter was discreetely handled by the counsell and labour of some discreete commons, which appeased their neighbors in such wise, that all this furie was quenched: but when worde was brought to the Duke of Buckingham, that the commonaltie were in harnesse, hee with the other lords tooke leave of the Maior and departed, and so ceased the inquirie for that day.

Upon the morow the Maior commaunded the common counsell with the Wardens of fellowships to appeere at the Guild-Hall, where by the Recorder in the kings name and the Maiors, was commanded everie Warden, that in the afternoone either of them should assemble his whole fellowship at their common Halles, and there to give straight commaundement, that everie man see the Kinges peace kept within the Citie. After which time the citizens were brought to such quietnesse, that after that daie, the enquirie was dulie persued, and three persons for the said riot put in execution and hanged at Tyborne, whereof two were Sanctuarie men of S. Martins le graunde, the other a shipman, for robbing of Anthony Mowricine and other Lumbardes.

The French nation hearing of the civill dissention within the realme of England, thought to work some domage to the English people, in revenge of olde injuries, whereuppon were two navies appointed to invade the townes standing upon the rivage of the sea. The captaine of the one fleete, was William lord Pomyars, and of the other sir Pierce Bressy captaine of Deepe. These two Captaines taking their course out of the mouth of Seyne, severed themselves, the one Westwarde, and the other Eastwarde, which was sir Peter Bressy, this lustie Captaine sailing almost all

the coasts of Sussex, and Kent, durst not once take lande till he arived in the Downes, and there having perfecte notice that a little before the cheefe Rulers of the Towne, were departed from thence to avoide the plague, which then there rained, entered the Haven with fifteene thousand men, and their shippes all landing at Sandwich, whereof 7000. entered the lande, the space of three mile, and there kept and defended the towne, untill their other companie might come to them, at what time the killed maior, the baylifes and the other officers of Sandwich, with divers other gentlemen of the countrie, and spoyled and robbed the Towne, leading and caring awaie carts of furniture and other riches to their ships, and moreover robbed and spoiled two great galleies of ships laden with marchandise comming to London.

The lord Pomyars likewise tooke his course westwarde, and by night brent Fowaye and other certaine townes in Devonshire, in the month of August, and with his pillage returned into Britaine.

The Scots also entered Northumberlande, and burned certaine cottages and houses, but hearing that the Duke of Yorke was marching thitherwarde with a great armie, they with all haste returned into Scotlande.

In this yeere was a great fraie in the North Countrey betweene the Lorde Egremonde and the Earle of Salisburies sonnes, whereby manie were maymed and slaine, but in the ende the lorde Egremonde was taken, who was by the kings counsell founde in great default, and therefore condemned in great sums of money, to be paied to the earle of Salisburie, and in the meane time committed to Newgate.

Not long after this sir Thomas Percie Lorde Egremount, and sir Richard Percie his brother being prisoners in Newgate, condemned in a great sum to the earle of Salisburie as is aforesaide, brake out of prison by night, and went to the king, the other prisoners tooke the leaders of the gate and defended it a long while against the sherifes and all their officers, insomuch that they were forced to call more aide of the citizens, whereby they lastlie subdued them.

The queene secretlie thirsting the overthrowe of Richard Duke of Yorke, and his faction, perceiving that she could attempt nothing against him neere to the citie of London, bicause the duke was had more in estimation among the citizens, then either the king or queene, and therefore she caused the king to make a progresse into Warwickshire, for his health and

recreation, and so with hauking and hunting came to the Citie of Coventrie, where divers waies were studied to compasse the queenes desire: for the accomplishing whereof, the duke of Yorke, the earles of Salisburie, and Warwicke, were sent for to Coventrie, by the kings letters, under his privie seale, to which place the saide Lordes resorted: but being admonished by secret friends, what was intended against them, they avoided that daunger, and so not saieng farewell, they departed from the court, the Duke unto Wigmore in the marches of Wales, the earle of Salisburie to his Castle of Mydleham in the North countrie, and Earle of Warwicke sailed to the Towne of Caleis, thus were they separated in bodies, but in mindes and harts knit togither in one, having alwaies messengers with letters walking betwixt them, to communicate their devises.

In this meane time many were apprehended of raising of seditious stirs: among other one Robert Ponings late of Southwarke, in the countie of Surrey, which was some time a companion and adherent, to the most horrible wicked & heynous traitor and tyrant John Cade in time of his insurrection, being then his kerver, and sword bearer, what time he did his robbery and tyranny in the citie of London, and in many

other places, which Robert stirred the greatest part of such as were adherents, &c. For all which doings being then pardoned, he hath still persevered in his wickedness, and of late, to whit in the 31. the 32. &c. of our reigne hath assembled numbers of men at North Gray, and Frammingham in Kent, &c. Wherefore we proclaime him to be a traitor, and to be apprehended, &c.

Master Pecocke Bishop of Chichester, a secular Doctor of Divinitie, that had labored many yeeres to translate the holy Scripture into English, was accused to have passed the bounds of Divinitie and of Christian beleefe in certaine Articles, of the which he was convict before the Archbishop of Canterburie, and other Bishops and Clerkes, and after utterly abjured, revoked, and renounced those Articles openly at Paules Crosse in his mother toong, on the Fourth day of December, as followeth. In the name of the Trinitie, Father Sonne, and holy Ghost, I Reynold Pecocke, Bishop of Chichester unworthy, of my owne power and will without any manner coertion or dread, confesse and knowledge that I here before this time presuming my judgement and naturall reason before the new and the olde Testament, and the authoritie and determination of our mother holy Church, have held,

written and taught otherwise than the holy Romane and Universall Church teacheth, preacheth, or observeth. And one is against the true Catholike and Apostles faith, I have written, taught, and published many and divers doctrines, bookes, and writings, conteining Heresies and errors, contrary to the faith Catholike, and determination of holy Church: and especially these Heresies & errors following, that is to say:

In primis quod non est de necessitate fidei credere quoddominus noster Iesus Christus post mortem descendit ad inferos.

Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere in sanctorum commuionem.

Item, quod Ecclesia universalis potest errare in hys quae sunt fidei.

Item, quod non est de necessitate salutis credere & tenere illud quod concilium generale & universalis Ecclesia statuit, approbat, seu determinat, in favorem fidei, & ad salutem animarum, est ab universis Christi fidelibus approbandum & tenendum.

Therefore I miserable sinner which here before long time have walked in darkness, and now by the mercy and infintie goodnes of God reduced into the right way,

and light of truth, and considering my selfe greevously have sinned and wickedly have informed and infected the people of God, returne and come to the unitie of our mother holy Church, and all heresies and errors written and conteined in my said bookes, works and writings, here solemnly and openly renounce and revoke, which heresies and errors and all other spices of heresies I have before this time before the most Reverend father in God, and my good Lord of Canterbury in divers and lawfull forme judicially abjured, submitting myselfe, being then and also now at this time very contrite & penitent sinner, to the correction of the Church and of my said Lord of Canterbury.

And over this, exhorting and requiring in the name & vertue of almightly God, in the salvation of your soules and minde, that no man hereafter give faith and credence to my said pernitious doctrines and errors, neither my said Bookes keepe, hold, or reade in any wise, but that they all such Bookes, workes, and writings suspect of heresies, deliver in all goodly hast unto my said Lord of Canterbury, or to his Commissioners and Deputies, in eschewing of many inconveniences and great perils of soules, the which else might be the cause of the contrary. And over this

declaration of my conversation and repentance, I here openly assent, that my said Bookes, workes and writings, for declaration and cause above rehersed, be deputed unto the fire, and openly brent in ensample and terror of all other, &c. After this he was deprived of his Bishopricke, having a certaine pencion assigned unto him for to live on in an Abbey, and soone after he died. His Bookes were intituled:

1. Of Christian Religion, and a Booke pertaining thereunto.
2. Of Matrimonie.
3. Just expressing of holy Scripture, devided into three partes.
4. The Donet of Christian Religion.
5. The follower of the Donet.
6. The Booke of Faith.
7. The Booke filling the 4. Tables.
8. The Booke of Worshipping.
9. The Provoker of Christian men.
10. The Booke of Councell.

CHAPTER IV

MARGINAL NOTES

33/20 An. reg. 30.

34/8 Richard duke of York his declaration of truth.

35/11 1452.

36/23 Richard duke of Yorke his letter to King Henry.

39/17 Answer of King Henry to the duke of York.

41/9 Richard D. of Yorke to King Henry againe.

42/16 Answer of K. Henry to the duke of Yorke

47/2 An. reg. 31

47/15 1453.

48/15 Burdeaux yeelded to the English.

50/18 John earle of Shrewsbury slane, L. Moleins taken.

51/7 An. reg. 32.

51/23 Description of Aquitaine.

52/20 Practice of the duke of Yorke.

53/22 An. reg. 33.

53/24 Edmond duke of Somerset sent to the tower and articles put against him by the duke of York

55/5 Wheate sold for xij. pence the quarter.

55/13 Archbishop of Caunterbury deceased.

56/14 Edmonde duke of Somerset captaine of caleis

56/19 1455.

56/22 The duke of Yorke raised a power, and marched towarde London.

58/11 Words in writing by the duke of Yorke unto the King.

62/1 First battail at S. Albons.

67/20 Duke of Exceter set out of Sanctuarie, and sent to Pontefract castle.

67/25 An. reg. 34.

68/16 1456 Robert Fabian.

71/12 An. reg. 35.

71/15 1457.

72/10 Sandwich spoyled by the French.

72/17 The towne of Foway brent.

73/1 Robert Fabian

73/17 Regester of Maiors.

74/18 Robert Ponings sometime sword-berer & carver to Jacke Cade proclaimed a traitor.

CHAPTER V

COMMENTARY

33/1-34/5 Richard duke of Yorke. . . of the Realme. This passage was taken from the second edition of Holinshed's Chronicles, but it can be traced almost verbatim through Hall to the Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil. The Italian born historian constructed a causal framework which was used by all the major sixteenth century chroniclers. This section is particularly important since it introduces several themes around which later events are organized; York's desire for the crown, his willingness to use military strength to accomplish his goals, his antagonism toward Somerset, and his duplicity in claiming to represent the good of the people.

33/1-2 pretending a title . . . duke of Clarence. York's paternal grandfather was Edmund of Langley, fourth son of Edward III. Through his mother, he could trace his ancestry through the Mortimers to Philippa, the only child of Lionell, Edward III's second son. If female blood were allowed, York had a claim to the crown which was better than that of King Henry, the grandson of Edward III's third son. Until the last year of his life, York did not call public attention to his descent from the Duke of Clarence. He carried the arms of

Edmund of Langley, and carefully avoided appearing as a contender for the crown. When York publically put forth his claim to the throne in 1460, he did so as the heir of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. Polydore Vergil, and others after him, assumed that York was plotting for the crown from the start.

33/4 parliament time. When parliament met in October, 1450, the rivalry between York and Somerset became heated. York and his followers attempted to have Somerset tried for treason in the loss of Normandy.

33/5-7 John duke of Norffolke . . . Warwicke. These three peers were related to York through his wife, Cicely Neville. Salisbury was Cicely's brother, Norfolke and Warwick were her nephews. Kinship alone was not sufficient reason for their support of York. The nobility was closely interrelated by blood and marriage, and other relatives of York remained firm Lancastrians. Norfolke, Salisbury and Warwick did not firmly attach themselves to York's party until April of 1454,[39] when it became politically expedient. Following Polydore Vergil's interpretation, Stow assumes that because of their family connections, these men were sympathetic to York's cause from the start.

---

[39]C. A. J. Armstrong. "Politics and the First Battle of St. Albans," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXXIII (December 1960), p. 11.

33/7-8 Thomas Courtney . . . Cobham. The west country peers Devon and Cobham had political motives for following York. Each had come into conflict with a member of the court faction over influence in his local district. Legal and military action had failed, since their enemies could count on favorable treatment from the royal courts. Devon and Cobham probably felt that their grievances would be answered only after drastic changes were made in the circle of advisers surrounding the king.[40]

33/16/17 losse of Normandy. Somerset was Lieutenant of France when the newly strengthened French army took the major strongholds of Normandy in 1449. He was not able to push back the French or negotiate favorable peace terms. The loss of Normandy caused widespread anger in England, and attempts were made to have Somerset tried for treason.

33/17-18 he would be . . . duke of Yorke. Polydore Vergil portrays York as a man obsessed by the desire for power and Somerset as a prudent, loyal counselor who foresaw the trouble which York would later cause. One reason for this bias was that Henry VII, who commissioned Polydore's work, was the grand-nephew of Somerset, and had taken the crown away from the Yorkist Richard III. The

---

[40]Storey, p. 89.

anti-Yorkist attitude does not persist in the works of Hall, Holinshed and Stow.

34/1 long intended enterprise. York did not resort to military action until more than a year after his return to England.

34/8-35/13 forasmuch as I . . . Henry the sixt. This letter, printed for the first time in Annales is a proclamation of York's loyalty. It does not refer to any of the political grievances which Stow mentioned. In another letter, dated February 3, York did explain his political objectives. It was a manifesto sent to the burgesses of Shrewsbury, asking their support for York's efforts to remove the corrupt Duke of Somerset from the king's council.[41]

34/11 sinister information. York believed, not without cause, that Somerset was trying to convince the king that he was a dangerous traitor.

34/18 Bishop of Hereford. This was Reginald Butler, whose appointment was probably due to York's influence.[42]

34/20 earle of Shrewsbury. John Talbot, the veteran commander of the English army in France.

---

[41] James Gairdner, ed., The Paston Letters I (London: Chatto and Windus, 1904), pp. 97-98.

[42] Ibid., p. 96.

35/14-36/17. The 16. of February . . . Principal.

This section follows the outline of Polydore Vergil's Anglica Historia. Hall added many of the factual details. Holinshed gave a somewhat reduced version of Hall, and Stow used Holinshed's text almost verbatim.

35/15-16. tooke towards the marches. The king and his army marched as far north as Coventry in order to cut off York's approach from the northwest.[43]

35/18 other Lords. Devon and Cobham were prominent members of York's following.

35/25 he might not there be received. York wanted to enter London in order to cross the Thames, but the king had left orders that he was not to be allowed in the city.

36/7-8 bishops of Winchester . . . Warwicke. All of Stow's sources agree that the party sent to negotiate with York included the two Bishops. There is some disagreement on the other members. Holinshed, using Wetehamsted as his source, stated that Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers and Richard Andrew, keeper of the privy seal were sent to York. Stow, however, consistently omitted material from Wetehamsted, even if it was contained in a passage from another source.

---

[43]Ernest F. Jacob, The Fifteenth Century 1399-1485 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 504.

36/9 answered by the duke. Hall remarked that York had already decided not to give battle because he was outnumbered.

36/11 any of his counsell. Hall and Holinshed were more precise when they wrote "harm to any goodman," since York did intend harm toward Somerset, a member of the king's counsel.

36/17-43/13 further to understand . . . any other. This collection of letters illustrates the relationship between York and the king. York is always elaborately defferential, but he reiterates his complaints and requests with nagging insistence. Henry soothes York's injured feelings with smooth explanations, but holds him at arm's length. The king is not willing to grant York's specific demands, neither does he want York to do him any favors. These letters were first printed in Stow's Chronicles of 1580, and also appeared in the second edition of Holinshed.

36/23-41/8 Please it your Highness . . . cosin. York's letter and the king's reply were probably written long before the confrontation at Dartford in 1452. They both refer to events which occurred during York's return from Ireland in 1450.[44]

---

[44]Gairdner, p. 80.

37/21 Thomas Stanley. The council sent Stanley to Chester to prevent York from approaching the king.[45]

38/1 Sir William Oldhall. A Norfolk landowner, Oldhall had been one of York's counselors in Normandy and was now his chamberlain. The commons showed their support of York by electing Oldhall speaker in the parliament of 1450.

38/13 victuall. "vittles" is used in Holinshed. Stow modernized the spelling of this document in Annales.

39/8 juries. Misprinted in Annales as "injuries."

39/25 strange language. During Cade's rebellion, York's followers were reported to have published writings and ballads accusing the king of gross misrule and advocating York's seizure of the crown. Letters were sent throughout Kent calling on the people to rise when York returned from Ireland.[46] York's name was used with or without his consent as a symbol of reform by those who criticized the administration. The court therefore associated York with dangerous unrest and rebellion.

40/1-2 their disordinate . . . Chester. Misprinted in Annales as "your disordinate . . ." Gairdner pointed

---

[45]Charles W. Oman, History of England (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1960), p. 351.

[46]Storey, p. 79.

out that "your" was a misreading of "$\overset{r}{y}$," a contraction of "their," and that "Chester" should read "Chichester." Adam Moleyns, a trusted member of Suffolk's government, was murdered at Portsmouth by mutinous soldiers on January 9. 1450. York was in Ireland at this time, so it would not have made sense for the king to write "your. . . murder of the bishop."[47]

40/3 untrue shipmen. Sailors at Portsmouth.

40/5-6 ye should be . . . thousands. The participants in Cade's rebellion complained that the king's natural counselors were excluded from court. The Duke of York should be brought back from Ireland, whereupon "manie thousands" would come to join him.

40/6-8 ye should . . . not attempt. York himself had not made an overt attempt on the crown. Henry carefully avoids accusing him of this crime while warning him not to commit it.

40/10 we remember of one Wafness. One historian sees this as evidence that Henry was very credulous and willing to listen to sinister accusations.[48]

---

[47]Gairdner, p. 80.

[48]B. P. Wolffe, "The Personal Rule of Henry VI" in Fifteenth Century England 1399-1504, eds., S. B. Chrimes, C. D. Ross (New York, Barnes and Noble Books, 1972), p. 35.

40/11-14 such false people . . . executed. Cade's rebellion swept through Kent, Sussex and Norfolk in the early summer of 1450. A general pardon was proclaimed on July 8, but all further disturbances were firmly repressed.

41/9-43/13 Please it . . . in any other. Gairdner believes that these two documents, like the preceding two, were written in 1450.[49] The internal evidence, however, does not clearly date them. York's accusations against Somerset remained the same throughout their long conflict. So this exchange of letters, even if not written at Dartford, accurately expresses the positions of York and the king.

41/11-12 justice is not duly ministred. The weakness of the central government and strength of the great nobles made it difficult for the court system to operate effectively. York is referring specifically to Somerset's alleged misdeeds, but he echos a complaint common at the time.

41/13-15 in especiall . . . of the same. York is referring to Somerset, who had been accused of treason but never brought to trial. It should be noted that medieval kings had unlimited right to choose and keep their ministers. Conviction on charges of treason was the only

---

[49]Gairdner, p. 80.

legal way to dislodge an unpopular minister from court. Suffolk and Somerset enjoyed the king's constant trust in the face of several charges of treason from their enemies.

42/23 a substantiall counsell. It is not clear exactly what type of council the king intended to establish, or what role York had in it if it met. This may refer to a coalition of York's and Somerset's supporters during the 1450 parliament.[50]

43/15-44/9 At length . . . Henrie the sixt. This passage is based on Polydore Vergil's brief narrative. Hall added a description of the exchange of accusations between the two dukes, and Somerset's attempt to destroy York after he was brought back to London. Holinshed, when condensing Hall's text, produced a jumbled account of the events. The passage is clarified and further shortened in Annales.

44/1 partly as a prisoner . . . kept. Hall and Holinshed add that Somerset urged the council to destroy York for the good of the nation. York's escape is attributed to providence, since it was his destiny to later destroy the Lancastrian government.

44/3-5 Edward earle of March . . . Welshmen. This rumor was probably unfounded. London may have been

---

[50] Ibid., p. 87.

intimidated by the threat of a horde of Welshmen, but not by Edward himself, who was ten years old at the time.[51]

44/7-8 Yorke made his submission. This was a humiliation for York, since his promise not to commit certain offenses was equivalent to admitting that he had been guilty of them in the past.

44/10-47/1 there being present . . . seale. The text of York's oath of submission and the list of peers who witnessed the event appear in Stow's Chronicles and in the second edition of Holinshed.

45/8-10 I shall not anything . . . to so do. York promises to make no claim to the crown, and to prevent his followers from making any on his behalf.

45/17 gather any route. Here York promises not to place himself at the head of any popular disturbance.

45/17-19 any assembly . . . lawful defense. York's display of military strength at Dartford was an example of the private armies produced by bastard feudalism. Frequent attempts were made by the central government to limit the number of armed followers which a peer could employ in his lawful defense.

47/2-4 this oth . . . may appeere. In Holinshed, York is not accused of breaking his word, since it is

---

[51]Cora L. Scofield, The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth I (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1967), p. 17.

later stated that he was absolved from his oath by the Pope. This information came from Wetehamsted, which is probably why Stow discounted it.

47/5 This yeere. An account of a London riot is placed here in Stow's Chronicles. Similar passages, often obtained from the London Chronicles dominated Stow's earlier history. Annales has a more national viewpoint, since many incidents relevant only to the history of London are omitted.

47/5-14 This yeer deceased . . . December. The other chroniclers mentioned the death of Stafford. Stow added the information about Kemp, which he obtained from Leland's Itinerary.[52]

47/15-17 The King held his Christmas. In his Chronicles, Stow added that during the Christmas celebration of 1452, Henry made his half-brothers Edmond and Jasper Tudor earles of Richmond and Pembroke. Hall and Holinshed state that the king elevated Edmond and Jasper after the birth of Prince Edward in October, 1453. Perhaps Stow left the matter out of Annales because he found that both dates were wrong. Edmond and Jasper received their titles on March 6, 1453.

---

[52]Smith, ed., The Itinerary of John Leland IV, p. 37.

47/18-52/2 The earle of Kendall . . . of England. Polydore Vergil's text provided an outline for Hall, who was at his best when describing the French wars. This passage, however, suffers from having been condensed twice; once by Holinshed and once by Stow. As most chroniclers did when condensing a text, they simply omitted phrases and sentences instead of writing a new narrative. The result is sometimes awkward and obscure, completely lacking the coherence and spirit of Hall's prose.

47/18-19 came Ambassadors. March, 1452.

47/21-22 the people . . . the French part. Bordeaux had been under English rule for 300 years, and had extensive economic ties with England. Reconquest by the French meant higher taxes and disruption of trade.[53]

48/7-8 John Lord Talbot. A veteran commander in the French wars, Talbot was widely known for his military prowess. He had held the offices of Governor of Anjou and Maine, and Constable of France. He was said to have been 80 years old at the time of his last campaign, but was probably in his late sixties or early seventies.

48/9 arriving in the Isle of Madre. Talbot landed October 17, in Gascony.

---

[53]Oman, p. 359.

48/11 The strong towne of Fronsake. Fronsac had fallen to the French in 1451. It was the frontier fortress of English territory in Guienne.[54]

49/19 beseige the towne of Chastillon. The French laid seige to Castillon in July of 1453.

50/10 trenched and fortified. The French had as many as 300 field guns at Castillon. Their artillery expert, Jean Bureau had designed the fortifications to allow the French to fire directly at the flanks of an approaching army.[55]

50/12-13 doubting least . . . fled. When the French army gathered inside their fortifications, they turned out most of their horses to provide more room. English soldiers, seeing the grooms and horses leaving the camp, told Talbot that the French army was in full retreat.

50/16 they compassed him about. Unable to use his archers, Talbot marched his whole force straight at the French camp, and was caught between their artillery fire and Breton reinforcements coming up at the rear.[56]

---

[54] Ibid.

[55] Alfred H. Burne, The Agincourt War (Fair Lawn, New Jersey, Essential Books, 1956), p. 334.

[56] Ibid., pp. 340-341.

50/19 Lord Lisle his sonne. Stow omitted Hall's dramatic account of how Lord Lisle refused to leave his father's side when the battle became hopeless.

51/2 twenty of July. The actual date of the battle was July 17, 1453.[57]

52/3-4 the Queen . . . named Edward. Holinshed and Hall add that the Queen was slandered by accusations that the child was a changeling, or the son of someone other than the king. Since York made no use of these rumors, they did not become an important issue, and Stow, who seems to have had a dislike for gossip, omitted the whole matter.

52/6-19 When the wars . . . cleerly exiled. This passage originated in Polydore Vergil, and appears in Hall and Holinshed. Polydore was the first to give an inclusive, relatively unbiased structure to the confused records of the mid-fifteenth century. He gave to the Wars of the Roses their familiar outline of demoralizing civil strife waged by two distinct factions devided by dynastic claims. This theme was the foundation of Hall's Union of Lancastre and York and was immortalized in Shakespeare's history plays. Only in the last century have historians questioned and revised Polydore Vergil's interpretation.

---

[57] Ibid., p. 336.

52/20-54/1 the duke of York . . . great solemnity. If the preceding passage shows the value of Polydore Vergil's explanations and interpretations, the next shows the problems caused by using his work alone as a source of factual information. The Anglica Historia makes no mention of the physical and mental collapse of Henry VI, or the appointment of York as protector of the realm. This has produced a distortion in the texts of Hall, Holinshed, and Stow, who later state that the king had been ill and York had been made protector, but do not clarify the time or circumstances of these events.

53/1-2 for that he . . . he helde. Yorkist propaganda emphasized the king's mental deficiency. Polydore Vergil implied that the accusations were propaganda only. It is impossible to state whether Henry VI had less than normal intelligence, or suffered a type of mental illness, or was merely weak-willed. There is evidence, however, that popular rumors accused the King of being a fool, a simpleton, and "like a child" before his illness of 1453-1454 and before the Yorkist party made such charges.[58]

53/2-3 many of the high estates. York's political position had improved since his humiliation at Dartford.

---

[58]Storey, pp. 34-35.

In addition to the Nevilles, Worcester and Norfolk began to lean toward his party.[59]

53/7-21 wan the favour . . . Warwicke. Warwick had come into conflict with Somerset. This helped move him and Salisbury his father toward the Yorkist party.[60]

5/22-24 The duke with . . . arrested. The king's illness had given York and his supporters a larger voice in the government. York was strong enough to have Somerset imprisoned, but did not have enough support to have him tried and convicted.

54/1 without great solemnity. Stow is being deliberately ironic. The king always celebrated Christmas "with great solemnity." As the most favored of the king's ministers, Somerset would have been accustomed to keeping Christmas in royal style. Without the support of the king, he passed the holiday season in a far different manner.

54/3-24 These articles . . . conscience requieth. In November of 1453, a list of charges against Somerset was read to the council by York's ally, Norfolk. They included accusations of treason in the loss of Normandy and corruption in domestic affairs. The document quoted here, although presenting the same charges, was one

---

[59]Storey, p. 137.

[60]Ibid., p. 135.

presented to the council by York in 1452. The whole bill, which is printed in Gairdner's edition of The Paston Letters, is several pages long, which is probably why Stow broke it off abruptly.[61]

54/23-24 My larger Chronicle. Stow mentioned his larger chronicle several times in Annales. He stated in the introduction that he would have preferred to publish the larger book, but that his patrons wanted the shorter Annales. Stow implied that he had already compiled the larger volume, but unfortunately it was never printed, and any manuscript which he might have made was lost.

54/25-55/1 The King . . . Clarendon. There is not enough evidence to prove exactly what was wrong with Henry VI. Wetehamsted, the most detailed source for the king's illness, states that a sudden shock caused Henry to sink into a stupor, not recognizing anyone, unable to stand or speak. Holinshed used most of this information, but Stow, always distrustful of the Abbot, only wrote that the king was sick.

55/5-12 This yeere wheat . . . twenty shillings. According to one estimation, the average price of wheat for the decade 1451-1460 was 5 S. 6¼d. per quarter. The

---

[61]Gairdner, pp. 103-108.

average price of barley (malt) was three S. 10d.[62] Stow probably obtained this bit of information from one of the London chronicles. It does not appear in Hall or Holinshed.

55/13 John Kempe . . . deceased. Chancellor Kemp had been a moderating influence on the opposing factions. His death on March 22, 1454, increased the government's problems of leadership. The king had been mentally incapable since August, and it was outside the customary competence of the council to appoint a chancellor. After a deputation sent to the king could get no word or sign from him, the council made York protector of the realm on March 27.

55/14-15 This Kemp . . . Kent. Leland's Itinerary was Stow's source for this information. Later biographers, however, state that Kemp was the son of a Kentish gentleman.[63]

55/18-21 he made . . . learning. The fifteenth century saw a widespread growth of schools of all levels. The most notable example was the founding of King's and Queen's College at Cambridge by Henry VI and Margaret.

---

[62]Jacob, p. 383.

[63]Smith, ed., Itinerary of John Leland, IV, p. 38.

55/25 Thomas Bourcher. Bourchier was appointed to the see of Canterbury by his brother-in-law, York.

56/4-6 Richard Neville . . . England. This appointment, like that of Bourchier, was made by York.

56/8 York bare . . . regent. This is the only information in the entire passage which is derived from Wetehamsted. It appears in Holinshed, where it is attributed to the Abbot. The more correct term would be "protector," for the council narrowly defined York's powers. He did not have the authority of a governor, lieutenant or regent. His chief duty was to protect the realm from foreign and domestic enemies. The office was to end when the king recovered or the Prince of Wales attained legal age.

56/11 the king had recovered. Henry began to emerge from his illness during the Christmas season of 1454. Many historians see his recovery as a fatal blow to political stability. York had provided competent leadership while he was protector, but when Henry resumed his personal rule, England was once more subjected to his arbitrary, aimless power.

50/13-14 preferred him . . . Caleis. Hall says that the queen obtained this post for her friend Somerset. She was now emerging as the leader of the court party. Calais was the most important stronghold against France, and was under threat of attack. The appointment of

Somerset, who had been accused of treasonably surrending Normandy, shows the king's subborn loyalty to his favored minister.

56/25 a power of warlike persons. Wetehamsted states that York gathered his army from the Neville lands in the north.

56/19-64-25 The duke . . . next following. This passage has been an important source of information on the battle of St. Albans since it was first published in Stow's Chronicles. Polydore Vergil and Hall contain only brief accounts of the event. The first edition of Holinshed uses Wetehamsted, who gives a different description of the negotiations between York and the king. The second edition of Holinshed contains both Stow's and Wetehamsted's accounts, with comments on the differences between the two sources. In Annales, Stow omits Wetehamsted entirely. This is characteristic of Stow, who omitted all but one consistent account of a given event.

Stow's source, which he quoted verbatim, was a newsletter composed soon after the battle, and intended to be circulated in the Yorkist cause.[64] The document belonging to Stow has been lost, but another, almost identical copy survived among the Stonor papers. It was

---

[64]Armstrong, p. 2.

discovered and printed in Archaeologia in 1822, and was included in Gairdner's edition of The Paston Letters.

56/25-57/1 marched toward London. After his protectorship was ended, York went north to join the Nevilles, Salisbury and Warwick. There they were reinforced by the lords Clinton and Ogle. Made nervous by York's growing strength, the court party called a council to be held May 25 in Leicester for the purpose of insuring the king's safety. York feared that Somerset planned to force on him a humiliating peace settlement. Together with Salisbury and Warwick, York gathered his forces and marched to meet the royal party.

57/2-3 assembled likewise a host. Somerset was probably not expecting armed intervention by York, since the royal party did not hurry to gather and arm themselves.[65]

57/4-5 rather in the north . . . friends. Somerset also was very unpopular in London.

57/25-58/1 The K. nearing . . . his banner. To lead troops against the king's banner was to be in open rebellion. Factional quarrels had degenerated into civil war when respect for the king's person no longer prevented armed conflict. The overthrow of the king's banner at St. Albans was seen as a public disaster.[66]

---

[65] Ibid., p. 13.

[66] Ibid., p. 8.

58/11-59/20 Please it . . . die Therefore. Armstrong states that this letter is more genuine than the two documents which follow it.[67]

59/22-61/20 I King Henry . . . nostri. These two documents were probably written after the battle to justify the Yorkists position.[68] The court party is portrayed as ready to condemn York and his friends as traitors without a hearing. Violence ensued because they were not allowed to come before the king in person. Since this argument was not used again, it probably did not represent the true situation. The two letters are a pro-Yorkist summary of the lengthy negotiations held between the two armies. The king's reply is intended to be harsh and uncompromising. York's speech to his followers, like other addresses attributed to commanders on the eve of battle, defends his cause and exhorts his men to fight bravely.

59/9-10 Domine . . . nostre. "The Lord is our shield and defender."

61/6 For the right . . . in us. This important phrase does not appear in the Stonor version of the document.

63/16-17 to the number . . . 600 persons. These numbers are exaggerated in a fashion typical of medieval chroniclers. At most, 60 persons were killed

---

[67] Ibid., p. 34.

[68] Ibid., pp. 35-37.

at St. Albans.

64/8 cast away their harneis. The Stonor version has "left their harneys behynde them cowardly."

65/1-4 in the month . . . the South. Stow's source for the appearance of the comet was a version of the Brute known as Davies Chronicle. Like other medieval chronicles, this one includes many omens and portents. During this year, a comet, a ghost, a monstrous rooster and a swordfish are mentioned.[69] Stow included the comet, the rooster, and the swordfish in Chronicles, but only the comet in Annales.

65/5-6 the parliament . . . July. Parliament met until July 31. It confirmed York's appointment of his friends to various high offices. There was enough opposition to York in this parliament to prevent him from obtaining all that he wanted.

65/7-9 duke Humfrey . . . realme. York was the political heir of Humphrey of Glocester, who stood for a vigorous war policy in opposition to the conciliatory policy of the Beauforts, Suffolk and Somerset. Glocester had been accused of treason by his political enemies when he died suddenly. York's rehabilitation of

---

[69]John S. Davies, ed., An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI. (London: The Camden Society, 1856), pp. 71-72.

Gloucester's reputation was a slap at York's own political enemies.

65/19-20 kept a certaine . . . Knowledge. York, Salisbury and Warwick had written letters to Chancellor Bourchier and the king on May 20 and 21, just days before the battle of St. Albans. The first letter was in response to an order to disband. The Yorkists explained that they were loyal to the king, but that their army was necessary for their safety. The chancellor was instructed to show the letter to the king lest "anything inconvenient" should happen. The second letter repeats the declaration of loyalty, asks the king not to believe the slanders of their enemies and begs the king to allow them into his presence. There is not sufficient proof to state conclusively whether or not the letters were kept from the king.[70]

66/18-19 York made protector. Most modern historians have stated that York's second protectorship was initiated by the king's relapse into illness. J. R. Lander has shown that this is an incorrect assumption arising from a misreading of the evidence. None of the sixteenth century chroniclers mention another attack of Henry's illness. Lander gives the need for

---

[70]Armstrong, p. 22.

strong leadership and York's own political maneuvering as reasons for his being appointed to a second protectorship.[71]

66/24 all the warlike affaires. The garrison at Calais was the largest group of professional soldiers in the pay of the crown. Warwick's continued holding of Calais contributed to the Yorkist's ultimate victory.[72]

67/5-8 of the common . . . esteemed. Henry VI had a detachment from worldly life and a resignation to troubles that contrasted sharply with the turbulent, ambitious personalities around him. He preferred humble clothing and devotions to his robes and duties of state. However, much of his reputation for saintliness rests on a biography commissioned by Henry VII who wished to have his Lancastrian ancestor canonized. Of Henry's "aboundant clemencie" there is sufficient proof. After he began his personal rule, the number of letters of pardon issued under the great seal increased sharply. Henry pardoned some men of atrocious crimes, appearing to condone them and admitting the inability of his government to punish crime. One historian sees this as part

---

[71]Jack Robert Lander, Crown and Nobility 1450-1509 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), pp. 92-93.

[72]G. L. Harris, "The Struggle for Calais: An Aspect of the Rivalry Between Lancaster and York," The English Historical Review LXXV (1960, p. 30.

of the decline in England's system of courts.[73]

67/11-12 all such persons . . . favored. This awkward sentence is probably the result of a misprint. Hall and Holinshed write "all such persons as the King loved or the Queen favored."

67/18 They were . . . offence. Hall and Holinshed state that this was the only blot on the record of York's administration which was otherwise comparatively honest and fair.

67/21-22 John Holland, duke of Excester. The young, somewhat unstable Exeter together with Lord Egrement created a disturbance in the north in the spring and summer of 1454. Exeter reportedly tried to gain control of the duchy of Lancaster and made a bargain with the Scots. The rebellion faded when York, then protector, marched north. Exeter fled into sanctuary at Westminister, but was removed by York on July 23. He was kept at Potefract for nine months. He was acquitted early in 1456.[74]

68/8-10 They consulted . . . Greenwich. Margaret now was the leader of the court party. Henry did not seem to be interested in preserving his own authority. The queen probably believed that she must destroy York so that her son would succeed to more than a shadow crown.

---

[73]Storey, p. 210.

[74]Ibid., pp. 143-144.

68/12-13 Salisbury deprived . . . chancelorship. He was replaced by William of Wainfleet, a friend of the queen.

68/13-71/14 which change . . . Lumbardes. This passage is an example of the way in which Polydore Vergil's text was expanded by later chroniclers. Anglica Historia gives a five line description of the London riot as an example of popular unrest. Hall returned to Fabyan, the original source of Polydore's information, and gave a more detailed account of the event. Stow also returned to Fabyan and quoted the passage verbatim.[75] What was originally a small illustrative example grew into a complete description of the event.

69/16 Lukesses. Merchants from the Italian city of Lucca.

70/14 common bell. Fabyan has "bow bell."

71/15-72/20 the French . . . Britaine. Polydore Vergil links foreign raids on English borders to the internal weakness caused by civil strife. Hall provided most of the details in this account.

71/18 two navies. Sixty Norman and Breton ships raided the coast of England until a month later.[76]

---

[75]Robert Fabyan, The Chronicle of Fabyan, (London: J. Reynes, 1542), pp. 413-415.

[76]Oman, p. 374.

71/21 Sir Pierce Bressy. Pierre de Brezé was grand seneschal of Anjoy, Poitou and Normandy. He had been instrumental in arranging the marriage of Margaret of Anjou and Henry VI. Since Brezé was her friend, many assumed that the queen planned the raid on Sandwich to further her political schemes. This rumour greatly increased Margaret's unpopularity.[77]

72/6-7 Fifteene thousand men . . . 7000. These numbers are probably exaggerated by a factor of at least 10.

72/13-14 leading and caring . . . ships. At this point, Hall was moved by national pride to write that although the French claimed to have won rich spoil, they actually carried away only "poor stuff."

72/21 Scots also entered Northumberland. James II of Scotland led raids across the border in June of 1455 and the spring of 1456. York sent a threatening letter, and since aid from France was not forthcoming, James withdrew.[78] Hall, Holinshed and Stow follow Polydore Vergil's incorrect dating of the Scots raids as 1457.

73/1-3 In this yeere . . . Salisburie's sons. The fray between Egremont and the sons of Salisbury was part of the Percy-Neville feud. Thomas Percy lord

---

[77]Scofield, p. 25.

[78]Oman, p. 370.

Egremont, the hot-headed second son of Northumberland fought with John and Thomas Neville on October 31, 1454. Egremont was captured by the Nevilles. When York came north to hold hearings on various disturbances, Egremont was condemned to pay the huge sum of L 11,260. He was confined in Newgate with his brother until November of 1456, when a warden was bribed and arms were smuggled in. The other prisoners fought off the guards while the Percy's escaped. Stow copied this passage directly from Fabyan,[79] but added some information on the escape. The event is not included in Hall or Holinshed.

73/24-25 she caused . . . Warwickshire. During this time, the crown abandoned any attempt to govern the country. All its efforts were directed toward strengthening its financial and military reserves.[80]

74/20 Robert Ponings. Poinings had obtained one of the general pardons of 1450. But he continued to disturb the peace; calling an assembly of outlaws in Southwark in January of 1453.[81] Stow is quoting an official document proclaiming Poinings an outlaw.

---

[79]Fabyan, pp. 415-416.

[80]Jacob, p. 513.

[81]Gairdner, ed., Paston Letters,I, p. 162.

75/9-78/20 Master Pecock . . . Booke of Councell. The heresy trial of Bishop Pecock comes directly from Davies Chronicle. An almost identical account is given by Wethamsted who added three more heretical beliefs which Pecock allegedly held. Hall introduced the subject of Pecock's heresy to give his readers a change from accounts of civil and foreign strife.

75/9 Master Pecock. Reginald Pecocke was born in Wales and educated at Oxford. Through the patronage of Glocester and Suffolk, he became Bishop of St. Asaph and then Bishop of Chichester. A prolific writer, Pecock's most important work was a reply to Wyclifite criticisms of the church entitled Repressor of the Over-Much Blaiming of the Clergy. In it he defended the use of images, pilgrimages, church property and the hierarchical organization of the clergy. His arguments were often based on subtle points of logic which could easily be misunderstood. As a result, he alienated the critics of the church without earning any gratitude from the clergy itself. His close association with the weakening Lancastrian government left him without the protection of a strong political figure. Those whom he had offended politically and theologically brought him to trial and convicted him of heresy on November 28, 1457. Pecock was the first and only English Bishop to be tried and

deposed for heresy. The event provoked widespread interest.[82]

78/10-11 had laboured . . . English. There is no evidence to confirm this statement. If Pecock had made an English translation of the Bible, it would have been discussed at his trial. His Repressor contains some English scripture verses which differ slightly but consistently from Wyclif's English Bible. Probably he translated passages as needed into English based on Wyclif's work.[83] The idea that Pecock translated the Bible probably grew out of the fact that his major books were written in English, and that he was criticized for encouraging unlearned people to meddle in matters of faith and doctrine. Pecock was one of the first to use English in a major theological work. His Repressor is studied as an important example of fifteenth century English prose.

76/10-12 In primis . . . ad infernos. "Firstly, that it is not necessary for salvation to believe that our lord Jesus Christ descended into hell after death." Of the several heretical beliefs allegedly held by

---

[82] Joseph F. Patrouch, Reginald Pecock (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970), p. 25.

[83] V. H. H. Green, Bishop Reginald Pecock (Cambridge, The University Press, 1945), p. 189.

Pecock, this is the only one clearly stated in his works. The others were the results of distortion or misrepresentation of his ideas. Pecock maintained that the church ought not to require for salvation anything not taught by scripture or provable by reason. He did not teach that the descent into hell was false, but that since it is neither provable by reason or scripture, it should not be an article of faith necessary for salvation.

76/13-14 quod non . . . communionem. "It is not necessary for salvation to believe in the communion of saints." In The Book of Faith, Pecock made a distinction between belief that a thing exists, and belief in the sense of giving obedience and allegiance. The creed therefore expresses the christian's belief in the existence of the communion of saints and the Holy Catholic Church. Pecock's critics took this to mean that obedience and allegiance to the church were not necessary for salvation.[84]

76/15-22 quod Ecclesia . . . tenendum. "that the Universal Church can err in matters of faith. It is not necessary for salvation to believe and hold that those things which a general council of the Universal Church determines, approves, or legislates in favor and for the salvation of souls, must be held and approved by the whole of those faithful to Christ." Pecock made a tactical concession to the Lollards on the issue of the

---

[84]Patrouch, pp. 32-33.

fallability of the church. This accusation is a misrepresentation, however, for Pecock firmly supported the authority of the Church.

78/8-20 His bookes . . . of councell. The list of books was compiled by Stow. It does not include the title of Pecock's most important work, The Repressor of the Over-much Blaiming of the Clergy. Of the other titles, only The Book of Faith, The Donet and Follower to the Donet now survive.

78/13 Just expressing. Misprinted in Annales as "Just oppressing."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Davies, John S., ed. An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI. London, 1856.

Ellis, Henry, ed. Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History. London, 1844.

Fabyan, Robert. The Chronicle of Fabyan. London, 1542, S. T. C. microfilm reel 771.

Hall, Edward. Union of the Two Houses of Lancastre and York. London, 1809.

Hay, Denys, ed. Polydore Vergil's Anglica Historia. London, 1950.

Holinshed, Raphael. The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland. London, 1587, S. T. C. microfilm reel 265.

Smith, Lucy T., ed. The Itinerary of John Leland. Carbondale, Illinois, 1964.

Stow, John. The Annales of England. London, 1592, S. T. C. microfilm reel 356.

_____. The Chronicles of England. London, 1580, S. T. C. microfilm reel 1009.

_____. A Summarie of Chronicles. London, 1565, S. T. C. microfilm reel 356.

_____. A Survey of London. ed. Henry B. Wheatley. London, 1912.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books

Burne, Alfred H. The Agincourt War. Fair Lawn, New Jersey, 1956.

Chrimes, S. B., ed. Fifteenth Century England 1399-1509, New York, 1972.

Fussner, F. Smith. The Historical Revolution, New York, 1962.

Gairdner, James, ed. The Paston Letters, London, 1904.

Green, V. H. H. Bishop Reginald Pecock, Cambridge, 1945.

Jacob, Ernest F. The Fifteenth Century 1399-1485, Oxford, 1961.

Lander, Jack R. Crown and Nobility 1450-1509, Montreal, 1976.

Levy, F. J. Tudor Historical Thought, San Marino, California, 1967.

Kendrick, Thomas D. British Antiquity, New York, 1950.

Kingsford, Charles L. English Historical Literature, Oxford, 1913.

Miller, Edward H. The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England, Harvard, 1959.

Oman, Charles W. The History of England, London, 1906.

Patrouch, Joseph F. Reginald Pecock, New York, 1970.

Scofield, Cora L. The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth, New York, 1967.

Storey, R. L. The End of The House of Lancaster, London, 1966.

Periodicals

Armstrong, C. A. J. "Politics and the First Battle of St. Albans, 1455." Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXXIII, 1960.

Harris, G. L. "The Struggle for Calais: An Aspect of the Rivalry Between Lancaster and York." The English Historical Review, LXXV, 1960.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

GLOSSARY

advertise v. 41/24 inform

appointment n. 49/7 negotiation

araie n. 65/13 array

availe n. 54/8 well being

avoide v. 59/24 leave

aye adv. 37/5 always

bailisewikes n. 52/1 a district under a bailiff.

beside adj. 67/12 outside

brent v. 78/5 burned

cause n. 55/3 matter, problem

cease v. 64/14 stop

charge n. 37/4 accusation

coaction n. 46/23 coercion

colaterall adj. 65/18 associated with

colour v. 66/15 change, alter

comen ger. 34/17 coming

compasse v. 74/13 bring about

compassed p.p. 50/10 surrounded

conservation n. 43/3 remainder

conclusion n. 43/2 final decision 43/11 result

convenable adj. 41/18 sufficient, appropriate

convict p.p. 75/14 convicted

corrupted v. pt. 39/11 defamed

deputed v. pt. 78/4 put

delivery n. 64/4 payment

disallowing ger. 53/4 disapproving

disease n. 60/3 distress

discover v. 56/9 reveal

divers adj. 34/14 many

domage n. 71/17 damage

doubting ger. 50/12 thinking

eke adj. 60/6 also

embattelled ptpl. 36/5 in battle formation

enlarge v. 66/8 emphasize

estimation n. 73/28 esteem

Faine adj. 63/24 willing

fraie n. 73/1 fight

framed v. pt. 35/25 established

furnished v. pt. 49/9 equipped

galleies n. 72/15 large ships

grome n. 37/23 groom

grudging ger. 41/10 grumbling

hardie adj. 59/25 rash

harneis n. 64/4 armor

hauking ger. 74/1 hawking

hearken v. 37/19 attack, 40/15 listen

holden p.p. 44/1 held

Hundreder n. 61/25 chief officer, bailiff

imagined v. pt. 45/3 planned

importable adj. 54/10 unbearable

indifferent adj. 54/20 impartial

inconvenience n. 54/11 troubles

kerver n. 74/24 carver

language n. 39/25 statements

lessing v. 60/25 losing

Let v. 38/25 stop, hinder, 45/7 prevention

letted v. pt. 40/21 hindered

lewde adj. 69/13 lawless, rude

like v. 58/19 be pleased to do

livelod n. 54/13 livelihood

lustie adv. 71/25 bold

mainprise n. 10/14 bail

malt n. 55/8 barley

manace n. 40/4 menace

mischeefs n. 54/11 evils

murmur n. 41/10 discontent

ne conj. 60/19 nor

noated ppl. 67/18 stigmatized, reproached

noised ppl. 4/14 reported

obeysance n. 45/9 obedience

obeisant adj. 45/13 obedient

over adv. 77/25 in addition to

people n. 60/2 mob, army

pight v.pt. 36/4 put

politikely adv. 53/23 cleverly, knowingly

posterne n. 48/20 rear gate

prebend n. 55/14 one who is supported by a particular portion of church, lands or property

preferred v.pt. 55/17 promoted

progenie n. 51/3 family

puissance n. 51/12 power

purveiance n. 54/17 provision

quite v. 61/10 aquit

rained v.pt. 72/5 reigned

reduced ptpl. 76/25 led back

repugnant adg. 67/22 offering resistance, hostile

residue n. 50/23 remainder

resorted v.pt. 74/8 came

rightewise adj. 58/25 just, fair

ripely adv. 43/9 readily

rivage n. 71/19 shore

rowt n. 45/17 mob, riot

rumour n. 70/1 riot

sad adj. 42/23 dignified, solemn

sequele n. 47/4 results

solemnitie n. 47/17 pomp

spices n. 77/8 taints

straight adj. 71/7 strict

straighter adv. 4/42 more severely

substance n. 64/3 greater part

suretie n. 41/21 safety

suspence n. 55/3 cessation

sustance n. 51/15 substance, possessions

toong n. 75/17 tongue

turne v. 38/20 contribute

tyranny n. 74/25 unlawful rule, cruelty

tyrant n. 74/23 one who exercises unlawful authority

trothes n. 59/5 truths

unabled ptpl. 46/17 declared unfit

undone ptpl. 39/10 destroyed

verie adj. 59/5 true

visages n. 63/22 faces

warde n. 43/15 custody

wards n. 58/4 guarded places

weal n. 43/12 welfare

wit v. 39/22 know

witting n. 35/21 knowledge

VITA

The editor, Adelia Ann Doughterty, was born in Concord, a suburb of Knoxville, Tennessee. She attended elementary and high school at Farragut, graduating in June of 1970. She entered the University of Tennessee in the fall quarter of 1970. After declaring a major in history, she participated in that department's honors program and held the Dr. Ruth Stephens scholarship during her senior year. In August of 1974, she was awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree, and began her graduate program of studies the following month. A special interest in the editing of English Chronicles was acquired during an editing seminar in the fall quarter of 1976.